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# LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES OF MULTILINGUAL LEARNERS IN AN INTENSIVE ENGLISH PROGRAM 

by<br>Madhur Shende

## A DISSERTATION

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# LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES OF MULTILINGUAL LEARNERS IN AN INTENSIVE ENGLISH PROGRAM 

Madhur Shende, Ph.D.
University of Nebraska, 2023

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Despite some rises and falls in the numbers due to various reasons, including the political climate in the Trump era and the COVID-19 pandemic (Laws \& Ammigan, 2020), each year universities in the United States host a large number of multilingual international students from different parts of the world. Based on their TOEFL scores, many are required to enroll in an accelerated course of study in academic English, commonly known as the Intensive English Program (IEP) before they can begin their mainstream academic programs. Where there is language, there are language ideologies. Yet, often in monolingual, English-only classrooms, little is known by the instructors and, at times, by the learners themselves, about their linguistic and cultural repertoire and its potential influence on their language learning.

This multilayered qualitative analysis explores the language ideologies and conceptualizations of multilingual learners in an IEP. Focus group interviews were conducted with ten multilingual international students from an IEP classroom in a large Big R1 University. The themes that emerged from the data include ideologies about multilingualism and English, language teaching and learning, raciolinguistic experiences, and also the participants' practice and ideologies pertaining to translanguaging. A critical
metaphor analysis was also conducted to explore the participants' subconscious conceptualizations about language. This analysis reveals the differences in the participants' conceptualizations of their mother tongues (predominantly LANGUAGE AS A PERSON or LANGUAGE AS A FOOD) and their conceptualizations of English (predominantly LANGUAGE AS AN OBJECT/SUBSTANCE). The study highlights the ways in which the language ideologies of multilingual learners in the IEP influence their acquisition of English, the importance of celebrating their multilingualism and offers an insight into how they use their multilingual repertoire to learn English. The work concludes with practical implications for supporting multilingual learners in IEPs.

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## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

I was born in the late 1980s in a Marathi speaking family in a cosmopolitan suburban city of Mumbai, India. At home, we spoke primarily in Marathi with bits of English. We consumed media in Marathi, English and Hindi. My parents went to K-12 school in the 1950s with Marathi as the medium of instruction. English was introduced to them in high school. They then transitioned to attaining higher education (undergraduate and graduate degrees) in English. My father went on to become earn a PhD and wrote his entire thesis in English. As I was approaching the age of three and getting ready to start kindergarten, my parents found themselves wondering about what my language of instruction should be. They both valued Marathi immensely but believed that being fluent in English and being able to think in English would be of greater value to my future levels of confidence and my career. So, they decided that they would inculcate a love for Marathi in me at home, but all my education should be in English. They enrolled me in the erstwhile best English-medium private school in my hometown of Navi Mumbai. The school was considered the best because all the subjects (Math, Science, Social Sciences) were taught in English. Other English-medium schools were not as committed to the cause and a lot of the teaching happened in Hindi or Marathi, that were commonly spoken in the region. They encouraged us to speak in English all the time in the school premises and, as we grew older, to read English fiction. My parents bought me many Enid Blyton books and as I read through the Famous Five and Secret Seven series, English started to become the language I thought in.

When I went out in the evenings to play with my friends in our neighborhood (who conversed primarily in Hindi), they would tease me, "Yeh dekh, English aa gayi" ("Oh look, here comes Ms. English"). I sensed the mockery and the implied exclusion, but I remember distinctly that I felt smug and almost took pride in it. I felt that I was smarter and more intelligent than them because I spoke in English over Hindi, which, in my mind was a vernacular, rural language of less successful people.

As we grew older, the teachers and the principal in the school told us repeatedly that we must only talk in English, not only during class periods, but also during recess time, in the toilets and in hallways. They appointed prefects who were supposed to keep their ears open in classrooms and during break time and tell on the students who were overheard speaking in a language other than English. These students would then be asked to pay a ₹5 fine. They told us that it was for our own good. It would help us become fluent in English, which would make us more competent, capable, impressive, and eventually, successful in life. During our morning assembly sessions, they often told us that they would not tolerate any Hindi because "this is not that (neighboring) XYZ Hindi medium school where all the hooligan kids go! If you want to speak in Hindi, tell your parents to send you to that school!" The said school was a public school, unlike my private school, which catered to children from lower socio-economic status families. All things considered, the message to our young, impressionable minds was clear - that English was the most important language, that other languages were lower in status and if you only spoke those languages, then you were a lesser being.

Marathi (the main language in the state of Maharashtra, where the school was located) and Hindi (one of the two official languages of the government of India) were introduced to us as subjects in the third grade. It was one class period a day, offered on three of the six working days a week. The school also offered Sanskrit, in place of Hindi, in the eighth grade only a fifth of the total number of students who attained the highest grade in grade seven. I barely made the cut, but I was so proud to be one of few students who were allowed this privilege. I know that Class Division B (the group of students allowed to learn Sanskrit) thought that they were special and more intelligent because of this separation. Sanskrit was highly coveted because it was easier to score a higher grade in your tenth-grade board examinations, even a hundred percent, than it was in Hindi. A higher grade meant wider choice in deciding which stream (Science, Commerce or Arts) you could enter for Junior College. I know that many students felt that by being denied Sanskrit in the eighth grade, they were robbed of a better future.

Reflecting on my journey of learning languages and looking back at my experiences in school has revealed the different beliefs and discourses about languages that shaped my language ideologies. These language ideologies, in turn, shaped how I felt about the different languages that surrounded me and, consequently, influenced my learning and use of these languages. My experience of being exposed to diverse languages and ideologies about those languages is a common one among people who live in multilingual settings, which is in most places on the globe in today's world. It is common for a lingua franca - i.e., any lingual medium of communication between people of different mother tongues, for whom it is a common language (Samarin, 1987) - to
emerge in multilingual contexts. It is well known that at present, English has established itself as the world's global language or lingua franca. In fact, English has served as a lingua franca ever since the countries of the Outer Circle (Kachru, 1995) were first colonized from the late sixteenth century.

In the United States, English is the most dominant language and the language most used in educational settings. Since 2008, each year, the United States attracts a large number - over 500,000 - of students from different parts of the world (Bhandari \& Koh, 2015). Over the last five decades, the U.S. has successfully maintained its status as the most sought out destination for higher education over the last five decades despite variations in the number in response to international, political, economic, and academic factors. However, according to a survey conducted by the American Association of College Registrar and Admissions Officers in 2017, higher education institutions reported a decline in international student applications due to the political climate prevailing at the time (Downs, 2017). Cotroversial U.S. President Donald Trump's 2017 executive order banned citizens from six Muslim-majority countries- Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen - from traveling to the U.S. This anti-immigration sentiment impacted higher education (Alruwaili, 2017). There was a trend of students and families, particularly from the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America, reacting to the political rhetoric that was occurring around the election and post the elections, and what was being shown in the media (Downs, 2017). The Washington Post reported that the number of international students tapered off for two years under the Trump administration and the number of newly enrolled students from other countries fell nearly $10 \%$ over these two academic year (Editorial Board, 2019). More recently, according to an article published by the Pew

Research Center on December 6, 2021, the number of international students studying in the United States fell sharply by $15 \%$ during the 2020-21 academic year. This is likely to be an ongoing effect of the coronavirus pandemic. The overall decrease in the number of international students in the U.S. in 2020-21 was driven by sizable reductions in firsttime students coming from abroad - in many cases due to border closings, flight cancellations or other challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Mounting visa problems such as the government extending the time it takes to process applications for security checks from two months to six months, increasing the visa processing fees, and pursuing a crackdown on students who overstay or violate the terms of their visas (even when inadvertent in some cases) has led to this steady decline in numbers. Nonetheless, despite the problems caused by political bans and pandemics, a significant proportion of the student body in U.S. universities continues to comprise students from various countries.

Since 2002/3, a large majority of the international student population (58\%) in the U.S.A. has countries of origin in Asia. The second largest region of origin is Europe, followed by Latin America, Africa, North America, and the Middle East (Bhandari \& Koh, 2015). In terms of academics, $42 \%$ of the total strength of the international students enter the United States enrolled in undergraduate programs (Bhandari \& Koh, 2015). It is, therefore, clear that a large number of international students (defined, in this study, as individuals who are on temporary student visas enrolled in institutions of higher education in the U.S.A, who may choose to live in the U.S. after they attain their degrees or may decide to return to their countries of origin) enrolled in higher education in the U.S. are, at the very least, bilingual, if not multilingual
and bring with them, their ideologies about English, and their entire linguistic repertoire. Most institutions of higher education, particularly those in the United States use English as the medium of instruction for the undergraduate and graduate programs that are offered. Thus, it is imperative for international students across the globe to acquire English or hone their knowledge of English as they enroll into higher education programs, specifically those in the United States. Often, many institutes of higher education provisionally admit students who possess a low level of proficiency in English on the condition that they complete an accelerated course of study in academic English, commonly also known as the Intensive English Program (IEP) (Alexander, 2012; Barrett, 1982; Dantas-Whitney \& Dimmitt, 2002; Kaplan, 1971; Orlando, 2016). With international students continuing to study at institutes offering higher education, there is a high demand for English language learning and teaching, given that in the United States undergraduate programs and courses, irrespective of the discipline, are offered in English. Younger, undergraduate students in particular, need some time to get accustomed to a different academic system, culture and life and often English language skills can be the biggest barrier.

## Statement of the Problem

Many international students enrolled in universities in the United States are either bilinguals, multilinguals, or emerging multilinguals (with English being the third or fourth, etc. language that they are adding to their linguistic repertoire). Yet, often in monolingual English-only classrooms, the linguistic and cultural resources that they bring with them are unknown, and ignored by their teachers, peers and sometimes even themselves. The present study explores the conceptualizations or ideologies of
multilingual learners in the IEP acquiring English as an additional language in the light of their multilingual repertoire. Although multilingual or emergent multilingual learners abound in the IEP classrooms, little research has systematically explored the ideologies or conceptualizations of multilingual students as regards their multilingual backgrounds. In fact, the voices of multilingual speakers across the globe are largely unheard or have not been given the attention they deserve (Todeva \& Cenoz, 2009). There is, thus, a need to explore the ideologies and conceptualizations of multilingual learners in IEPs about the multilingual repertoires and resources and the interplay of their other languages in the process of acquiring English.

## Purpose of the Study

The bulk of the research regarding multilingual learners or students does not focus on undergraduate students and lies largely in the domain of second or foreign language acquisition rather than on third or additional language acquisition. Additionally, the perspectives of multilingual learner themselves are not taken into consideration to develop further understanding about language ideologies and language acquisition in higher education. Besides this, most of the research has used written narratives by students rather than their verbal narratives.

The general purpose of this study is to explore the perspectives (expressed verbally) of multilingual undergraduate learners of English in an Intensive English Program (IEP) on how their multilingual repertoires interplay in their acquisition of English. More specifically, this study explores how multilingual students conceptualize their acquisition of English as an additional language in light of their multilingual repertoire, through the use of critical metaphor/metonymy analysis. It is hoped that a
more nuanced understanding of multilingual learners' ideologies of their whole linguistic repertoire in the process of acquiring a new language (particularly, in acquiring English) will inform teaching practice. It is expected that language teachers may be able to use this knowledge to encourage their students to use all their language resources in the process of acquiring a new one.

## Research Questions

I aim to answer the following primary research question to explore the interplay of the embodied experience of multilingual Intensive English Program students, and the knowledge of their other language/s: What are the language ideologies of multilingual learners enrolled in the Intensive English Program (IEP) as they learn English as an additional language?

More specifically, I seek to answer the following sub questions:
a. How do multilingual students use their multilingual resources while they learn English as an additional language?
i. How can multilingual learners' language ideologies about their whole linguistic repertoire influence their acquisition of English as an additional language?
ii. What does a critical metaphor/metonymy analysis contribute to understanding how they perceive of other languages at play in their acquisition of English?
b. How can perceptions of multilingual students' use of their linguistic repertoire in the process of learning English inform teaching practice?

## Organization

This dissertation is organized into five additional chapters, each of which is briefly described below.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature from the several overlapping fields in which this dissertation study lies. The chapter begins by describing international students enrolled in IEPs and identifying their presence in the literature on multilingual adult English as a second language acquisition. The second section discusses the study's proposed theoretical framework drawn from theories of multilingualism, translanguaging (Garcia and Wei, 2014; Otheguy, Garcia \& Reid, 2015), language ideologies (including raciolinguistic ideologies) and from the theories of cognitive linguistics and critical metaphor/metonymy analysis (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980; Zhang, 2014) as the appropriate lens for examining the conceptualizations of multilingual language learners acquiring English in an IEP.

Chapter 3 describes the multilayered qualitative analysis and the critical metaphor analysis methodology that this research proposes to use to understand the language ideologies of multilingual language learners. The chapter also explains the research design and a description of the site, the participants, and the data collection and analysis methods. I also discuss my positionality in this research and the limitations of this study. In essence, the participants in this study answered questions in focus group interviews about how the all the languages that they know and speak come into play as they acquire English. I have conducted thematic and critical metaphor analysis on the data.

Chapter 4 presents the findings and a detailed discussion of the thematic analysis of the data and the language ideologies that were revealed through this analysis. Analysis revealed the participants' ideologies about multilingualism and English, language teaching and learning, and their ideologies about translanguaging. The participants also spoke about their many raciolinguistic experiences revealing their ideologies about language and race.

Chapter 5 presents the finding of the critical metaphor analysis found in the participants' stories followed by a detailed discussion. Analysis reveals the patterns in the participants' conceptualizations of English versus their conceptualizations of their mother tongues. The dominant metaphors were 'LANGUAGE AS A PERSON' AND 'LANGUAGE AS AN OBJECT / SUBSTANCE' and the secondary metaphor was 'LANGUAGE AS A FOOD. The mother tongues of the participants were predominantly conceptualized as a PERSON or as FOOD. In contrast, English was predominantly conceptualized as an OBJECT / SUBSTANCE.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents a summary of the findings, followed by a discussion of how the findings from the thematic analysis and the critical metaphor analysis converge. Next, practical implications for teaching to better serve multilingual learners in IEPs (and, more broadly, adult multilingual learners of English) are discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the limitations of this study, ideas for further research and some final concluding thoughts on the study.

## Chapter 2

## LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides a review of the literature from several overlapping fields from which this study draws inspiration and knowledge. The chapter begins by surveying the literature on multilingualism and the status of the English language world over. The second section focuses more specifically on English as a Second Language (ESL) in higher education, defines international students enrolled in IEPs and identifies their presence in the literature on the beliefs and language ideologies of multilingual learners acquiring English as an additional language. The third section discusses the study's theoretical framework drawn from theories of language, multilingualism, translanguaging (Garcia and Wei, 2014; Otheguy, Garcia \& Reid, 2015), language ideologies (and raciolinguistics) (Rosa, 2017) and from the theories of cognitive linguistics and critical metaphor/metonymy analysis (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980; Fauconnier \& Turner, 2002; Charteris-Black, 2004). In addition, this section explains why these theoretical frames provide an appropriate lens for examining the language ideologies of multilingual language learners acquiring English in an IEP.

## Multilingualism and English

A complex phenomenon, multilingualism can be studied from different perspectives in disciplines such as linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and education. Thus, there can be many definitions of multilingualism (Cenoz, 2013a). Li (2008) defines a multilingual individual as "anyone who can communicate in more than on language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and
reading)" (p.p. 4). The European Commission (2007) defines multilingualism as "the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (p.p. 6).

Multilingualism is at the same time an individual and social phenomenon. It can be thought of as the ability of an individual, or it can refer to the use of languages in society (Cenoz, 2013a). Individual multilingualism is sometimes referred to as 'plurilingualism'. The Council of Europe (2001) website defines plurilingualism as the "the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person is viewed as a social agent, has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages, and experiences of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw" (p.p. 168). In contrast, multilingualism is understood "as the presence in a geographical area, large or small, of more than one 'variety of language'; i.e., the mode of speaking of a social group whether it is formally recognized as a language or not; in such an area, individuals may be monolingual, speaking only their own variety."

Within individual multilingualism, there can be important differences in the experience of acquiring and using languages. An individual can acquire the different languages simultaneously by being exposed to two or more languages from birth successively by being exposed to second or additional languages later in life.

Multilingualism is and has historically been a pervasive phenomenon all over the world. When we consider the fact that there are 195 nations and 7000 documented languages, we get a true sense of- how multilingual the world truly is (Ortega, 2019).

World over, there are several communities, where functioning in two or more languages or language varieties is the norm for individuals, as well as for society at large. It is, therefore, not uncommon for us to come across individuals who can switch from one language to another within one conversation.

With the development of translanguaging approaches over the past decade (see section on 'Translanguaging' below for further details), recent scholarship on multilingual development has questioned the validity of perceived linguistic boundaries between languages and has argued that languages need to be understood from what speakers do with them, rather than from their structures (Makalela, 2015). Translanguaging is premised on the recognition of a full account of speakers' discursive resources, and it posits that languages are not hermetically sealed unis with distinguishable boundaries nor is it accurate to place them in boxes. Instead, languages overlap one another in a continuum of discursive resources that are naturally available to multilingual speakers. While translanguaging was originally conceived as a classroom strategy for bilingual alternation between English and Welsh (Baker, 2011), it has been expanded by Garcia to account for multilingual communicative practices outside the classroom too. This expansion includes a wide array of multiple discursive practices in spatial, visual, and spoken modes. When framed in this light, this approach is inclusive of all communication styles, registers, and repertoires that characterize multilingual communication outside the classroom and also emphasizes versatile ways of communicating and contrasts with the conventional view of languages as bounded entities (Makalela, 2015; Hornberger \& Link, 2012). According to Garcia (2011), for the speakers, this process involves the "use of social features that are called upon in a
seamless and complex network of multiple semiotic signs" and "the speakers select language features and soft assemble their language practices in ways that fit their communicative needs" (p.p. 7).

Global migration, much like multilingualism, is not a new phenomenon. Human beings have always moved in search of new opportunities, or to escape poverty, conflict, or environmental degradation (Castles et al., 2013). People have been migrating since times immemorial - to navigate hardship and to pursue a better quality of life. However, it is commonly assumed that international migration has accelerated over the past seventy years, that migrants travel increasingly long distances, and that migration has become increasingly diverse in terms of origins and destinations of migrants (Arango,2000). The globalization phenomena of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century brought in rapidly shifting migration patterns leading to swiftly changing population configurations, especially in urban areas, the traditional centers of attraction for migrants (Czaika \& de Haas, 2015; Vertovec, 2007). The worldwide diversification of migrant mobility results in shifts of the social, cultural, and linguistic texture of the sending regions as well as those that receive new populations (Gogolin \& Duarte, 2017). The term 'superdiversity' has been used in social sciences and transnational studies to refer to this intensifying diversity which emerged out of new patterns of communication and mobility in global and urban contexts. Super-diversity is an umbrella term indicating new dimensions of sociocultural and linguistic diversity, which emphasizes the variability, fluidity, and complexity of today's global contexts and especially urban settings. It is 'a multidimensional perspective on diversity' (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1026). Let us consider an example of two families from India that have migrated to other countries over the past ten years. One is my own example. I grew up in India
with three languages as my first languages (Marathi, Hindi and English) which I was fluent in by the age of five years. So did my husband. Then, I added a couple more languages to my repertoire in high school (Sanskrit) and college (French). I went on to earn a postgraduate in Sanskrit and completed a teacher training program in French. Postmarriage, I moved to the U.S. and my husband and I converse in Marathi, English and occasionally Hindi without realizing when we are moving from one language to the other. My 6-year-old son and 3-year-old daughter, who were both born in the U.S., are also exposed to these three languages, understand all three, but speak largely in English since they go to school where it is the only language of communication. They are very curious and excited about Indian holidays that we celebrate at home, and are equally excited about Halloween, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. The other example is that of another Indian family that speaks Tamil and English as their first language. They moved from South India to the Congo when their son was young (probably four or five years old) and started a business there. So, their son, who went to a school where the medium of instruction was English, is fluent in English and Tamil (spoken at home). Since French is the official language in the Congo, he is equally comfortable in the language and feels more at home in the Congolese culture. These examples speak to the complex nature of global migration patterns in today's context. This new trend is opposed to the assumed lower diversity and neater structuring of past migrations, in which there was more clearcut division between immigration and emigration countries. It is also believed that, in the past, migration often concentrated in a few bilateral corridors, frequently following colonial and other historical links. In the more recent past, these patterns seem to have
become more diverse with a spread of migration to new destinations in Southern Europe, the Gulf, and Asia (Czaika \& de Haas, 2015).

Aronin and Singleton (2008) compared the features of historical and contemporary multilingualism and found several differences that could be categorized into three main ideas (as cited in Cenoz, 2017):
i. Geographical: Today, multilingualism is more spread over different parts of the world and not limited to geographically close languages.
ii. Social: It has spread across different social classes, professions, and sociocultural activities, and it is no longer associated with specific strata.
iii. Medium: Multilingual communication today is multimodal and instantaneous as opposed to multilingual communication in the past which was slow and limited to writing.

Thus, linguistic diversity or heterogeneity is at the heart of multilingual communities and there is constant interaction between language groups, and they overlap interpenetrate, and mesh in fascinating ways (Canagarajah, 2007). In fact, Makoni \& Pennycook (2012) refer to a concept they call 'lingua franca multilingualism' wherein "languages are so deeply intertwined and fused into each other that the level of fluidity renders it difficult to determine any boundaries that there are different languages involved" (p. 447). However, as Cenoz (2017) notes, in most cases, this lingua franca world over is the English language. This can be seen through the presence of the English language in the school curriculum in different parts of the world, or when observing signs in the linguistic landscape in the cities of different countries. Today, most speakers of English are multilingual speakers for whom English is one of the languages in their
linguistic repertoire, but not necessarily their first language (L1). (House, 1999; Jenkins, 2015).

Due to several historical, political, and sociological factors, English holds a hegemonic position of being the most widely used global lingua franca. Kachru (1992) points out that John Adams, the second President of the United States of America, made a prediction about the universal role of English in September 1780, wherein he envisioned that English will be the most respectable language in the world, and the most widely read and spoken in the next century, if not in that very century itself. Similarly, Canagarajah (2007) notes that Groddol (1999) prophesied that English will be a language used mainly in multilingual contexts as a second language and for communication between non-native speakers. Both these past predictions are today's reality. English has become the dominant global language of communication, business, aviation, entertainment, diplomacy and the internet (Guo \& Beckett, 2007). According to Pennycook (2000), when we consider the ideological implications of the global spread of English, there are at least two interpretations of what is meant by this; in one sense, ideological may be used in the general sense of 'political' and the second meaning is in the sense of the spread of English having an effect on the ways in which people think and behave. Pennycook (2000) has identified six different frameworks for understanding the global position of English: "colonial celebration, a traditional view that sees the spread of English as inherently good for the world; laissez-faire liberalism, which views the spread of English as natural, neutral, and beneficial, as long as it can coexist in a complementary relationship with other languages; language ecology, which focuses on the potential harms and dangers of the introduction of English to multilingual contexts; linguistic
imperialism, which points to the interrelationships between English and global capitalism, 'McDonaldization' and other international homogenizing trends; language rights, which attempts to introduce a moral imperative to support other languages in face of the threat imposed by English; and postcolonial performativity, which seeks to understand through contextualized sociologies of local language acts how English is constantly implicated in moments of hegemony, resistance and appropriation (p. 108). Largely, in the community of critical applied linguists, there is an agreement that English, as a dominant language worldwide, is forcing an unfamiliar pedagogical and social culture on to its learners, socio-psychologically, linguistically, and politically putting them in danger of losing their other languages, cultures, and identities and contributing to the devaluation of the local knowledge and cultures (Canagarajah, 2005).

If we look at the United States of America in particular, a wide variety of languages are spoken, and more and more individuals identify themselves as multilinguals. But English remains the most used language in everyday life, in media, in government, in business, and has also traditionally been the medium of instruction through all levels of education. Therefore, thanks to its omnipresence and hegemony as a global lingua franca, and its all-pervasive usage in the United States, the knowledge of English is often perceived by multilinguals as an important linguistic resource and as asset that they need to possess. It is also often necessary for learners or students in the United States to be able to speak, read, and write in English, often through English as a Second Language/English as an Additional Language (ESL/EAL) or English Language Learning (ELL) programs offered in schools in universities. The following section
surveys the literature on international students, and on ESL classes offered at U.S. universities through the Intensive English Programs (IEPs).

## Intensive English Programs

As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, many institutes of higher education in the United States provisionally admit students who possess a low level of proficiency in English on the condition that they complete an accelerated course of study in academic English, commonly known as the Intensive English Program (IEP) (Alexander, 2012; Barrett, 1982; Dantas-Whitney \& Dimmitt, 2002; Kaplan, 1971; Orlando, 2016). In 2011, the U.S. hosted 764,495 international students, most of whom needed to learn English before they could begin studying in an American University (Brevetti \& Ford, 2016). English is one of the most common lingua francas in the world today, and as a result of that, there has been a growing opportunity for all English-speaking people to earn money, and as a result, Intensive English Programs have sprung up all over the world (Brevetti \& Ford, 2016).

The first IEP program began in the early 1960s (Szasz, 2016) as an implicit response from the U.S. to Sputnik. The U.S. State Department formed an English education institute called English Language Services which opened its first school in 1961 (Brevitt \& Ford, 2016). According to the federal government's Education USA website (Education, 2017), an Intensive English Program is a school where English as a second language (ESL) is taught to foreign students for between 20 and 30 hours per week. Weger (2013), refers to IEPs as "a context in which learners are explicitly studying English alongside learners from diverse first language (L1) backgrounds while in an English-dominated community" (p.8) The IEP is typically defined by the F-1
immigration status regulation for language training (Szasz, 2010). These schools are also considered intense because each course of study is short, lasting anywhere from 4 weeks to 15 weeks and completion of the entire program typically takes 1 year to 18 months (Brevitt \& Ford, 2016). In addition to knowing about the goals of the IEP, it is important to consider the objectives of the students enrolled in IEPs too.

IEPs can be broadly categorized into three groups. Some are independent US English language institutions that are governed by individuals, boards, or corporate managers and operate as stand-alone schools; part of larger, multi-site systems; or on a university of college campus by contractual agreements (Redden, 2010). Others are varying models operating outside of the United States. The third type of IEP is a program or unit with a direct reporting line within the administration of U.S. universities and colleges, including community colleges that may be part of academic, non-instructional units, or continuing education units (Commission on English Language Programs Administration, 2017). Most IEPs students are enrolled in full-time English classes that are not for university credit, but some IEPs also have English for academic purposes (EAP) or "bridge" courses in which students can earn some university credit while still receiving ESL support (Redden, 2010).

The IEPs are unique in the sense that, as far as language instruction is concerned, they fall somewhere in the spectrum between exposure to the language for a few hours every week and total language immersion. Unlike in other English as a Second Language (ESL) settings, IEP students study English exclusively and full-time because according to Title 8 of the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), a full course study for language students is at least eighteen clock hours of attendance a week. (Szasz, 2010). The IEPs
student body is usually a diverse population that includes international students who are interested in a short-term study abroad experience, as well as international students and permanent residents who are hoping to improve their English for professional reasons (Szasz, 2010). A large majority of the students enrolled in IEPs are international students seeking admission into a degree-bearing academic program. Some are conditionally accepted into their degree program with the requirement that they complete a prescribed course of study in the IEP before full admission is granted (Szasz, 2010). However, the IEP may also include international students who are interested in a short-term studyabroad experience, as well as international students and permanent residents hoping to improve their English for professional reasons (Szasz, 2010).

The search for relevant literature on intensive English programs and bi/multilingual students yielded few results, as a large number of listings focused primarily on teaching methods (Reinhard \& Zander, 2011) or teacher knowledge or training (Fuchs \& Akbar, 2013; Moussu, 2010), where the IEPs were just the research site (Fox, 2017). One reason for the lack of IEP-specific research could be the widely ranging structures of IEPs, making research complex. As mentioned above, U.S. colleges and universities started creating these programs in the 1960s when international students increasingly began to study in the U.S., but these programs were created without any forward planning, and therefore, there is no broad understanding or agreement on how the needs of the students should be met (Christison \& Stoller, 1997). IEPs are often marginalized programs in the university setting in the U.S. (Thompson, 2013) in a variety of ways. University IEPs are often not part of an academic unit, and IEP professionals
usually have different academic roles. Additionally, IEP students are often given limited student status on their campus (Thompson, 2013).

Given the prevalence and / or extent of multilingualism in the global context and among the international students migrating to the United States, one might expect that most students who travel to the United States from different parts of the world for higher education are already either bilingual or multilingual or emergent multilinguals. In this study the term 'emergent multilingual' is used in place of the more commonly used terms such as English Language Learner (ELL) or English Learner (like in Catalano \& Hamann, 2016, who use the term 'emergent bilingual'), because the term 'emergent multilingual' celebrates rather than discounts the other language(s) students bring with them to school. A significant number of students who speak English as a second or additional language are accepted into higher education institutions in the US? (Andrade, Evans \& Hartshorn, 2014). However, as Todeva and Cenova (2009) observe, the voices of multilingual speakers across the globe are largely unheard or have not been given the attention they deserve. As a result of this, research that focuses on the multilingualism of IEP students is negligible. A search on various databases with the keywords 'language ideologies of learners in Intensive English Programs' yielded no relevant results. Therefore, I broadened the scope of my literature review to include studies that explore the voices and perspectives of adult multilingual learners of English world over (not just in the United States) by using the keywords 'perspectives / beliefs / conceptualizations' of English language learners. The following section elaborates on the perspectives or language ideologies of multilingual English language learners in higher education. The subsequent section will focus on the theory and literature on language ideologies.

## Perspectives of learners of English in higher education

Understanding language learners is a matter of examining a variety of evidence, both observable and unobservable, about their learning of language (Wesley, 2012). According to Hosenfeld (1978), language learners form 'mini theories' of second language learning, made up of beliefs about language and language learning', which shape the way they set about the learning task (as cited in Ellis, 2008). Early psychological studies into learner perspectives focused on their beliefs about learning and concluded that their personal models of their own processes were more central to understanding individuals' learning performance than universally accepted theories of learning (Bernat \& Gvozdenko, 2005). When research focuses on the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of language learners about language learning, researchers examining them ask learners to share what they think and assume that these thoughts are pertinent and important to understanding how languages are learned and taught (Wesley, 2012).

A large body of literature on language learner perspectives focuses on learner beliefs. Beliefs about second language acquisition (SLA) held by teachers and learners have intrigued applied linguists since the past four decades, starting with the pioneering work of Elaine Horwitz (1985) and Anita Wenden (1996) (as cited Barcelos \& Kalaja, 2011). Barcelos' (2003) survey of the literature on language learner beliefs, led her to identify three different approaches to investigating learner beliefs: the normative approach, the metacognitive approach, and the contextual approach. According to the normative approach, beliefs are preconceived notions, myths or misconceptions which
can be studied by means of Likert-Style questionnaires such as the Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) (Horwitz, 1988). The analysis of the data in studies using the normative approach is usually done with descriptive statistics.

The studies within the second, metacognitive approach, define beliefs as metacognitive knowledge. This approach, advocated mainly by Wenden (1987, 1988, 1998, 1999, 2001) considers learners' metacognitive knowledge about language learning as 'theories in action' which helps them to reflect on what they are doing.(Wenden, 19991; Barcelos, 2003). Wenden (1987) defined metacognitive knowledge as "the stable, statable although sometimes incorrect knowledge that learners have acquired, about language, learning and language learning process" (p.163). Barcelos (2003) highlights that Wenden argues that beliefs are distinct from metacognitive knowledge. While knowledge is viewed as factual, objective information acquired through formal learning, beliefs are viewed as "individual, subjective understandings, idiosyncratic truths, which are often value-related and characterized by a commitment (that is) not present in knowledge (Alexander \& Dochy, 1995)" (Wenden, 2998, p.517). Wenden (1986) found that learners are able to talk about the language to be learned, their proficiency in the language, the outcome of their learning endeavors, their role in the language-learning process, and the best approach to language learning.

The third approach is the contextual approach, in which a few studies investigate beliefs from different perspectives (Barcelos, 2003). This heterogeneous group includes studies that have defined beliefs according to various theoretical frameworks, have collected a variety of types of data, and have used diverse data analyses. The only commonality between these studies is their assumptions about beliefs. Generically
speaking, learners view beliefs as varying according to context and there is an effort to bring students' emic perspectives into account. In Barcelos'(2003) words, "the studies within this approach do not employ questionnaires or see beliefs as metacognitive knowledge. Instead, they investigate beliefs using methods such as ethnographic classroom observations and case studies, phenomenography, diaries and narratives, metaphor analysis, and discourse analysis" (p. 19-20). The investigation usually involves methods that are grounded in students' own interpretative meanings and perspectives. Context, understood as learners' constructions of their own experiences, is crucial to this type of analysis. Barcelos' (2003) also reviews several studies that she categorizes within this approach.

In examining the use of metaphor analysis within the cognitive approach, Barcelos (2003) notes that there have been several studies that have been used to investigate teachers' and students' beliefs and perspectives (Block, 1990, 1992, Swales, 1994, Oxford, Tomlinson, Barcelos, Harrington, Lavine, Saleh, \& Longhini, 1998, Ellis, 1999 \& 2001, Oxford, 2001, and Kramsch, 2003 as cited in Barcelos, 2003). These studies explore the ways in which learners or teachers conceptualize the experience of learning or teaching a foreign or second language by examining the metaphors they use to talk about these experiences.

Some studies examine language learner beliefs through the use of metaphor analysis. Fisher (2017) observes, "Either by analyzing the metaphors that people use in naturally occurring oral or written discourse, or by eliciting metaphors from them through task (sentence) completion exercises, researchers have been able to examine the ways in which people conceptualize themselves as language learners, their language learning
experience (Baș \& Gezegin; 2015; Coşkun, 2015; Ellis, 2002/8; Ishiki, 2014; Kramsch, 2003; Fisher, 2013;), and their understanding of the role of the language teacher (Cortazzi \& Jin, 1999; Farrell, 2006; Nikitina \& Furuoka, 2006; Seferoğlu, Korkmazgil \& Ölçű, 2009; De Guerrero \& Villamil, 2002; Wan, Low \& Li, 2011; Zapata \& Lacorte, 2007).

## Language Learner Conceptualizations

In 2015, a study was conducted to investigate the underlying conceptualizations of a group of eighty first year students, 18 to 20 years old, in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting at a university in Turkey in regard to their language learning process (Baş \& Bal Gezegin, 2015) These students had been studying English since secondary school and were considered A1 level (according to the CEFR - Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). They collected data through a metaphor elicitation sheet. Prior to collecting the data, students were introduced to the concept of metaphor, by explaining the general definition and description of the concept of metaphor with examples and excerpts obtained from previous studies. Demographical information of the participants (such as age, gender, level of proficiency, field of studies) was collected. They were then asked to write down and complete the prompt "English learning process if (like).... Because..." They were asked to give a reason to make their implicit beliefs examined and their reasoning was then used to classify the metaphors in the data analysis process. They had 45 minutes to complete the prompt and were instructed to focus only on one metaphor because the researchers were interested purely in their initial reactions. The metaphor analysis yielded a total of 74 metaphors on the process of learning English that were grouped into ten thematic language learning categories: TASK ( $\mathrm{n}=21$ ), JOURNEY ( $\mathrm{n}=16$ ), PROGRESS ( $\mathrm{n}=12$ ), ENJOYABLE

ACTIVITY ( $\mathrm{n}=8$ ), PERIOD OF LIFE ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ), COMPETITION ( $\mathrm{n}=3$ ), TORTURE ( $\mathrm{n}=2$ ), UNENDING PROCESS ( $\mathrm{n}=2$ ), ENGRAVING AGENT ( $\mathrm{n}=3$ ), and NURTURER ( $\mathrm{n}=1$ ). The researchers concluded that the analysis demonstrates that language learners have diverse thoughts about language learning and that they were neither wholly positive nor wholly negative in their approach. They largely consider language learning to be an effortful and continuous process that requires support. Some of the metaphors they discovered were highly culture specific to the Turkish culture.

A study from 2015 aimed to uncover the perceptions of 109 EFL learners in the $8^{\text {th }}$ grade of a secondary school and 66 parents in Turkey about learning English (Coşkun, 2015). Like in the study by Baş \& Gezegin (2015), the participants were asked to complete the gaps in the sentence "Learning English is like... because..." and the metaphors that emerged were categorized into predetermined categories (positive, negative, ambivalent and neutral metaphors). The researchers used the Pearson correlation coefficient to find out if there was any significant relationship between the numbers of positive and negative metaphors produced by the parents and their children. The findings revealed that, in general, parents were more positive than learners about the English language learning process. There also appeared to be a significant relationship between the positive/negative metaphors created by parents and their children.

In 2002, Rod Ellis conducted a study using metaphor analysis to explore the beliefs of six beginner classroom adult learners of German as the second language in tertiary institutions in London. These learners agreed to keep a diary throughout the duration of the course. They were given strict instruction about the kind of topics they could comment on in their diary (such as their attitudes to German as a language, their
response to the instructional activities and to their teacher, their sense of their own progress, the learning difficulties they experienced and their motivation to learn German). They were specifically told not to report their beliefs about language learning. The diaries were written for 10 weeks and were collected on a weekly basis to photocopy and at the end, the diaries were analyzed to identify and classify the metaphors used. The analysis yielded six main conceptual metaphors LEARNING AS A JOURNEY, LEARNING AS A PUZZLE, LEARNING AS SUFFERING, LEARNING AS A STRUGGLE, and LEARNING AS WORK. According to Ellis (2008), this study reveals that many of the beliefs the learners hold relate to the problems they experience while learning. They held beliefs that positioned them as both 'agents' of their own learning and as 'patients' who undergo experiences that they could not easily control. The study also showed that learner beliefs involve both cognitive and affective aspects of language learning.

Another study analyzed the metaphors used by fourteen college-level EFL students on the process of learning English (Ishiki, 2014). Learners' metaphors on "English language learning is (like)...." were collected two times during one semester as a form of verbal report. The participants shared their metaphors with their classmates and asked questions to each other for further clarification, a process which helped other participants to reflect and re-contextualized their own meaning making process. They were then interviewed individually to get a glimpse of their rationales behind the metaphors and how their positioning affects them in terms of learning. Five out of the fourteen students saw English learning as a journey, two saw English learning as growth, six saw it as a commodity and one learner's metaphor could not fit under the major paradigms in the literature. The results of the study revealed that learners did not change
their metaphors whereas their level of proficiency developed, and students' imagined self has a great impact on their metaphors and serves as a driving force to master English.

As is evident, all of these studies look at learner conceptualizations regarding language learning and their perceptions of their language teachers. Many of the studies examined written data collected through prompts provided by the researchers that the participants completed. Only one of the studies examined verbal interview data, but it focused on learners' conceptualizations of learning English. No studies were found in the literature that explored the conceptualizations and language ideologies (using metaphor analysis or critical metaphor analysis) of multilingual language learners about the interplay of the other languages in their multilingual repertoire in the process of acquiring English as an additional language. The following section elaborates on the theoretical framework of this study, which draws from the theory of language ideologies (Silverstein, 1979; Irvine, 1989; Woolard \& Schiefflin, 1994; Wortham, 2008; Rosa \& Burdick, 2017), translanguaging (Garcia \& Wei, 2014; Otheguy, Garcia \& Reid, 2015), cognitive linguistics, and critical metaphor analysis (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980; Fauconnier \& Turner, 2002; Charteris-Black; 2004).

## Theoretical Framework

In this section I introduce and expand upon the field of language ideologies (including raciolinguistics) (Silverstein, 1979; Irvine, 1989; Woolard \& Schiefflin, 1994; Wortham, 2008; Rosa \& Burdick, 2017), theories of translanguaging (Garcia \& Wei, 2014, Otheguy, Garcia \& Reid, 2015; 2018) and how they relate to the aims of this study. Language ideologies are the beliefs and attitudes that shape speakers' relationships to their own and others' languages, mediating between the social practice of language and
the socioeconomic and political structures within which it occurs. Language ideologies occur as mental constructions and in verbalizations. But, more importantly, they are also embodied in practices and dispositions and in material phenomenon such as visual representations. One of the key features of modern governance is raciolinguistics or the co-naturalization of language and race, in a way that languages are perceived as racially embodied, and race is perceived as linguistically intelligible (Rosa, 2019).

Translanguaging theory stems from the notion that all speakers have an integrated linguistic repertoire, from where they draw various linguistic resources to facilitate communication depending on the context that they are situated in. Hence, because this study looks at the influence of other languages in the learning of English, translanguaging theory will be essential in understanding the natural language practices of multilinguals and the value that translanguaging pedagogies can have in contexts such as those in my study. In addition, I explain the theoretical moorings of critical metaphor/metonymy analysis (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980; Fauconnier \& Turner, 1999) which is rooted in the field of cognitive linguistics. This theoretical perspective will help us to understand how the way learners talk about their learning can tell us about language ideologies and the way learners view language as part of their general life, and learning processes. In addition, this section can help explain what metaphor/metonymy is, and why analyzing them can be useful in learning things that participants couldn't just tell us from interviews (partly because they are unconscious of their perceptions).

## Language Ideologies

What is the relationship between linguistic structures and social structures? How does language change take place? How is language linked to forms of societal power?

What is the status of language compared to other forms of communication? Over the past few decades, these are a few of many questions that have been richly renewed through the development of the concept of language ideologies (Rosa \& Burdick, 2017). Typically, in non-ideological approaches to the study of language, linguistic forms are objective phenomena, and the goal of language analysis is to understand their fundamental structure. On the contrary, language ideology approaches explore the meaningfulness of linguistic signs in relation to other signs in historical, politicaleconomic, and socio-cultural contexts. Such an approach seeks to understand the perspectives from which a given sign takes on a particular value. (Rosa \& Burdick, 2017). Thus, there is no 'purely objective' perspective on language. Any view on language is ideological because it exists within a context and reflects a certain perspective.

Research on language ideologies finds its roots in the fields of anthropology and sociology (Razfar \& Rumenapp, 2012; Rosa \& Burdick, 2017). Michael Silverstein’s (1985) work cast language ideologies into the field of linguistic anthropology as a powerful lens for understanding underlying beliefs about language, through the formulation of the concept of the 'total linguistic fact', consisting of the dialectic relationship between linguistic structures as practiced in social contexts whose meanings are mediated by culturally situated perspectives (Razfar \& Rumenapp, 2012; Rosa \& Burdick, 2017). Linguistic anthropologists have synthesized insights from various approaches such as structuralism, pragmatism, interactional sociolinguistics, and the ethnography of communication to conceptualize language ideologies are powerful, multiscalar phenomena that link social and linguistic structure (Kroskrity, 2004). Silverstein
(1979) defined language ideologies as a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p.p. 193). Irvine (1989) formulated language ideologies as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests (p.p. 225). Wortham (2008) combines these two approaches through his conceptualization of language ideologies as "models that link types of linguistic forms with the types of people who stereotypically use them" (p.p. 43).

Thus, language is not just a social practice but is also infused with and caught up in the political economic, national, (post)colonial, and political circumstances that shape its use and its role as an object of study, political manipulation, and cultural value. (Cavanaugh, 2020). Language ideologies are the beliefs and attitudes that shape speakers' relationships to their own and others' languages, mediating between the social practice of language and the socioeconomic and political structures within which it occurs. All kinds of societies have language ideologies. "In childrearing, everyday interaction, and interpersonal disputes as much as in ritual and political debates, small-scale traditional societies characterized by apparent cultural and linguistic homogeneity are as affected by language ideologies as are multilingual, multiethnic, late capitalist societies. Ideological representations of language(s) are enacted by ordinary community members as well as official institutions and elites, including academic scholars" (Woolard 2021, p.p. 1).

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Language ideologies occur as mental constructions and in verbalizations. But, more importantly, they are also embodied in practices and dispositions and in material phenomenon such as visual representations. They are inherent in what is known as the 'habitus' (Pierre Bourdieu) or the implicit knowledge and ingrained sensibilities that are inscribed in the body through repeated social experience (Woolard, 2021). So, for example, ideology is at play when a listener shudders upon hearing a vowel pronunciation that is grating or when they see an elderly person trying to use youth slang. Ideologies of language and morally and politically loaded because implicitly or explicitly they represent how language is as also how it ought to be. In this manner, language ideologies can turn some participants' practices into symbolic capital that brings social and economic rewards and underpins social domination by securing what Bourdieu calls the misrecognition of the fundamental arbitrariness of its value (Woolard, 2021). Language ideologies are not only about language, but they also forge links between language and other social phenomena such as ethnic, gender, racial, national, local, agegraded, subcultural, and caste identities through conceptions of personhood, proper human comportment, intelligence, aesthetics, and morality, to notions such as truth, universality, authenticity (Woolard and Schiefflin, 1994). In fact, sometimes, language ideologies appear not to be about languages at all, or they are so intertwined with other
factors that it is not sufficient to just say that they are about language alone. For e.g., use of simple or complex, logical or illogical, rough, authentic, refined or precise linguistic forms is associated with the character of specific speakers or communities. One of the tasks of language ideology research is to unpack the underlying linguistic assumptions in such social judgments to reveal how conclusions about the worth of people may in fact be conclusions about the way they use language (Woolard, 2021). Kroskrity (2000) has described language ideologies as a "cluster concept" consisting of four overlapping dimensions (1) language ideologies serve the interests of certain groups; (2) language ideologies are always multiple; (3) group members may display varying degrees of awareness of language ideologies; and (4) language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk.

Language ideology scholarship has sought to examine the ways in which our common-sense notions about language are always situated, biased, and the result of historical and contemporary processes. For example, some languages are believed to be more or less 'logical' or 'complex' or 'elegant' than others. Similarly, speakers of those languages seem to embody those characteristics merely through their speech. These conceptions of languages and people often undergird decisions about which languages need to be protected and promoted. Political and economic interests also aid the formation of these perceptions and thereby, certain groups of people benefit while others are at a disadvantage (Rosa \& Burdick, 2017). National languages are often promoted and taught with the objective of attaining national unity, progress and modernity. In fact, many scholars have underlined the importance of a national language as a central organizing factor for forming a sense of national identity (Anderson, 1991; Blommaert
and Verchueren, 1998; Gellner, 1983). However, such projects assume and imply that the chosen national language is superior compared to others and erase multilingual realities in the construction of the nation (Silverstein, 1996). Language does not simply reflect preexisting identities, it actively participates in the construction, reproduction, and transformation of identity (Rosa \& Burdick, 2017).

Raciolinguistics Ideologies. There has been a lot of work in the realm of language and race, which has expanded on the anthropological tradition of seeking to denaturalize racial categories from linguistic, as well as broader cultural perspectives (Rosa \& Burdick, 2017). The relationship between race, language, and culture has long been a topic of interest in linguistic anthropology (for e.g., Boas, 1940) and sociolinguistics (Smitherman, 1977; 2000). In the introduction to Race, Language, and Culture, Boas wrote, "I believe the present state of our knowledge justifies us in saying that, while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small. There is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more intelligent, endowed with great will power, or emotionally more stable than another that the difference would materially influence its culture." (1940, 13-14).

One of the central concerns in the study of language ideologies is to understand the ways in which racialized identities are assumed to sound a certain way. In her ethnography of a high school in California, Bucholtz (2011) discovered that linguistic and other styles allow high schoolers to embody racialized identities in various ways. Alim and Smitherman (2012) present an account of Barack Obama's controlled and strategic style-shifting, and perhaps more importantly, mainstream media's reactions to Obama's language use. More specifically, they argue that Obama's skillful style-shifting
between African American and mainstream varieties of English is central to his political success. On the other hand, Hill's (1998) analysis of mock Spanish shows how White Americans are able to cultivate social cache through their public use of Spanish, while Latinx face profound stigmatization for their public use of the Spanish language. Strongly held racial ideologies extend into perceptions of language. They suggest that there is great need to language race or to examine the politics of race through the lens of language (Alim \& Smitherman, 2012). In his work Looking like a language, sounding like a race: Racio linguistic ideologies and the learning of Latinidad, Rosa (2019) argues that the co-naturalization of language and race is a key feature of modern governance, in a way that languages are perceived as racially embodied, and race is perceived as linguistically intelligible. He further notes that race and language are not objectively observable or embodied phenomena, but rather, historically, and institutionally constituted subject formations that are rooted in the rearticulation of colonial distinctions between normative Europeanness and Othered non-Europeanness. Thus, "perceptions of bodies and communicative practices are colonially conditioned constructions of reality rather than the unmediated reflections of preexisting differences or similarities" (Rosa, 2019, p.p. 3). Thus, rather than starting from the vantage point of always already constituted racial categories (e.g., Black, Asian, Native American, White) and linguistic varieties (e.g. Standard English, African American English, Spanglish), a raciolinguistic approach considers the joint production of these categories and varieties across institutional and international scales. This approach involves accounting for the modes of perception through which bodies are parsed in relation to racial categories and communicative forms are construed in relation to named language varieties. Therefore,
instead of attempting to document the range of linguistic practices that are distinctive of a given racial group, a raciolinguistic enregisterment approach involves asking how and why particular linguistic forms are constructed as emblematic of racial categories and vice versa. This creates the peculiar phenomenon of people being recognized as producing linguistic forms that are unperceivable from some perspectives, as well as people not being recognized as producing forms that are readily perceivable from other perspectives. For e.g., Latinxs are often associated with the Spanish language even when they are producing what might be considered 'unaccented' English from many perspectives or when they identify as monolingual English users (Rosa, 2019).

Theoretical tools to analyze language ideologies. The attributions and recognitions of identity mentioned above are contingent on semiotic processes of differentiation through which particular social identities become recognizable. According to Kroskrity (2000), "since language ideologies are both pervasive and pervasively naturalized, they are often difficult to see without the aide of sensitizing concepts designed to denaturalize language and explore its connections to the politicalconomic worlds of speakers" (p.30). He argues that conceptual tools like indexicality, iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure help "to expose the often incompletely articulated modesl of community members and scholars and are particularly helpful in illuminating links between language and social experience." (p.30).

Indexicality. A key concept in the semiotic analysis of linguistic ideology is social indexicality. An index is a sign whose meaning derives from existential association with its object; it points to something in the context in which it occurs (Woolard, 2021). Language users everywhere notice and associate linguistic forms with speakers or
contexts in which they have occurred. They take the linguistic form as indexical, whether of regional or class origin, deference to an addressee, sexual orientation, the seriousness of an occasion, a state of mind, a personality trait, etc. Indexicality involves the establishment of a connection between a linguistic form and its social significance through the recognition of their repeated conjunction; although there is no inevitable tie between form and meaning, it eventually comes to be seen as inevitable and hence ideological (Bucholtz, 2004).

Although indexicality has been foundational to the theorization of language ideology, it is not the only significant semiotic process in this field. Judith Irvine and Susan Gal contributed three important semiotic concepts to the study of language ideology that move beyond indexicality. They refer to these as iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal, 2000).

Iconization/Rhematization. An icon is a sign whose meaning is based on resemblance to its object. In iconization, the ideological tie between form and social meaning is even stronger than in indexicality; in fact, the characteristics of a language are seen as a reflection of the essential characteristics of its users (Bucholtz, 2004).

Therefore, participants treat linguistic forms as if they were depictions of the character of speakers associated with them. Speakers are taken to be the way that they supposedly sound. For example, noble, lazy, rational, simple or elegant. In turn, that sound comes to be heard as itself epitomizing that quality. For example, in American English, dropping ' $g$ 's as in 'huntin' an' fishin'" is ofen characterized as a lazy or relaxed way of speaking. Through iconization, the phonetic segment is taken as evidence that the speakers who use this feature are themselves lazy or selecting more positive meanings from the indexical
field, relaxed and down to earth (Woolard, 2021). Nineteenth-century European linguistics classified the Sereer language in Senegal as the language of primitive simplicity to match their view of Sereer speakers as distinctively simple and childlike people in comparison to Fula and Wolof speakers (Irvine \& Gal, 2000).

Erasure. When we consider iconization, iconic resemblances are picked out of a sea of possible qualities or likenesses shared and not shared between two entities. This means that when some qualities are noticed, many others are ignored (Woolard, 2021). Therefore, iconization automatically implies erasure. Erasure involves reduction. Sociolinguistic phenomena that clash with, fail to conform, or to otherwise threaten a given language ideology may be systematically ignored or denied, stricken from the ideological record (Bucholtz, 2004). Erasure overlooks, or even eliminates linguistic forms, qualities, and speakers that do not fit the iconic image. In the example of the Sereer language above, sustaining the image of the simplicity of the Sereer language required those European linguists to pay selective attention, regularize grammatical structures and interpret complexity and variations as deriving from interference from other language rather than from Sereer's own original, pure, and simple form (Woolard, 2021). African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is popularly mediatized to racially diverse audiences as being associated with young males and 'street' culture. It is iconically read as tough and hyper-masculine. However, in order to sustain such an image, several speakers and contexts of AAVE such as women, elderly children, churchgoing people, a president of the U.S. must be rendered invisible through ideological erasure (Alim \& Smitherman, 2012 as cited in Woolard, 2021).

Fractal Recursivity. Iconization always trades, at least implicitly, in contrasts to generate meaning: between masculine and feminine, between g's dropped and pronounced, between the simple folk and the refined, between simple and complex grammatical structure etc (Woolard, 2021). Fractal recursivity is the process through which such contrastive sets, once established, become productive resources, projectable on to multiple social domains and higher and lower scales. So, in the Senegalese example, the analogic linguistic and social hierarchy of 'simple' Sereer and complex, delicate Fula was itself a recursive reproduction of the contrast drawn between African and European language and people.

Rosa and Burdick (2017) demonstrate these three semiotic processes using the distinction between "Northern" and "Southern" US language and culture as an example of differentiation. The North/South distinction exemplifies the iconization/ rhematization in the way that language is stereotypically slower in the South than in the North, and the South is stereotypically associate with a slower pace of life than the North. Thus, slowness becomes an emblem that links language and social life through iconization. The North/South distinction demonstrates fractal recursivity by distinguishing between linguistic and cultural practices that are more and less Southern and Northern. Finally, the North/ South distinction is organized by the erasure of the vast linguistic and cultural heterogeneity within the North and South, respectively. In this manner, these semiotic processes powerfully structure ideologies of language and identity.

Chronotope. Forms are speaking are enregistered to types of speakers and spaces. It is important to know that these spaces and speakers are situated in varying time frames as well. The domains of languages or registers are, thus, space-times or chronotopes
(Bakhtin, as cited in Woolard, 2021). For example, Bakhtin refers to an 'epic time' in which the language is placed on a stronger and more beautiful plane that is separated from the everyday world of its users. The chronotopic framing of Classical Arabic as a sacred language is an example of Bakhtin's epic time. The chronotope that frames language use is crucial because it constrains the kind of character that can be expressed, and the degree and kind of agency granted to a social actor (Woolard, 2021). Rural folk, for example, are often cast not just as spatially peripheral, but also unmodern and traditional, living in the past. This chronotopic frame sets constraints on the kind of talk that urbanites and cosmopolites can and will hear from rural folk (Woolard, 2021). Linguistic chronotopes are not only other-directed. Speakers cast their own lives into different chronotopes that allow them different degrees of legitimate protagonism in making use of different linguistic varieties or in taking up stances (Woolard, 2016).

Qualia. In more recent times, a (Charles) Piercian version of the philosophical concept of 'qualia' has been used to further analyze the felt, phenomenological qualities attributed to iconized linguistic forms (Woolard, 2021). Qualia are the experiential instantiations of abstract qualities such as softness, redness, fullness, lightness. These qualities are construed within an ideological system or indexical field, e.g., one that assigns different cultural value to warm vs. cool, light vs. dark, simple vs. elaborate. These qualia are parlayed in recursive iconizations.

The following section elaborates on the conceptualization of language in this study and then describes the theoretical framework of translanguaging that this study uses.

## Conceptualizing Language and Translanguaging

## Language and Languaging

To most people, language is what we speak, hear, read, or write in everyday life and we speak, hear, read and write in what are considered different languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Spanish and Urdu (Garcia \& Wei, 2014). People generally associate languages with nation states: Japanese with Japan, French with France, and Urdu with Pakistan (MacSwan, 2017). Rama Kant Agnihotri (2014) observes that there has historically been a desperate need for the concept of 'a language' or 'a pure standard language' because those in power need it for staying in power or getting more power (votes, land, property, money). Similarly, a literary writer needs to profess a standard language, irrespective of the fact that they may have used several 'languages' in the work. Educators need it because they must construct 'a language curriculum', teachers need it because jobs are advertised for 'a language'. Most importantly, linguists need it because they need to describe 'a language' (Agnihotri, 2014).

However, in the discipline of linguistics, there are many tensions and controversies about how language should be conceptualized. Since the times of Panini in about the fourth century BC, grammarians have codified and glorified the classical or modern 'standard’ languages through grammars, dictionaries, pronunciation, and spelling aids and a whole range of reference materials (Agnihotri, 2014). This reification of language then continued in the structural tradition of Sapir (1921), Bloomfield (1933), Saussure (1916) and Chomsky (1957, 1965, 1968 and elsewhere) (as cited in Agnihotri, 2014). However, Makoni and Pennycook (2005; 2007) have debunked this structuralized or reified concept of a language, arguing that the idea of a language is a European invention,
a product of colonialism and of a Herderian $19^{\text {th }}$-century nationalist romanticist ideology that insisted that language and identity were intrinsically linked. Some take the view that while conventionally we have come to see languages as different entities each with their own linguistic and pragmatic features, in contemporary societies we can see the porous and leaky nature of language (Jørgensen et al., 2011; Jørgensen \& Møller, 2014).

In their paper titled Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics, Otheguy et al (2005) use the metaphor or example of a culinary fable to argue that a named language, like a named national cuisine, is purely defined by the social, political or ethnic affiliation of its speakers. Michael Silverstein (2003) describes this as glottonyms (languages as named entities) emerging through processes of ethnolinguistic recognition. Forms and patterns become recognized, classified as a distinct entity, named, and associated with a set of users typified as a nation or an ethnic group (Urciuoli, 2019). Therefore, a named language cannot be defined linguistically or, in other words, in grammatical (lexical or structural terms). Since it cannot be defined linguistically, it is not, strictly speaking, a linguistic object (Otheguy et al., 2015). According to Garcia, Flores, Seltzer, Wei, Otheguy and Rosa (2021), "The socially constructed nature of named languages can be illustrated by the fact that, to take just two simple points, linguist cannot, through sole reliance on lexical and structural tools, tell you how many languages there are in the world nor determine what counts as two languages as opposed to to varieties of the same language." Thus, there is a clear distinction between named languages or languages as the names of enumerable things that are socially or socio-politically constructed, maintained, and regulated (viz. Arabic, Basque, Spanish, English etc.) and languages as entities without
names, as sets of lexical and structural features that make up an individual's repertoire that are deployed to enable communication (Otheguy et al., 2015). Languages as entities without names that form an individual's repertoire are seen in the psychological or mental sense. This sense encompasses the billions of individual linguistic competences of speakers the world over, irrespective of whether they are traditionally considered monolingual, bilingual or multilingual.

With the rise of post-structuralism in the post-modern era, language has begun to be conceptualized as a series of social practices and actions by speakers that are embedded in a web of social and cognitive relations (Garcia \& Wei, 2014). Languages are seen by post-structuralists as 'a product of the deeply social and cultural activities in which people engage' (Pennycook, 2010, p.p.1, as cited in Garcia \& Wei, 2014) with meanings created through ideological systems situated within historical moments (Foucault, 1972). Post-structuralist psycholinguists have also referred to languaging as 'a process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought and to communicate about using language' (Li Wei, 2011, p.p. 1224). More recently, Li Wei (2018) has reconceptualized language as "a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource for sense- and meaning-making" (p. 22).

Idiolect and familylect. This gives rise to the concept of 'idiolect'. An idiolect is a person's own unique, personal language, the individual's mental grammar that emerges in interaction with other speakers and enables the person's use of language (Otheguy et al., 2015). Bloch (1948) used the term idiolect to denote "the totality of the possible utterances of one speaker at a time" (p. 7) Noam Chomsky (1986) concept of the Ilanguage or individual language is partlysimilar to the idiolect in that it denotes an
individual's language. However, for Otheguy et al. (2005), the idiolect is a mental grammar that is acquired primarily through and deployed mostly in social and personal internation, whereas Chomsky's I-language is primarily an instinct and is mostly deployed to generate introspective intuitions of grammar. An idiolect, as understood from the internal perspective of the individual, is a language seen separately from the external perspective of the society that categorizes and classifies named national languages. Thus, as Otheguy et al. (2005) put it, "an idiolect, then, is the system that underlies what a person actually speaks, and it consists of ordered and categorized lexical and grammatical features" (p. 289).

Søndergaard (1991) coined the term 'familylect' which broadly refers to any family's particular ways of speaking, distinguishing its members from other speakers. Gordon (2009), who systematically studied how the familylect functions in the everyday lives of monolingual families, understands the concept of familylect as 'a kind of extreme intertextuality, as repeated, ritualized ways of speaking that recreate family frames' ( p . 22). In a multilingual family, the multilingual familylect can be characterized by specific shared linguistic features, such as lexical features or pronunciation, by codeswitching practices or language choice patterns (van Mensel, 2018). Another way of looking at these shared language practices is through the notion of linguistic repertoires (van Mensel, 2018).

It is safe to say therefore, that idiolects (and by expansion) familylects are personal and unique and that no two idiolects are identical, even the idiolects of identical twins. Nonetheless, there are large areas of overlap among the idiolects of people who communicate with each other. Thus, languages are groupings of idiolects of people with
shared social, political or ethnic identities that, once so grouped, are described using linguistic terms that tend to give the mistaken impression that the grouping was based on linguistic grounds in the first place (Otheguy et al., 2005).

Idiolects, Bi/Multilingualism, and Translanguaging. In colloquial usage, the terms 'bilingualism' and 'multilingualism' refer to a plurality of autonomous languages, whether two for bilinguals or many for multilingual, and do not suggest the concept of 'language' as presented in the section above. Traditionally, bilingualism and multilingualism have been thought of as 'additive', i.e., the idea that speakers add up whole, autonomous languages or even partial structural bits of the languages (Canagarajah, 2012; Garcia \& Wei, 2014). The term 'bilingual' has been understood as a speaker knowing and using two autonomous, named languages and 'multilingual' is often used to mean knowing and using more than two languages (Garcia \& Wei, 2014).

However, the perspective and understanding changes when we use the lens of idiolects. When we describe the language practices of a speakers from the internal perspective or in terms of their idiolects, the linguistic skills of the speaker include making decisions as to which words can be usefully or effectively used in which settings. For example, the set of words a speaker uses with their family members are likely to be very different from those they may use in a professional setting. In other scenarios, individual speakers may also decide to use certain words in Mumbai, India, that they may not be able to use in New York, U.S.A. The relevance of social and locational constraints on idiolectical feature deployment is a characteristic of people whom we traditionally recognize as monolingual. So, in this sense, the idiolects of monolinguals or bi/multilinguals are not qualitatively different. They are, however, quantitatively
different. (Otheguy et al., 2015). In their own words, "The difference is that the idiolects of bilinguals (and multilinguals) contain more linguistic features and a more complex socio-cultural marking of which features to use when and where" (Otheguy et al., 2015). Simply put, monolinguals and bi/multilinguals both have mental grammars that guide sociolinguistic interaction and whose items are deployed selectively depending on the interlocutor and context.

From the discussion above, it follows that from the standpoint of lexicon and structure, the only that that anyone actually speaks is their own idiolect. A named language is thus a collection of the only partially overlapping idiolects of people who share a common cultural identity (and who manage to communicate with greater or lesser success). Given that the idiolects that comprise a named language are all ultimately different, it also follows that there is no such thing as a named language (Otheguy et al., 2015). Therefore, the idiolect, which is similar (if not the same) in monolinguals and bi/multilinguals, is the cornerstone sustaining the concept of translanguaging. Essentially, each one of us has a personal linguistic repertoire. When we use terms like mono/bi/multilingual, we start to count the languages, which are glottonyms, and not real entities. The following section surveys the literature on the theory of translanguaging that forms a part of the theoretical framework for this dissertation study.

## Translanguaging

Translanguaging is a term that has gained currency in recent years to refer to different realities in educational and non-educational contexts around the world (Cummins, 2021; Garcia \& Lin, 2014; Liu and Fang, 2020; Makalela, 2019; Zavala, 2019). The term 'translanguaging' comes from the Welsh 'trawsieithu' and was coined
by Cen Williams (1994, 1996). Since it was first coined, the term 'translanguaging' has been increasingly adopted by scholars to describe the linguistic practices of speakers labeled as bilingual or multilingual, and to describe the many ways that those practices are leveraged for a variety of purposes, particularly in education (Otheguy, Garcia, \& Reid, 2015). In its original use, it referred to a pedagogical practice where students are asked to alternate languages for the purposes of receptive or productive use. For example, students may be asked to read in English and write in Welsh, or vice versa (Baker, 2011). Baker (2011), the first to translate this Welsh term as 'translanguaging', notes that 'translanguaging is the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages' (p.288). The new term aimed to overturn the conceptualization of the two languages of bilinguals (or the more-than-two languages of multilinguals) as clearly distinct systems normally deployed separately, but occasionally deployed in close, alternating succession under a practice known as 'code-switching'.

In contrast to this position, the crosslinguistic translanguaging theory (CTT) claims that bilinguals actually do speak languages, involving multiple registers and porous boundaries, and effective teaching promotes conceptual and linguistic transfer across languages. The term 'crosslinguistic' references the fact that although 'languages' can be viewed as conceptually distinct experiential entities, they do intersect and interact in dynamic ways in the cognitive and linguistic functioning of the individual. (Cummins, 2021).

Otheguy et al (2015, p. 281) define translanguaging as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially
and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages". In other words, translanguaging refers to using one's idiolect (linguistic repertoire) without regard for socially and politically defined labels or boundaries.

Garcia and Wei (2014) point out that translanguaging differs from code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot easily be assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speakers' complete semiotic repertoire. Translanguaging originates from the speaker, not the language or the code, and focuses on empirically observable practices. It adopts the perspective of the individual, the view from inside the speaker (which is the core of this dissertation research) (Otheguy, Garcia \& Reid, 2015).

In the fields of neurolinguistics and psycholinguistics, language differentiation of bilingual and multilingual speakers has become a core research issue for laboratory investigations. Recent studies in these fields have shown that even when one language is being used, the other language remains active and can be easily accessed (Dijkstra, Van Jaarsveld and Ten Brinke, 1998;, Hoshino and Thierry, 2011; Thierry et al., 2009; Wu and Thierry, 2010) (as cited in Garcia \& Wei, 2014). Research on cognition and multilingual functioning has also supported the view that 'languages' of bilingual speakers interact collaboratively in listening or speaking (De Groot, 2011 as cited in Garcia \& Wei, 2014), thereby adding further credibility to the theory of translanguaging.

Otheguy, Garcia \& Reid (2015) in their theory and understanding of the concept of translanguaging, do not reject or abandon the political, and sociolinguistic distinction between monolinguals and bi/multilinguals. In some settings, these are of real and
material consequences in the lives of many people. Speaking a named language is a relation of partial overlap between a person's idiolect and the idiolect of others. Translanguaging adopts the internal, individual perspective. The named language adopts the view from outside the speaker, a perspective from which the speaker has to fit as a member of a set group.

Within translanguaging theory, there are two branches. Garcia and Lin (2017) refer to the distinction between the two branches as 'strong' and 'weak' branches of translanguaging. "On the one hand, there is the strong version of translanguaging, a theory that poses that bilingual people do not speak languages but rather, use their repertoire of linguistic features selectively. On the other hand, there is a weak version of translanguaging, the one that supports national and state language boundaries and yet calls for softening these boundaries" (Garcia \& Lin, 2017, p.p. 126). Garcia \& Lin (2017) refer to Jim Cummins $(2007,2017)$ in relation to crosslingustic interdependence and the importance of teaching for transfer across languages as representative of the 'weak' version of translanguaging theory. Rather than using the semantically loaded terms 'strong' and 'weak', Cummins (2021) uses the terms Unitary Translanguaging Theory (UTT) and Crosslinguistic Translanguaging Theory (CTT) to highlight distinguishing features of the alternative theoretical orientations identified by Garcia \& Lin. The term 'unitary' characterizes one of the central features of Garcia and colleagues' translanguaging theory: "Rather than possessing two or multiple autonomous language systems, speakers viewed as bi/multilingual select and deploy particular features to make meaning and to negotiate particular communicative contexts from a unitary linguistic repertoire" (Garcia, 2017, p.p. 163). Otheguy et al (2019) also espouse a similar unitary
view and argue that bi/multilingualism, despite their sociocultural reality, occupy a single, undifferentiated cognitive terrain that has no correspondence in dual or multiple linguistic system.

Both the theoretical perspectives view languages as socially constructed, they reject rigid instructional separation of languages, and they condemn the frequent devaluation of the linguistic practices that many minoritized students bring to school. Both the orientations also endorse dynamic conceptions of multilingual functioning. Finally, both UTT and CTT view translanguaging pedagogy that connects with students' lives and draws on their entire linguistic repertoire as a central component in the struggle for social justice and equity in education (Cummins, 2021). Garcia et al (2021) regard the CTT's view of holding on to the classificatory distinction between named languages as unfortunate because it reproduces 'abyssal thinking' - "hegemonic thinking that creates a line establishing that which is considered 'civil society', and declares as nonexistent those colonized knowledges and lifeways positioned on the other side of the line, thus relegating them to an existential abyss" (Garcia et al, 2021, p.p. 203-204). Their critique of abyssal thinking aims to unsettle European colonialism's division of populations into superior "civilized" races and inferior "uncivilized" ones. It also aims to challenge the insidious legacies of these colonial logics in the contemporary world. They are critical of MacSwan's (2017) call for multilingual translanguaging and Cummin's (2017) CTT. According to them, "these approaches reify the presumption of discrete languages that arose from colonialism and nation-building efforts, as well as give credence to the imaginary line imposed by colonial logics, enabling the continued identification of racialized bilinguals' language practices as fundamentally deficient when compared to
those of dominant monolingual users" (Garcia et al, 2021, p.p. 215). For Garcia et al (2021), the unitary linguistic repertoire of bi/multilinguals, or in other words, their translanguaging serves as a point of entry for identifying the inherent heterogeneity in all language practices. They begin from the perspective that bi/multilingualism is the norm and thus, the translingual orientation is able to show that all language users leverage their repertoire in ways that are not compartmentalized into different grammars and modes. This framing serves as a strategy for challenging abyssal thinking and raciolinguistic ideologies and thus places this perspective in a broader social justice frame that not only gives racialized bi/multilinguals the same opportunities to communicate and learn as their white monolingual pers, but also centers racialized bi/multilingual learners' repertoires and lifeways rather than attempting to remediate them.

The intensification of translanguaging theory over the past decade has challenged and destabilized some of the settled ideas and propositions related to the sanctity of named languages as separate and distinct linguistic systems, the folk value of monolingual language purity, the ontological validity underlying the concept of codeswitching, and the very basis of what counts as language competence itself (Leung \& Valdes, 2019).

This dissertation study adopts translanguaging theory (of an integrated or unitary linguistic repertoire) to explore how (emergent) multilingual (in the sociolinguistic, political sense of named languages) learners conceptualize the use of their entire linguistic repertoire as they acquire English as an additional language in the Intensive English Program. Since, the named language being acquired is English, which is a global lingua franca in a multilingual world (refer to the first section in this chapter), it is
important to consider how the translanguaging perspective (which uses the approach of the 'entire linguistic repertoire') and the English as a multilingual franca perspective (Jenkins, 2015; Cenoz, 2017, Ishikawa, 2017) combine together.

Translanguaging and English as a Lingua Franca. In recent scholarship there is acknowledgement that the role of English as a global contact language or lingua franca embraces multilingual influence as the primary feature (Jenkins, 2015). She, therefore, proposes the notion of 'Multilingual ELF users' or 'users of English as a multilingual franca'. In her own words, "English as a Multilingual Franca refers to multilingual communicative settings in which English is known to everyone present and is therefore always potentially 'in the mix', regardless of whether or not, and how much, it is actually used. Aneja (2016) reconceptualizes the native-nonnative dichotomy through a poststructuralist lens by coining a new term (non)native speakering. According to her, nativeness and non-nativeness are mutually constitutive subjectivities that are produced through a dynamic, discursive process that she refers to as (non) native speakering. Nonnative and native speakered subjectivities, which she refers to as '(non) native spekered subjectivities, are abstract, idealized notions of native and non native speakers that are historically grounded as well as constructed over time through discursive practices of individuals and institutions. So, (non) native speakering can be understood as a process of subject formation and identity negotiation that is simultaneously historical and emergent producing "effects of truth... within discourses, which in themselves, are neither true nor false" (Foucault, 1980, p. 118, as cited in Aneja, 2016).

It follows from this that instead of talking about ELF users, or more specifically NNES (non-native English speaking) or NES (native' English speaking) ELF users, we
can talk about 'ELF-using multilinguals' and 'ELF -using monolinguals' or 'Multilingual ELF users' and 'Monolingual ELF users' (Jenkins, 2015, p. 74). Jenkins (2015) and Seidlhofer (2017) both highlight the need for a reorientation in ELF studies to point them in a more multilingual direction. Jenkins (2015) explains that translanguaging should be regarded as normal language behavior and emphasizes the need to develop the relationship between English and other languages. Seidlhofer (2017) highlights the importance of considering English as an additional communicative resource in the multilingual speaker's repertoire and of building on the learner's own language experience. As the above discussion shows, new approaches in multilingualism highlight a holistic vision that takes into account the multilingual speaker's linguistic resources and translanguaging. The following section draws from the field of cognitive linguistics in order to understand how the way people talk about language can reveal much about how they view language and multilingualism as a daily way of life but also as part of their learning of English.

## Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Metonymy/Metaphor Analysis

The theoretical lens of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is a powerful approach to the study of language, conceptual systems, human cognition, and general meaning construction thus providing a "window into the mind" of the learner as they engage in the social practice of learning (Fauconnier, 1999, p. 96). Incorporating cognitive linguistics into analyses of interview data is a relatively new approach that is particularly useful in combination with other approaches to qualitative analysis, allowing for a deepened understanding of how the participant conceives of the topic at hand (Catalano \& Creswell, 2013). Like other approaches to qualitative analysis, the use of cognitive
linguistics depends on whether the analyst's interest lies in the content, structure, performance, or context of the narrative study (Reissman, 2008). Since this study seeks to better understand how multilingual learners construct and conceptualize their learning of English as an additional language, cognitive linguistics, and more specifically, Conceptual Metaphor Theory is particularly useful.

## Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a theory within the broader field of cognitive linguistics. Metaphor is generally understood as a comparative figure of speech (Casabeer, 2015) or as a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980). Interest in metaphor goes back to the times of Aristotle, who defined metaphor as 'giving the thing a name that belongs to something else' (Aristotle, 1952). He recognized that metaphor is ubiquitous is everyday conversation and writing and that people actually learn and understand better through metaphors. Metaphor allows us to offer 'infinite possibilities of enriching and extending meaning and is as much a feature of interpersonal interactions as it is of scientific discourse' (Denroche, 2014, p. 14). Metaphor connects two things that are not normally related (Charteris-Black, 2014, p.160) and thereby perform many functions (Catalano, 2016) such as allowing us to talk about personal matters safely and tackle delicate matters without losing face or hurting feelings (Denroche, 2015). It is used to talk about abstract ideas as well as aspects of ordinary experience (Gibbs, 1999).

Within the field of cognitive linguistics, metaphor is understood as a construal operation (the operation that we use to make sense of our experiences) (Catalano, 2016) and usually involves 'understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another'
(Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980, p. 5). According to Lakoff \& Johnson (1980), human thought processes are largely metaphorical and in fact, the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined, although we are not usually conscious of this In their words, "Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system" (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980, p.6). Therefore, in this study, like in the work of Lakoff \& Johnson (1980), the term 'metaphor' is used to speak about metaphorical concept or the mental connection between two things in the brain, and not the actual words used in the discourse. The linguistic expression of the metaphor facilitates the identification of conceptual metaphors. This can be further explained using the ‘ARGUMENT IS WAR' example from Lakoff \& Johnson (1980). People's actual discourse would include sentences such as 'Your claims are indefensible', 'He attacked every weak point in my argument', or 'I demolished his argument'. The terms 'indefensible' 'attack every weak(ness)' and 'demolish' are metaphorical linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor 'ARGUMENT IS WAR' because they provide the evidence of the concept that compares argument to war. This may not be the only way to conceptualize argument and it is possible that in some other languages, argument may be conceptualized as an art form, which would leave us with a completely different way of thinking that perceives argument as a skill to practice and refine without winners or losers.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory provides an excellent way to explain how our conceptual system is structured by metaphor. According to Catalano (2016), "it proposes that metaphors are embodied, and thus come largely from our own bodily experiences; as a result, we are largely unconscious of their use" (p.18). Metaphors contain a TARGET
domain (the issue that is being discussed which you want to understand better), which is understood through the mapping of elements or characteristics of a SOURCE domain (what the target domain is compared to) onto the TARGET domain (Catalano, 2016). The following example demonstrates this process through the use of a common metaphor example such as 'LIFE IS A JOURNEY'. In this metaphor, the concept of LIFE (here, the TARGET domain) is comprehended in terms of a JOURNEY (the SOURCE domain). This connection is systematic, and involves the mapping of correspondences between the two domains such as in the following example (taken from Kövesces, 2006, p.116).

## JOURNEY $\rightarrow$ LIFE

Traveler $\rightarrow$ a person leading a life
Journey, motion (toward a destination) $\rightarrow$ leading a life (with a purpose)

Destination $\rightarrow$ purpose of life

Obstacles $\rightarrow$ difficulties in life

Distance covered $\rightarrow$ progress made

Path/ way of the journey $\rightarrow$ manner or way of living

Choices about the path $\rightarrow$ choices in life

As can be seen in the example above, certain elements of the domain JOURNEY are mapped on to elements of the domain of LIFE. 'I am at a crossroads in my life', or 'We need to move forward', or 'I will cross that bridge when I come to it' are examples of metaphoric linguistic expressions within this larger conceptual metaphor (Catalano, 2016). Metaphor shapes everyday discourse and this means that it shapes how people
discern and enact the everyday (Santa Ana, 2013). Metaphors can highlight certain aspects of a concept, and hide others by "focusing on (or keeping us from focusing on) other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with the metaphor (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980, p. 10). In this manner, metaphor can "privilege one understanding of reality over others" and can also be used strategically because text-producers can choose to "select certain source domains and disregard others" thus transmitting particular ideas and values to a target domain (Chilton, 1996, p. 74 as cited in Catalano, 2014).

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory works well to help in understanding the conceptual system that functions largely at the unconscious level. However, it does not explain the conscious use of metaphor for the purposes of manipulation and to 'achieve communication goals within particular contexts rather than being predetermined by bodily experience' (Charteris-Black, 2006, p.p. 247). It also does not provide a model to understand metaphorical meaning in face-to-face interactions. This is explained in the Conceptual Blending Theory (next section).

## Conceptual Blending Theory

According to Kok \& Bublitz (2011), the CMT is much too inflexible to account for the inter-subjective creativity characteristic of human communication. Communication is a constant process of conceptualizing and evaluating the world and does not only rest on relating linguistic to entrenched knowledge, but also on creative ad hoc conceptualizations which are often short-lived (Kok \& Bublitz, 2011). To explain this, Fauconnier and Turner $(1998,2002)$ proposed the theory of blending (also known as conceptual blending or conceptual integration theory). Originally tailored to explain metaphors in a more flexible manner than Lakoff \& Johnson's (1980) approach, its focus
gradually shifted to allusions and other linguistic (and even non-linguistic) phenomena. According to this theory, metaphors are blended spaces that act as sites for central cognitive work: reasoning, drawing inferences and developing emotions (Fauconnier \& Turner, 1996).

Conceptual blending theory (CBT) is based on the idea that blending is a cognitive operation which takes place in a conceptual integration network (CIN) in the brain. The CIN is an array of mental spaces that includes a generic space, two input spaces and a blended space (Kok \& Bublitz, 2011). The input spaces represent information from discrete cognitive domains, the generic space contains structure common to all spaces, and the blended space contains structures from both the inputs and its own emergent structure (Kok \& Bublitz, 2011). This is demonstrated by Grady, Oakley \& Coulson (1999) with the use of the following example: The surgeon is a butcher.

This statement is intended as a damning statement about an incompetent practitioner. At first glance, one detects only two domains: surgery and butchery, with direct projection from source to target, guided by a series of fixed counterpart mappings: 'butcher' maps onto 'surgeon', 'animal' maps onto 'human being', 'commodity' maps onto 'patient', 'cleaver' maps onto 'scalpel', 'abattoir' maps onto 'operating room', and 'cutting meat' maps onto 'cutting flesh'. However, this analysis of the mapping does not explain a crucial element of the statement's meaning, that, 'the surgeon is incompetent' (Grady et al., 1999). It is the CBT model accounts for the inference of incompetence in the following manner (see Figure 1 below):

Besides inheriting partial structure from each input space, the blend develops 'emergent' content of its own, which results from the juxtaposition of elements from the inputs. In particular, the butchery space projects a means-end relationship incompatible with the means-end relationship in the surgery space. In butchery, the goal of the procedure is to kill the animal and then sever its flesh from its bones. By contrast, the default goal in surgery, is to heal the patient. It is in the blended space that the means of butchery have been combined with the ends, the individuals and the surgical context of the surgery space. The incongruity of the butcher's means with the surgeon's ends leads to the central inference that the surgeon is incompetent (Grady et al., 1999). The end result is the blend (or the metaphor) in which the surgeon's skill (or lack thereof) in the operation room is compared to that of a butcher's.

It is important to note that the blend in the 'surgeon is a butcher' example works because the salient characteristics of a butcher are known to the readers. It works because of the motivating metonymy PART FOR WHOLE or more specifically, ATTRIBUTE FOR ENTITY in which the defining property of butcher stands for the entire profession of a surgeon. Thus, in this blend, metonymy motivates the metaphor. It is important to note that not all elements from the mental spaces are projected. For example, we understand that the surgeon is not actually in an abattoir with a cleaver and cutting the meat of an animal. It is only the salient characteristics necessary to make the blend work that are transferred, which highlights the important role of metonymy in the metaphor analysis. The following section provides an explanation of metonymy, which is 'the larger and more frequently used process (as compared to metaphor), but often overlooked and underestimated' (Catalano, 2016, p. 20).

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Integration network: Surgeon as butcher, reprinted from 'Blending and Metaphor’ by J. Grady, T. Oakley, \& S. Coulson, 1999, in R.W. Gibbs \& G. J Steen (Eds.) Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Cognitive Linsguistics Conference, Amsterdam.


## Metonymy

Metonymy can be defined as a figure of language and thought in which one entity stands for another entity it is associated with in some way. It is the process of choosing word(s)that highlight certain things while backgrounding others. (Catalano, 2016). Metonymy is an 'everyday process which plays a key role in helping us make sense of the world' and 'shapes the way we think and the way we influence the thoughts of others' (Littlemore, 2013, p. 191). While metonymy is traditionally viewed as just one of many tropes and as subservient to metaphor, much recent work in Cognitive Linguistics argues that metonymy too is a fundamental part of the conceptual system (Gibbs, 1994), shapes the way we think and speak of ordinary events (Gibbs, 1999), and, along with metaphor, is used for drawing inferences and for reasoning about and understanding the word (Ruiz de Mendoza \& Hernandez, 2003). Littlemore (2013) states that metonymy works mostly behind the scenes, therefore, it is often invisible, but it is worthy of being noticed. For example, when instead of saying 'rich person', one says 'job creator' to describe someone, one is highlighting only the good things that this person purportedly contributes to society, and hide any negative actions they took to become rich. Therefore, metonymy is a sub-process or a stage within the concept of metaphor, making it possible for the reader to understand and see things in a variety of ways (Brdar-Szabó \& Brdrar, 2011).

Recent scholarship in cognitive linguistics reveals that metonymy plays a vital role at the level of the language hierarchy and serves a whole variety of essential communicative functions such as giving nuance, emphasis and spin, and it is an essential tool in the language toolbox (Denroche, 2015). Additionally, it also has to 'potential to be a more manipulative trope than metaphor because it is more subtle and less likely to be
noticed' and it can have a 'stronger more lasting effect on the development of people's worldviews than metaphor' (Littlemore, 2015, p. 102, 104).

Barcelona (2011) argues that metonymic motivation of metaphors is the rule, not the exception. In this dissertation study, I will follow this argument and look at metonymies as the larger process that leads or motivates the majority of the metaphors found. Additionally, Hart (2010) argues that metonymy is the underlying construal operation responsible for social stereotypes and Brdar-Szabó \& Brdrar (2011) posit that metonymy must be studied as being embedded in authentic discourse. Therefore, in this study, I will examine specific metonymies related to how the participant learners refer to themselves in discourse and how they represent others' perceptions of them.

## Critical Metonymy/Metaphor Analysis

To understand the potential power of language to shape society, culture, and power relations (Meadows, 2007), the analysis in this study incorporates Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is a scholarly perspective in language study that "critically analyzes discourse - that is to say language in use - as a means of addressing social change" (Scollon, 2001, p.140). The synthesis of CDA and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was first demonstrated by Charteris-Black (2004) who coined the term Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) to capture the integration of these two perspectives. Thereby, CMA is simultaneously a subpart of cognitive linguistics (because of its focus on metaphor) and of CDA (because of its focus on critical approaches) (Catalano \& Gatti, 2014). Charteris-Black's (2004) CMA work demonstrated the usefulness of CMA in identifying how metaphors consist of verbal evidence for underlying ideologies that may be ignored if we are not aware of them (Meadows, 2007). He also explains how to
uncover conventionalized social hierarchies as they appear in language that reflects conceptual metaphors. In this study, CMA is used to understand how the metaphors about English language learning and multilingualism that learners' use draw on language ideologies present in the wider society and how this influences their learning of English. Critical metonymy analysis has recently taken an equal place with metaphor in the integration of cognitive linguistics into CDA and several publications that feature analysis of metonymy (uniquely or in addition to metaphor) have emerged in the last few years, including MCDA of metonymy (Catalano and Moeller, 2013; Catalano and Musolff 2019; Catalano and Waugh 2013a; 2013b; 2017; Meadows 2007; Portero-Muñoz 2011; Riad and Vaara 2011; and Velàzquez 2013). These types of analyses (like those concerned with metaphor) expose the use of metonymy as a tool of persuasion and manipulation and add more depth, resulting in a more detailed and systematic analysis (from Catalano \& Waugh, 2020).

This chapter surveyed the literature on multilingualism at the societal / global level and the notion of English as a global contact language or English as a lingua franca (ELF), followed by a survey of the literature on Intensive English Programs (IEPs). It further explored the theoretical framework (the combination of translanguaging theory, cognitive linguistics and critical metaphor analysis) that forms the backbone of this study. The following chapter focuses on the methodology used in this study.

## CHAPTER 3

## METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to explore the language ideologies of multilingual learners in an IEP in the process of acquiring English as an additional language. As noted in the previous chapter, translanguaging theories as well as critical metaphor and metonymy analysis which are rooted in the field of cognitive linguistics serve as my theoretical framework. These lenses will help us to understand how the way learners talk about their learning can inform us about language ideologies and their connection to their lives and learning processes. This chapter describes the methodology used for this study. Specifically, I present the multilayered qualitative research design which allowed me to examine both conscious and unconscious thought about language and language learning of the participants. Next, I describe the research site including a brief description of each of the participants, my positionality as a researcher and data collection procedures.

Finally, I describe data collection procedures (e.g., focus group discussions), the unique data analysis procedures which integrate a thematic analysis with critical metaphor/metonymy analysis, and ethical considerations of the study

## Research Design

Based on the needs of the study mentioned above, I designed this study as a multilayered qualitative analysis, wherein one layer of analysis was thematic in nature (which identified and explored the themes in the participants' conscious thoughts about language learning as multilingual individuals and the second layer was that of a critical metaphor and metonymy analysis (which was used to understand the unconscious level
processing or the conceptualizations or ideologies of the participants' of their language learning). This design gave me the opportunity to do in-depth analyses of the participants' language ideologies, both conscious and sub or unconscious, about learning English in the light of their entire linguistic repertoire.

Critical metaphor and metonymy analysis served as the theoretical framework and as the methodology used in this research. As explained in the previous chapter, metaphor connects two things that are not normally related (Charteris-Black, 2014) and thereby, allows us to talk about personal matters safely and tackle delicate matters without losing face or hurting feelings (Denroche, 2015). Metonymy is a figure of language and thought in which one entity stands for another entity that it is associated with in some way. While it is traditionally viewed as one of the tropes that is subservient to metaphor, recent work in cognitive linguistics argues that metonymy also is a fundamental part of the conceptual system (Gibbs, 1994). Metonymy often motivates metaphors to occur by forcing readers/ viewers to go through the mental processes (known as construal operations) in which one entity stands for another it is associated to or related to in some way (Catalano \& Mitchell-McCollough, 2019). A good example of this can be seen in the discourse of Donald Trump Jr. in which he compared refugees to candy in the following quote, "If I had a bowl of skittles and I told you just three would kill you. Would you take a handful? That's our Syrian refugee problem" (Horowitz, 2016). In this logic, the reader or listener must understand first that "skittles" is the name of a popular candy in the U.S. in order to compare the way candy is eaten to the refugee vetting process. This understanding of skittles and the later metonymy of "Syrian refugee problem" motivate the metaphor REFUGEES ARE POISONOUS CANDY although the analogy is incorrect since the
refugees undergo a highly selective and detailed vetting process, unlike when one scoops some skittles from a bowl into the mouth. Additionally, it also compares refugees to food. It is this type of use of metaphor/ metonymy (especially those that are less obvious) that need to be countered in Critical Discourse Studies or Cognitive Linguistics analyses.

Metaphor analysis, according to Todd \& Harrison (2008) can be conducted on any kinds of textual data such as naturally occurring written texts, interview transcripts from semi-structured interviews or focus groups and transcripts of conversations. Armstrong et al (2011) posit that metaphor analysis can be a valuable tool for uncovering participant conceptualizations, particularly for purposes of understanding learners' conceptualizations in educational settings.

Examples of metaphor/ metonymy in language use (talk) may not be able to provide direct access to thought or mental representations. However, they offer traces of activity from which we can make inferences. Because most often when people use metaphors, they are not conscious of their use, metaphor / metonymy analysis, as a qualitative research tool, allows me to examine the conceptual metaphors invoked by metaphoric linguistic expressions (MLEs) articulated by speakers to provide some insight into their thought patterns and understandings of language learning (Cameron \& Low, 1999). Examining metaphors / metonymies in talk adds an extra layer to the analysis of interview data, as does the thematic analysis in this study. According to Cameron (2008, p. 197), "In talk, metaphor is a shifting, dynamic phenomenon that spreads, connects, and disconnects with other thoughts and other speakers, starts and restarts, flows through talk developing, extending, changing. Metaphor in talk both shapes the ongoing talk and is shaped by it. People use metaphor to think with, to explain themselves to others, to
organize their talk, and their choice of metaphor often reveals - not only their conceptualizations - but also, and perhaps more importantly for human communication, their attitudes and values." Metaphor can also offer speakers a 'third space' in which to align or to negotiate towards deeper understanding of the other (Cameron, 2008). In this study, the goal behind using metaphor / metonymy analysis was to "get a glimpse of the conceptual metaphors or participants, which consist of the socio-cognitive connections that enable them to relate one concept to another, through close analysis of the linguistic expressions with which they are systematically linked" (de Guerrero \& Villamil, 2002 as cited in Armstrong et al., 2011, p.p. 151).

Additionally, critical metaphor/ metonymy analysis goes beyond only a metaphor/metonymy analysis. Critical metaphor / metonymy analysis is a way of revealing underlying ideologies, attitudes, and beliefs, and therefore constitutes a vital means of understanding more about the complex relationships between language, thought, and social context (Charteris-Black, 2004). Critical approaches to metaphor (Charteris-Black 2004, 2005/2011, 2014) and metonymy (Meadows 2007; Catalano and Waugh 2013a,b) involve determining exactly what the metonymies/metaphors reveal and what they obscure, thus showing how these tropes/figures are used in the service of hiding the ideologies that underlie the texts (Charteris-Black 2014). In addition, they "identify both what is implied, and the other point of view concealed by the metaphor/metonymy" (Ibid. 203 (as cited in Catalano \& Waugh, 2016). As mentioned in the previous chapter, in this study, critical metaphor and metonymy analysis was used to understand how the metaphors/metonymies about English language learning and
multilingualism that learners' use draw from language ideologies present in the wider society and how this influences their learning of English.

## Research Site

The larger research site for this study was a large land-grant university in the Midwest, referred to as the 'Big R1 University', where the student body is predominantly White. MU hosts more than three thousand international students from 114 different countries (university website). The smaller research site is the Intensive English Program (IEP) offered by an ESL institute within the Big R1 University. At the time of data collection (late October and early November 2020), the institute offered a variety of programs such as the Intensive English Program (IEP), The Credit English for Academic Purposes Program (Credit EAP), Credit English as a Second Language (Credit ESL) along with other customized programs that can be designed to accommodate the learning needs and schedules of students. However, things had changed when I reached out by email to the director of the ESL institute in March 2023. He said,
"We no longer offer the CEAP program because we don't have enough students these days to run it. We still offer the IEP and we started to offer on Online English Program (OEP) that allows students to join the IEP classes through Zoom. They are otherwise the same program. The Credit ESL refers to our credit courses that fully admitted students take. This is not the same as the CEAP." (Director, personal communication, March 2023).

At the time of admission, international students are required to demonstrate proficiency in English with a TOEFL or IELTS score. Those with a TOEFL score of 70
and above or an IELTS score of 6.0 and above are admitted directly into their undergraduate program. Those with a score of 61 in TOEFL or 5.0 in IELTS are admitted first to the Credit EAP program. These students transition into their full program of study upon successfully passing the Credit EAP with a B or higher grade.

Students with lower scores or no scores may start with the Intensive English Program (IEP). The IEP in Big R1 University is a non-credit program for degree-seeking students trying to meet the university's language requirement for admission who want to improve their overall language ability for professional or personal reasons. It is described as a program designed for students who wish to communicate effectively in English for a variety of personal and academic purposes and includes course material that helps students in the program develop a broad understanding of language and culture that will allow them to effectively pursue every day needs and prepare them for higher language study. Three sessions are offered each academic year. The first two levels or the foundation levels because they help students with lower proficiency achieve the basic language knowledge, they would need to pursue more advanced learning goals. In the higher levels, students are able to customize their own learning path through the choice of elective courses related to their specific areas of interest.

The Director of the ESL institute informed me that at present, the majority of the students in the programs at the institute are from Japan and China, and they also have students from Brazil, Vietnam, Burkina Faso, and Bolivia. He pointed out, however, that overall, in recent times, the numbers had dwindled. In the fall semester of 2022, they had 23 students, and only 7 in the spring semester of 2023. I asked him if the numbers were low because fewer international students were joining Big R1 University or is it because
most international students that are accepted into programs at Big R1 University meet the TOEFL score requirements or was there some other reason. He replied, "Students are not applying like they used to, especially from China and Oman. They used to be our largest groups." (Director, personal communication, March 2023). A November 2022 article by Anna Esaki-Smith titled 'International Students Return to the U.S., But Chinese Student Numbers Continue to Fall', published on the Forbes website, noted that even though China remains the biggest source country of international students for the US, there was a 9\% decline in Chinese students in 2021-2022, following a 15\% drop in 2020-2021. There are several factors contributing to this sharp fall-off. Firstly, there are lingering perceptions that the U.S. does not want Chinese students to be here because of several antagonistic actions by the former Trump administration, including an order barring entry by Chinese citizens believed to be security risks. Secondly, there have been extremely strict travel restrictions in China related to COVID-19 which are an additional hindrance. Finally, the recent strained geopolitical relations between the Chinese and U.S. governments have led to new worries among the Chinese people that the U.S. is hostile to them and is now an unsafe place to send their children to school (Nietzel, 2022). In 2018, the Omani community on campus was the third-largest population of international students enrolled across the university system after China and India (Dunker, 2018). Big R1 University leaders had reached out to the Omani sultanate earlier in the previous decade to partner on projects centered on water, agriculture, and education. Sultan Qaboos Said al Said started offering tuition subsidies for the country's best students to attend U.S. universities around the same time as the so-called "Omani Spring 2011" (Dunker, 2018) which was a series of protests in Oman against rising unemployment
figures, cost of living, and corruption among government officials, and to demand better working conditions and salaries (Oman's Arab Spring, 2012). The sultan also agreed to provide students with funds to pay for a year of English language immersion and the number of Omani international students kept rising year after year (Dunker, 2018) until recent times. Despite an extensive search, I was not able to find any recent literature explaining the low numbers of Omani international students in the U.S. I speculate that the Covid-19 pandemic may be one of the reasons for this decline or perhaps due to some change(s) in the policy either at Big R1 University or in the Sultanate of Oman. In the following section, I introduce the ten participants in this study.

## Participants

In selecting participants for this study, I used purposeful sampling (Patton, 2015) also referred to as criterion-based selection (LeCompte \& Preissle, 1993) wherein the essential criteria were that the participants be enrolled in the Intensive English Program and be multilingual, that is they speak three or more languages, or emergent multilingual, that is they speak two languages and are learning English as a third language. These specific criteria were crucial for finding answers to the research questions posed in this study. I wrote an email to the director of the ESL institute in Big R1 University requesting to be allowed to put up flyers (Appendix A) in the building so that students in the Intensive English Program would see it and contact me. One of the instructors in the program was kind enough to allow me to walk into her class and speak about this research study to invite her students to participate (verbal script attached Appendix B). This proved to be exceptionally helpful, and I was able to recruit all of my participants immediately after my brief talk. When the students expressed their willingness to
participate, I sent them a Recruitment Email (Appendix C). Finally, I was able to recruit a total of ten multilingual participants from various countries, speaking several different (and some overlapping) languages. As an incentive for participation and as compensation for their time, the participants were given $\$ 20$ gift cards for 'Amazon' or 'Target'. All participation was voluntary. The privacy of all the participants was protected using pseudonyms. In the following section, I introduce the ten multilingual participants that agreed to take part in my study.

Table 3.1 Study Participants

| Name | Country of Origin/ <br> Gender Identity | Languages (listening, <br> speaking reading, <br> writing) | Languages (Basic <br> understanding) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Abbas | Kuwait, male | English, Arabic | French, Arabic, <br> Spanish, Japanese, <br> Georgian |
| Huang | China, female | Mandarin, Cantonese, <br> English | - |
| Leon | Germany, male | German, English | Latin |
| Rahul | India, male | Hindi, Haryanvi, English | Sanskrit, French |
| Buthaina | Oman, female | Arabic, English | Swahili |
| Kaito | Japan, male | Japanese, English | Spanish |
| Marie | Germany, female | German, English, Dutch | - |
| Linh | Vietnam, female | Vietnamese, English | Korean |


| Ali | Oman, male | Arabic, English | - |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Thanh | Vietnam, female | Vietnamese, English | Thai, Mandarin |

Abbas: Abbas is a tall, lanky, friendly and expressive male student who was born and raised in Kuwait. He received all of his education, from kindergarten to his Associate degree in Kuwait and he had recently moved to Big R1 University in the United States for his undergraduate studies in Accounting with a minor in Marketing and Money Management. He said that he wanted to move to the United States because it was his longtime dream and he was interested in earning a PhD and in getting work experience in his field. He was able to read, write, and speak in Arabic and English and he understood French, Spanish and Japanese and "some words in Russian and Georgian".

Huang: Huang is a petite, thoughtful, somewhat reserved female student from Guangzhou, China. She received all of her education until high school in Guangzhou and then moved to Kansas for a brief period before joining Big R1 University. She said that she moved to the United States because "the United States education system is very different from Chinese education, I could learn more and learn the differences, my parents are also doing the research of it, my experience would be helpful." She was an undergraduate student, and her major was Fine Arts. She was able to speak, read, and write Mandarin, Cantonese, and English. When I reached out to her while I was working on the critical metaphor analysis, she promptly responded to my email and answered my questions.

Leon: Leon is a tall, fit, athletic, chatty, blond, White, male student. He was born and grew up in (in his words), "Hamburg, the second largest city in Germany". He did most of his K-12 schooling in Germany, with the exception of one year in high school which he spent in Comox Valley, Canada as a foreign exchange student. His main motivation for moving to the United States was to pursue sports and he was enrolled in an undergraduate program in Business Administration. He was able to speak, read, and write German and English and he had studied Latin as a foreign language in school.

Rahul: Rahul is a robust (his sport was wrestling), somewhat reserved, seriousfaced male student. He was born in the hills of Northern India and attended schools in Uttarakhand, Haryana, and New Delhi, the capital of India. He moved to the United States for "better opportunities and sports" and for pursuing an undergraduate degree in Psychology. He was able to speak, read, and write in Haryanvi, Hindi, English, and French and he had also studied Sanskrit in school.

Buthaina: Buthaina is a warm, slightly shy but very friendly, helpful, eversmiling, female student who wore the hijab. She was born in Oman where she also received her K-12 education. She said that she had moved to the United States for higher education because "I wanted to study and learn more about life and to become an independent person". While she nurtured dreams of becoming a doctor as a child, she realized as she grew up that she enjoyed adventure and therefore, was pursuing undergraduate studies with geology as her major. She could read, write, and speak Arabic and English. Her parents grew up in Africa, so she could also understand and speak Swahili.

Kaito: Kaito is a quiet, thoughtful, young male student who often spoke with a smile on his face. He was born in Japan and did all of his K-12 schooling there. He also did one year of undergraduate studies in Australia before moving to the United States for higher education because "it widens the choice of my future". He was a student of Economics and was able to read, write, and speak Japanese, English, and Spanish.

Marie: Marie is a tall and athletic, blond, White female student. She was born and grew up in Germany. She attended five different schools in her hometown from kindergarten to grade 12. She said that she moved to the United States for higher education, "because of my scholarship that I received. It is a great opportunity to study in a different language and at the same time, I can focus on tennis". She was pursuing undergraduate studies in International Business and wanted to do something with business or become a professional tennis player in the future. She was able to read, write, and speak German, Dutch, and English. She said that she had picked up Dutch, "because I live at the border and I used to have tennis practice five times a week in the Netherlands."

Linh: Linh is a shy and cheerful female student who was born in Vietnam. She did her schooling from kindergarten to 8th grade in Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam and then moved to the town that Big R1 University is located in for high school. The family had moved because her parents felt that education in the United States would be better. She was pursuing undergraduate studies in Accounting and was able to read, write, and speak Vietnamese and English. She also had a basic understanding of Korean through Kpop music and Korean dramas.

Ali: Ali is a tall, cheerful, stubble and moustache-sporting male student. He was born in Oman. He also grew up and did all of his K-12 schooling there. He had moved to the United States to pursue undergraduate studies in Geology because he "wanted to get the best education and enjoy life there!" He was able to read, write, and speak Arabic and English. He said that he grew up in rural Oman and the Arabic that people spoke in that region was different as compared to the more formal and 'standard' Arabic used in schools and spoken in Muscat.

Thanh: Thanh is an easygoing, thoughtful, and helpful, female student from Vietnam. She was born in Bienhoa City and did all of her schooling from kindergarten to the first year of her undergraduate studies in different cities across Vietnam. She said that she moved to the United States to pursue undergraduate studies in Logistics, "because my major is not popular in my country and the United States is very famous for it." She was able to read, write, and speak Vietnamese and English and could understand and converse in Thai. She also had a basic understanding of Mandarin because she had studied it for one year in school as a foreign language. Thanh was unable to participate in her focus group discussion (see section below) because of poor internet connectivity and she felt very sorry about it. She wrote me an email and asked me to set up a one-on-one interview because, "I really want to help you with your research".

## Researcher Positionality

In qualitative research, positionality and reflexivity are essential considerations (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009). It is a researcher's positionality or the alignment of epistemology, ontology, theoretical, and methodological perspectives, that brings the
depth and the clarity needed to answer the research questions (Bhattacharya, 2017). A researcher's "reflexivity", or positioning is the process by which the researcher puts forth his or her biases, assumptions, and experiences (Merriam, 2009, p. 219). Qualitative research assumes that biases cannot be avoided since researchers bring their assumptions, beliefs and values to their study (Creswell, 2013). Creswell notes that reflexivity is manifested in two ways: first, the researcher explains their experience with the phenomenon that is being investigated, and second, the researcher discusses how their experience shapes their interpretation of the phenomenon. How well a qualitative researcher can achieve depth of understanding is contingent on the relationship the researcher makes with the participants, the quality of data collection, and the researcher's analytical skills, informed by their positionality (Bhattacharya, 2017).

Thus, bearing in mind the significance of reflexivity in qualitative research, I acknowledge that this study has been influenced by my worldview, prior experience, and my professional background. My ontological assumption (or beliefs about the nature of reality) is that there exist multiple realities that are constructed through our lived experiences and interactions with others. I believe that people make meaning based on the contexts in which they interact with each other. My epistemological view is that reality is co-constructed between the researcher and the researcher and shaped by individual experiences. I believe that getting close to the participants and understanding their perspectives is the best way to make sense of their experiences and conceptualizations.

In this study, I position myself as an international student / doctoral candidate, wife, and mother. I am in my mid-30s, pursuing a Ph.D. in Education in a mid-western
university in the U.S. I moved to the U.S. from India as a Ph.D. student who was considered proficient in English (based on my TOEFL score), and therefore, have not had the experience of being a learner of English in the Intensive English Program. While I do not share the experience of being a student in the IEP with the participants in my study, I am, like all of my participants, a multilingual / translingual individual. Prior to being a doctoral student, I taught (at various time periods) French, Sanskrit, Hindi, English, and Marathi. My mother tongue is Marathi, but I grew up as a multilingual speaker, simultaneously learning Hindi and English and studying in a private, English-medium school. In my introductory vignette, I reflected on my experiences with the colonial, imperialist ideological practices in my school. The English language has long been an important marker of status in post-colonial India. However, since the liberalization of the Indian economy in the early 1990s, a large portion of the population has been able to experience proficiency in the language as a potent marker of middle-class identity, and a crucial vehicle of socio-economic mobility (Jayadeva, 2018; 2019). Typically, government-run schools teach in the language of the state and offer education free of cost, and there are also private schools (like the one I went to), that offer English-medium schooling, which is widely viewed as being transformative of a students' prospects (Sancho, 2015a, Mathew, 2016 as cited in Jayadeva, 2019). At present, the numbers of private English medium schools have increased all over India, but in the 1990s and 2000s, these schools were fewer in number, existed mainly in urban India, were less affordable than they are today, and highly coveted. So, the fact that I was able to have access to a school like that speaks to my privilege in India in terms of location (suburb of the financial capital of India i.e. Mumbai), religion and caste (Hindu Brahmin -
supposedly the 'highest' caste in the Hindu caste system, which naturally grants you many privileges), socio-cultural, economic, and educational (my mom has earned a Master's degree in Zoology, and a father is a Ph.D. in Chemical Engineering and had a steady, and comfortable job) identities. As mentioned in the vignette in Chapter 1, after a lot of deliberation, they decided that I should go to an English-medium school because that was seen as a necessity for professional success in life and because they felt that I would be proficient in my mother tongue because we spoke it at home.

In my school, Hindi and my mother tongue Marathi were also taught as 'subjects' and Sanskrit was added to this list in the $8^{\text {th }}$ grade. I later studied French in college and which I am now considered a proficient speaker (I have received level C1 certification from the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages or the CEFR) and also obtained my Master's degree (M.A.) in Sanskrit from the University of Mumbai, India, while simultaneously pursuing Japanese in an informal classroom setting. After moving to the U.S., I took a two-month introductory Spanish course at the local community college before my Ph.D. course work began. In one of my courses with my advisor in graduate school, I chose to study Mandarin for a period of six weeks as part of a language study module in the course. Figure 3.2 represents my language profile:

## Table 3.2 Researcher Language Profile

| Languages known by age 4 years | Marathi, Hindi, English |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | Sanskrit, French |


| Languages learned as an additional language <br> starting at age 13 years (in order of <br> acquisition - high proficiency) |  |
| :--- | :--- |
|  |  |
| Languages learned as an additional language <br> starting at age 13 years (in order of <br> acquisition - basic competence) | Japanese, Spanish, Mandarin |
|  |  |

I believe I have a combination of emic and etic perspectives towards the phenomenon that is being studied in this research. As mentioned above, like the participants, I too am multilingual. However, unlike them, I consider English to be one of my first languages because I went to an English medium school and most of my academic and creative thinking occurs in English, perhaps even more so than Marathi (which is my mother tongue) and Hindi (which also I have been speaking since I was a toddler). The participants in this study were learning English as an additional language in the IEP. While I did not learn English as a third language in a formal classroom setting, I studied French and Sanskrit as my L2s as an adult multilingual learner and have, like my participants, experienced knowingly and/ or unknowingly, my language acquisition being influenced by my entire linguistic repertoire and my language ideologies. Moreover, I cannot detach myself from the fact that I am currently raising multilingual children in a largely monolingual context, and this also has a big influence on the ways in which I think about language and language learning. Therefore, as both an interviewer and observer, I am fully aware that I brought in my own subjectivity to this research, which simultaneously limited my perspective while also broadening it on the topic being
explored. I realize that my interpretations are likely to be influenced strongly by my own language learning experiences and my graduate work in this area. However, since the context and the time frame of this study are very different from the contexts and time frames of my past language learning experiences, I tried my best to be able to truly immerse myself in understanding their perspectives.

Finally, I am aware that there was likely to be a bit of a power imbalance between me (as a doctoral candidate and a graduate teaching assistant) and my participants who were undergraduate students in the university. I tried to minimize this by connecting with my participants as an international student and as a multilingual who has experienced learning additional languages. Additionally, I ensured that the participants' involvement was completely voluntary and assured them that, if they chose to withdraw from this study, it would not affect their relationship with me or with their instructors and colleagues.

## Data Collection

A vast majority of the studies exploring language learners' beliefs, ideologies and conceptualizations examined their participants' written data such as journal entries or prompts that they were asked to complete. Many of the studies analyzed data obtained from LIKERT type questionnaires like the BALLI (Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory). A very small, minuscule, proportion of the studies examined verbal interview data. Language ideologies occur in mental constructions and in verbalizations. The participants in this study are all multilingual learners from different countries, all learning English. In order to examine their language ideologies and conceptualizations, the data collection methods in this research consisted primarily of focus group interviews.

However, I conducted a one-on-one interview with one of my participants (see section above) because she had trouble with internet connectivity and could not join the members of her focus group. Approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at University of Nebraska-Lincoln (See Appendix D) and data was collected in the months of October and November 2020.

## Focus Group Discussions

Focus-group interviews originated in marketing and communications research (Kitzinger, 1995) and have been widely adapted in social science research (Marshall \& Rossman, 2016) and particularly as an ethnographic element to complement discourse and critical discourse studies (Krzyzanowski, 2008; Wodak, 2008). Focus groups, according to Hatch (2002) are formed with individuals who have similar characteristics or shared experiences, who sit down with a moderator to discuss a topic (p.p. 24). While group interviews are often used simply as a quick and convenient way to collect data from several people simultaneously, focus groups explicitly use group interaction as a crucial part of the method (Kitzinger, 1995). This method is particularly useful for exploring people's knowledge and experiences and can be used to examine not only what people think, but how they think and why they think that way (Kitzinger, 1995). The idea behind the focus group method is that group processes can help people to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less accessible in a one-to-one interview through discussions with each other.

In order to gain a better understanding of the participants' collective language learning experiences, and of their language learning ideologies, especially regarding shared issues that may not come up in one-to-one interviews, I decided to conduct focus
group discussions by dividing them into three groups of three or four participants each. These were informal interviews that lasted for about ninety minutes. In these focus groups, I acted as the moderator and guided the conversation using 10-12 main, openended questions (see Appendix F) in the style of semi structured interviews. According to Kitzinger (1995), focus group sessions should be relaxed in a comfortable setting, with refreshments, and everyone sitting in a circle. The facilitator should explain that the aim of the focus groups is to encourage people to talk to each other rather than respond purely to the researcher. My data collection occurred during the pandemic (October - November 2020) when most of us were practicing physical distancing. So, keeping everyone's health and safety in mind, I conducted all of the focus group interviews over Zoom. After seeking my participants' consent, I recorded each of the four focus-group Zoom interviews.

These discussions took place in English. In a study examining language ideologies and conceptualizations of multilingual leaners, in an ideal scenario, it would have been best to speak with the participants in a language or languages of their choosing. However, the participants' mother tongues were varied and therefore, English was chosen as the language for the focus group discussions it was the one language that we all had in common. This limitation (and others) is discussed in greater detail in the final chapter (Chapter 6) of this study. However, while spoke in English, I kept the research questions for this study and the translanguaging theory (which is a part of this study's theoretical framework) in mind and asked them to draw on and think about their entire linguistic repertoire, which included all of the named languages that they know. I encouraged them to talk to each other in the focus group discussions and to get help with translations from
each other if they had any other language(s) besides English or glottonyms in common. Since my interviews were conducted and recorded on Zoom, I received automatically generated transcripts. These transcripts were checked for accuracy and modified where the current transcript was not generated. The finalized transcripts were saved on a password protected laptop. Following that, the original recordings were destroyed in accordance with the protocol of the Big R1 University's IRB.

## Data Analysis

My primary research interest in this study was to understand the language ideologies of multilingual learners as they acquire English as an additional language. In order to find answers to my research questions, my data analysis was conducted in two steps. The first step was a thematic analysis, which allowed me to gauge their thoughts on a conscious level, but also left open the analysis to language learning issues and topics that did not necessarily fall under the category of metonymy or metaphor. The second step was a critical metaphor and metonymy analysis, which then allowed me to understand their perceptions on an unconscious level. I used MAXQDA (a qualitative and mixed methods data analysis software) for both types of analyses. In the final chapter of this study, I bring together both the thematic and metaphor/metonymy analysis to complete the picture and have a more holistic understanding of their language ideologies and how those interact in their learning of additional languages.

## Thematic Analysis

The first type of analysis, a thematic analysis, is "an accessible, flexible, and increasingly popular method of qualitative data analysis" (Braun \& Clare, 2012, p.p. 57).

It is used for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across data sets. It allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences. In other words, it is a way of identifying what is common to the manner a topic is talked or written about and of making sense of the commonalities (Braun \& Clarke, 2012). Braun \& Clarke (2012) have identified the following six phases in their approach to thematic analysis: (i) Familiarizing yourself with the data (ii) Generating initial codes, (iii) Searching for Themes (iv) Reviewing potential themes (v) Defining and naming themes and (vi) Producing the report.

Using the steps mentioned above, I started by immersing myself in the data. I read and reread the transcripts of the focus group discussions and made notes simultaneously to highlight points of potential interest. During this process, I asked myself the following questions - how do the participants make sense of their experiences? What assumptions do they make in interpreting their experience / perceptions? What kind of language learning ideologies are reflected in their accounts? As a first step, I made notes by highlighting parts of the transcript that were interesting and inserting comments in the Word document. My next step was to conduct a more systematic analysis of the data by generating initial codes. Codes identify and provide a label for a feature of the data that is potentially relevant to the research question (Braun \& Clarke, 2012). The codes generated in this step allowed me to interpret the data. In the subsequent step, I began to search for themes. A theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun \& Clarke, 2006, p.p. 82, as cited in Braun \& Clarke, 2012). According to Bhattacharya (2017), a researcher identifies themes out of their own analytical thinking.

As one starts working closely with the data, one begins to see patterns, which inform the way themes are identified. These patterns are organizational, characterize different segments of data, and help the researcher and the reader develop an in-depth understanding that responds to the research questions and purpose (Bhattacharya, 2017). I reviewed the coded data to identify areas of similarity and overlap between codes to find themes and subthemes. In the next 'quality check' step, I scrutinized the data once again to identify any potential themes that I missed in prior steps. At this stage, the themes were finalized and named. A good thematic analysis has themes that have a singular focus, are related but do not overlap, although they may build on previous themes, and directly address the research question (Braun \& Clarke, 2012). The salient themes were those that made the most sense according to the data corpus (Saldaña, 2013). My final step of the thematic analysis was to formalize the notes and memos in the format of a more formal analysis that has been presented in Chapter 4 of my dissertation. At this point, I move onto the next phase of critical metaphor/metonymy analysis.

## Critical Metaphor/ Metonymy Analysis: The Process

In this second phase of the analysis, I conducted a metaphor and metonymy analysis of the focus group interview transcripts (Todd \& Harrison, 2008). Metaphor analysis as a methodology has come a long way, and more recently, many cognitive linguists have found the linguistic metaphor identification process (MIPVU) to be a useful guide (Steen et al, 2010). This process involves first reading the entire text to gain understanding of the meaning, and then determining the lexical units in the text (i.e., attack and defend in the context of an argument). Then for each lexical unit, establish its meaning in context and then determine a more basic contemporary meaning for each
lexical unit (e.g., physically attacking or defending someone in a physical fight). If the lexical unit has a more basic or current meaning in context other than the given one, "decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it" (Steen et al, 2010, p. 6). If yes, then it is counted as a metaphor. For example, in the case of attack or defend in the context of an argument, it would be determined metaphorical whereas attack or defend in the context of a physical fight would not be considered metaphorical.

It is also important to point out that metaphor analysis involves not just working out what the metaphors are and figuring out which ones are dominant in the text(s). It involves explaining the semantic entailments that come with the metaphors and what the implications of them signify (Catalano et al, 2021). An illustration of this from Catalano (2016) is as follows: One of the participants in the study talked about how her boss spoke English saying, "She, you know, speak... like a machine guy, then, I-I, like (tatatatatatatata)... I cannot really have room to, you know... say my point" (p.170). This linguistic realization of "like a machine gun" represented the metaphor LANGUAGE LEARNING IS WAR, but the author also pointed out what the implications of this were for teaching by reminding readers of all the things included in the semantic domain of WAR: violence, guns, blood, injuries, death, destruction, etc. If students view language learning to be as traumatic and terrifying as in a war, then they might have trouble learning. Hence, comparing speech to rapid gunfire sounds exposes a need for teachers to slow down their speech, but also makes students comfortable in the language learning process. Without breaking down this metaphor and all the thinking behind it, a metaphor analysis is not complete (Catalano et al, 2021).

As a first step, I manually read all the interview transcripts and completed an initial metaphor analysis using MIPVU (Steen et al, 2010) to find metaphors used to talk about the participants' languages. I used open-coding and in-vivo coding to identify dominant or major, and secondary or minor metaphors and metonymies (Chilton, 1996; Santa Ana, 1999). According to Santa Ana (1999), "the dominant metaphor class are tokens with a similar source that occur relatively frequently and appear in a great variety of forms... These contrast with tokens of secondary semantic source domains which appear much less frequently, and with less variety of expression" (p. 198). Finally, the occasional metaphors are those that are expressed only once or a few times and do not seem to be associated with other more prevalent source domains (Santa Ana, 1999).

After I identified the dominant, secondary, and occasional metaphors, I tabulated them emulating the method used by Santa Ana (1999). This process helped me organize and summarize the findings. After the initial coding, I documented the predetermined codes into MAXQDA, and coded the entire file for pre-existing metaphors or, in other words, the metaphors that had already been identified. Metaphor is known to offer speakers a "third space" in which they align or negotiate towards deeper understanding of each other (Cameron, 2008). Keeping this in mind, in the analysis process, I carefully examined transcripts to ensure that I exclude any metaphors that might have been provoked by the interviewer's (i.e., my own) language use (Catalano, 2016). I was aware of this risk and was therefore cautious and worded my focus group interview questions very carefully to avoid any kind of metaphorical language. Next, I applied In Vivo codes to the data as they surfaced through further analysis to indicate new metaphors and metonymies that were not found in the first iteration. The first manual coding helped me
take in the context of the discourse and to identify a set of keywords from the semantic field before searching through the corpus on the basis of intuition and/or previous studies (Charteris-Black, 2014). I color coded the codes in the data file and made use of lexical and Google searches to provide evidence for the importance of coding relevant lexical items (Catalano, 2016). Essentially, these searches were used to confirm or reject initial decisions and to ensure that the word is indeed metaphorical. (Charteris-Black, 2014). Additionally, metaphor and metonymy categories were compared to pre-existing literature on metaphorical analysis (Catalano, 2016; Charteris-Black, 2014; Fauconnier \& Turner, 2002; Kovesces, 2006; Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980; Todd \& Harrison, 2008) to cross-check and standardize terminology. Almost any word can be a metonymy, so I tabulated the metaphors only and identified any interesting metonymies that led or motivated those metaphors in the analysis.

The application of metaphor and metonymy analysis to interview data is a fairly new approach. However, there is a substantial body of research that explains the ways in which this can be done along with emphasizing on some of the methodological difficulties of doing so (Armstrong et al., 2011; Cameron \& Low, 1999; Charteris-Black, 2014; Kovesces, 2002; Low, 2003; Semino et al., 2000; Steen et al., 2010; Todd \& Harrison, 2008). One of the biggest problems that a researcher is likely to encounter in the process of metaphor analysis is arriving at an agreement on what exactly is and is not a metaphor, which ultimately relies on the researcher's judgment (Todd \& Harrison, 2008). In this context, Armstrong et al. (2011) observe that 'qualitative approaches to metaphor analysis are most effective when an intentional plan for triangulation is built into the research design' (p. 153). Keeping this in mind, I met regularly with my advisor,

Dr. Theresa Catalano, after each iteration of metaphor analysis to dialog about and calibrate the categorizations of the metaphors and metonymies. At the end of the analysis, I reflected more deeply on whether the metaphor is 'systematic and underlying the text as a whole'. I then finalized the classification in which dominant, secondary and occasional metaphors were categorized and tabulated.

The next step pertained to the 'critical' aspect of the critical metaphor / metonymy analysis. In this step, I examined the ways in which the participants drew on the language ideologies present in the wider societal context and how this influenced their acquisition of English. In other words, I examined the metaphors and metonymies used by the participants to see which of the ideologies present in wider society were being reproduced in the way the participants talked about their language learning. Additionally, I explored how certain metonymies allowed participants to obscure certain aspects of power or domination or emphasize them (Charteris-Black, 2014). This analysis has been presented in Chapter 5. In the final step, I examined and explained the findings in relation to the thematic analysis of the interview data.

## Ethical Considerations

The most important aspects of conducting any research are the ethics involved in the process (Creswell, 2013) regarding the protection of participants' privacy and other rights (Neuman, 2011). Often, participants themselves may not be fully aware of research ethics. Therefore, it is imperative for the researcher to be mindful of ethical concerns through all the stages of conducting the study because they are morally and professionally obligated to act ethically (Neuman, 2011). In order to comply with research ethics, I sought IRB approval from my institution, the Big R1 University, prior
to collecting data. Formal ethical approval was sought from the Director of the Intensive English Program before data collection. I fully disclosed my research purpose and protocol to the director of the IEP and to all the potential participants. Throughout the process of data collection and analysis, I assigned pseudonyms to the research site and the participants. Focus group interviews were held on Zoom, in order to ensure the participants' safety and comfort, since data was collected during the pandemic when people were practicing physical distancing. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed within a week of the interviews.

## Qualitative Validity and Trustworthiness

Qualitative researchers strive to understand the deep structure of knowledge that comes from visiting personally with participants and probing to obtain detailed meanings (Creswell, 2013). It is important that researchers look to themselves, to the participants, and to the readers to be sure that they got these interpretations right and that they presented the right account. Over the years, several renowned scholars have provided several perspectives and terms that are used in the domain of qualitative validation (viz. Lincoln \& Guba, 1985; Eisner, 1991; LeCompte \& Goetz, 1992; Lather, 1993; Angen; 2000; Lincoln, Lynham \& Guba, 2011; Creswell, 2013). Creswell (2013) considers "validation in qualitative research to be an attempt to assess the "accuracy" of the findings, as best described by the researcher and the participants" (p. 249-50). He notes that there are various validation strategies that a researcher may use in their research and has focused on eight strategies that qualitative researchers frequently use.

In this research, several of the strategies recommended by Creswell (2013) were employed. Triangulation is a key strategy for improving the validity of qualitative
research. Marshall \& Rossman (2016) define triangulation as "the act of bringing more than one source of data to bear on a single point" (p. 262). For Creswell, triangulation involves the corroboration of evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective. As mentioned above in the 'Data Analysis' section, I met with my advisor, Dr. Theresa Catalano, regularly during the process of critical metaphor / metonymy analysis to dialogue about the metaphor and metonymy categorizations. I also conducted member checks with my participants to improve the rigor of my study by taking their views on the credibility of my interpretations and the findings. According to Lincoln \& Guba (1985), this is the most critical technique for establishing credibility in qualitative research and it is something that has not been commonly seen in metaphor/metonymy analysis, since much of these types of studies use media discourse or linguistic corpuses as data. The process of member checking in most qualitative studies involves taking data, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions back to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account (Creswell, 2013). I shared the findings of my preliminary analyses consisting of themes, and of my critical metaphor / metonymy analysis with the participants and made sure that they found those accurate.

I have also provided thick, rich descriptions of the participants and the setting in order to allow the readers to make decisions about the study's transferability. Transferability refers to the "ways in which the study's findings will be useful to others in similar situations, with similar research questions or questions of practice" (Marshall \& Rossman, 2016, p.p. 262). I provided thick descriptions when writing about the research site, the participants, and in my presentation of thematic analysis as well as the critical metaphor / metonymy analysis. I have also clarified my bias above (in the section
on Researcher Positionality) from the outset of the study, so that readers understand my position and any biases or assumptions that may impact the inquiry (Merriam, 2009). I have also shared my reflections on my past experiences, and tried to minimize my biases, prejudices, and orientations that may have likely shaped my approach to the study and my interpretation of the data.

## Research Steps

The research conducted for this study followed the protocol described below to ensure that the data collection yielded data consistent with the study's goals:

1. I received approval from Big R1 University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) (Appendix A)
2. Participants were invited to the study by the researcher, and were informed of the rights and risks involved
3. In-depth focus group interviews were conducted with the participants in a manner that was safe and convenient for all the participants.
4. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed within a week of the interviews.
5. Participants were given a summary of the findings for member-checking.
6. Data was coded for emergent themes by the researcher.
7. I met with my advisor for triangulation purposes and to dialogue about themes and the metaphor and metonymy categories.

## CHAPTER 4

# "I TRY TO LEARN ENGLISH AS ENGLISH. IT'S KIND OF SEPARATE...": LANGUAGE IDEOLGOIES OF MULTILINGUAL LEARNERS OF ENGLISH IN AN INTENSIVE ENGLISH PROGRAM 

This chapter explores data from focus group interviews to identify the language ideologies of the multilingual learners of English in the Intensive English Program. Identifying language ideologies will allow us to better understand how these ideologies (and their existing linguistic repertoires) influence their acquisition of English. I made a focused effort to leave aside any of my assumptions and hypotheses aside and to prioritize the experiences and voices of the participants in the study. As reported in the methodology chapter, I used the MAXQDA software to conduct my data analysis. At first, I coded the data. Next, I compared the participants' responses to the interview questions to identify the similarities and differences in what they said and their perspectives. As I read and re-read through the data, I asked myself the questions: What are the participants saying? What are their perspectives? What is similar and different in what they are saying? This allowed me to create groups with the codes and then to convert those into key themes which are discussed below.

Data analysis allowed me to identify some recurrent themes that came up in the participants' responses during the focus group interviews. The key themes found in the interviews included ideologies about English and multilingualism, ideologies about language and race, ideologies about language teaching and learning, and ideologies about translanguaging with the subthemes, translanguaging as a problem,
translanguaging as a resource, and translanguaging as a natural process. I will now describe each theme with appropriate examples from the data.

## Ideologies about Multilingualism and English

All the participants in this study are multilingual, i.e. they speak at least two languages (as identified by participants) and were learning English as an additional language. In this section, I extract quotes from the data that highlight the participants' ideologies on being multilingual and on the English language.

## Ideologies about Multilingualism

Many participants said that while learning new languages was difficult, they largely enjoyed being multilingual. They talked about their experiences of learning and speaking multiple languages and the benefits of being multilingual, about how it connects them to other people and allows them to form friendships. Abbas was particularly expressive and enthusiastic about learning languages. He described in detail how and why he learned the various languages in his repertoire.

My cousin's wife, she is from Spain, so how can I communicate with her? I can communicate with her in English, but there's a code. It's like a head for me. Like, if you want to talk to someone's heart, talk (in) his mother language. If you want to talk to his brain, talk to him in another language. It's like I am curious because I love learning languages. I tried learning Chinese, but it's hard and I have a lot of pronunciation mistakes. So, my Chinese friends, they laugh at me. So, I just take a break. Even Vietnamese too. And Korean. Russian, they have 33 alphabets, so it's a little bit complicated to learn it. But I know specific words like street, hi,
goodbye or something like that. Georgian, I learned because I traveled over there. So, like, have fun with people there, just learn some of the language. So that's my fun story. (Abbas, October 24, 2020)

It is clear that Abbas seeks making connections with people and views language as one of the most effective ways of forming friendships. He also feels that people seem to connect with each other on an emotional level when they communicate in their mother tongues, whereas they connect intellectually in a second or third or additional language. While he acknowledges the challenges one may experience in the process of learning a new language, he also emphasizes the fact that he has fun and is curious to learn how to say things in different languages. He added,

> As I communicate with other people, it's fun and it's enjoyable. You make more friends and you have confidence. Because there is a quote that I read about it, about learning a second language. They said like each language, you speak it, you have a different personality. So, maybe in English I am 'fun'. Maybe, in Arabic, I am shy. Maybe, in, like, French, I don't know. So, it gives you a way to think differently. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

Besides believing that you can connect with people emotionally or intellectually depending on whether you speak to them in their mother tongue or other languages that they know, he also believes that a person who is multilingual experiences changes in their personality when they learn a new language and that each new language modifies your ways of thinking.

Another participant, Huang, who speaks Cantonese, Mandarin, and English was far more concise but noted that she finds it interesting to learn a new language. "Yes, I enjoy learning English. I think it's interesting for me to learn, uh, another language". (Huang, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

Buthaina also alluded to the joys of learning new languages as she recalled that she had one teacher in the IEP who assigned a new language to each week of classes. She said,

My teacher, her name is Tara (pseudonym) and she was teaching us in the IEP. Yeah. So, we had maybe 5 different languages. And each week she writes that. As for the first week, it was Arabic language. So, everyone comes inside the class, he needs to say 'Good morning' in Arabic. So that we learn many languages. For the whole week, everyone comes inside the class and says 'Marhaba', 'Marhaba'. It was fun, but we didn't continue because of COVID. (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

Thanh, who is from Vietnam and speaks Vietnamese, Thai, Mandarin, and English also referred to the enjoyment derived from learning a new language. She speaks about how she was drawn to the Thai language because she loves Thai movies.

Thai, I learned from my friend. We always communicate. I use English to communicate with them. Actually, one day, they... my friend will send me one vocabulary and I will also try to remember it. They also show how to write it. Actually, I will say I studied one vocabulary (word) a day. This was my friend from high school. (Thanh, interview, November 11, 2020)

When I asked Thanh why she wanted to learn Thai, she said,

Uh, hahah, actually because I really love Thai movies. Actually, now when I hear, when I listen (to) the Thai talk anything, I also understand. I don't need a translation. And until (even) now, I talk to my friend. He sends a vocab to me, and I also learn. (Thanh, interview, November 11, 2020)

Similarly, for Linh, her interest in Korean music and media prompted her interest in the Korean language. She said, "I learned, like, Korean... Umm, my friends and I listened to K-Pop and we watched K(orean)-Dramas. So, I, uh, was exposed to Korean". (Linh, focus group interview, October 24, 2020). Interestingly, Buthaina, who grew up in Oman, also learned Hindi in a similar manner.

I remember that I also understand Hindi a little bit because my country is full of Indian people, so I always see an Indian doctor, Indians on the street, and I love Indian movies. Yeah, I always see the movie(s) with my family. So, I understand sometimes. I don't know how to talk, but I understand. (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

However, while most of the participants found that being multilingual is enjoyable and allows one to make connections with people, they also spoke about how English is a different as compared to other languages. The following sub-section presents the participants ideologies about English.

## Ideologies about English

As mentioned above, the participants shared that English was different in comparison with the other languages that they know. A few of the participants reported
that being a speaker of English often indicates to the world around you that you are more intelligent or that many speakers of English think that they are better than those who do not have English in their linguistic repertoire. Rahul, in particular, was somewhat agitated and very descriptive of his thoughts on this power that the English language holds.

I knew how to write English, my grammar is good, but I never really, like, spoke English in India. Just because I refuse to. I don't know why..., no I yeah but when I came to America and just started speaking English, it was pretty flue... I got pretty fluent pretty quick. (Rahul, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

Upon further probing, as to why he so categorically refused to speak in English, he added,

Because people, like, judge you just by the way you, like, .... do you know how to speak English, and I just don't like to be judged that way, even though I know how to speak English. I just won't speak English with you if I know that if I'm not in like the states and really like talking informally. Like what, why do you want to speak English? Just talk normal. They have this superiority complex or security, whatever you say this, like, if you could speak English, you're, like, better than like certain people who can't, even though.. They, like, define your smartness as the way you talk English which is not correlated at all. (Rahul, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

Rahul is referring to the imperialist, colonial language ideology of the hegemony of English that is widely present in the Indian subcontinental region. Betnick's English Education Act was passed in 1835 in England, and this act made English the colonial
system's medium of instruction. It endorsed "a new function and purpose for English instruction in the dissemination of moral and religious values" (p. 44, Viswanathan, 1989). In the widely cited 'Minute on Indian Education' (1835, n.d.), Macaulay explained:

I feel... that it is impossible for $u s$, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions who we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population. (Macaulay, 1835)

This policy of dividing the Indian population into two classes - one who serves as interpreting and the 'millions' - led to the creation of two means of instruction: English for the elite, and non-English for the masses. (Durrani, 2012). English, thus, came to be associated, ideologically and practically, with the legal system, government, and high(er) quality education. This led to English acquiring a sovereign status and it was reified in a complex linguistic hierarchy (Azam et al, 2013). During the Indian Independence movement, however, English was rejected as a symbol of subjugation' (Panda \& Mohanty, 2015, p. 543). Due to its colonial and postcolonial affiliation with structures of power, English produced social fissures by instituting a power divide along linguistic lines, which continue to be present in contemporary India. In contemporary India, English is associated with the more privileged urban networks in India, with the middle
and upper classes, or in other words, with the elite with the most power, like it was the case during colonial times (Mohanty, 2006; Ramanathan, 2005; Roy, 2015).

Another participant, Buthaina, who is from Oman, agreed with Rahul and added, Okay, in my country learning English When you learn English that shows that you are intelligent, and you know more and you (are) more adult. So, from (when) we are kids, we, we... They teach us how to learn how to talk in English. (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

In various public statements of policies, the Omani government recognizes and emphasizes the important role that the English language plays across the globe (Al -Issa, 2006). The importance of English as a language, which serves multiple purposes, is evident in the Reform and Development of General Education (Ministry of Education, 1995).

The government recognizes that facility in English is important in the new global economy. English is the most common language for international business and commerce and is the exclusive language in important sectors such as banking and aviation. The global language of Science and Technology is also English as are the rapidly expanding international computerized databases and telecommunications networks which are becoming an increasingly important part of academic and business life (p. A5-1) (as cited in Al-Issa, 2006).

As a result, the Omani government has opted for English as its only official foreign language as it is considered important for tourism and is also used in business (Al-Issa, 2002). Expatriate skilled labor who use English for interlingual purposes, from
countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Philippines form about $20 \%$ of the population of Oman. Therefore, English has been thought of as a fundamental tool for 'Omanization', i.e. a systematic and gradual replacement of foreign skilled labor by nationals, and is at the heart of Omani educational planning (Al-Issa, 2006). As a result, like Buthaina said, English is taught from Grade One in Omani public school as a compulsory 'school subject' on the curriculum (Al-Issa, 2002).

However, this association of fluency in English with intellectual ability is not restricted to India and Oman alone. In a different focus group interview, Abbas, who is from Kuwait, animatedly pointed out that in some of his mainstream classes, i.e. classes that earn him credit toward his undergraduate major, his professors see international students from a deficit perspective, as if they do not understand the content.

Yeah! Like, what bothers me nowadays, it's like some instructors react with us as international students. This is not about me only. This is a lot of friends and people maybe have the same feeling as I say. Some instructors say like... they... not say, they act with us like we didn't understand. No, no, no, no. The problem is that we can't express (ourselves) with you in the same language. For example, let's say, about Physics. We know Physics, everyone has studied Physics, but with our own language. We understand it in our own language, we didn't understand it in English. Okay, if you come to ... let's say if you come to Arabic, and tell me, "Explain it to me in Arabic", I will explain it, like, fluently. But, when he said, like, it's too much of words, sometimes you feel like you know the answer, but it's half. So, you feel embarrassed if you say it. Maybe he's going to laugh, maybe he... he doesn't accept it. Maybe, for a lot of reasons, it depends on the person.

So, like, we just keep silent. We don't answer or speak. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

Abbas spoke passionately about this issue and declared confidently that this was an experience that many international students, for whom English is not the first language, have had experiences in the classroom in American universities. In this instance, Abbas' instructor has equated their learners' knowledge of English with their intellectual ability to learn and understand content in Physics. Another participant, Marie, who is from Germany, observed that in Germany as well, English was similarly a required subject in school. She noted,

In Germany, English is required in every school. So, the younger generation has to learn English. There's no other way. Yeah, normally everyone can speak English. English is required because it's a world language and it helps, of course. (Marie, October 30, 2020)

Leon, also from Germany, noted,

In Germany, like, it's the same so they know that we have English in high school, so everybody has to take it. It's like one of the classes that are required if you want to graduate. So, you have to take it. So, everybody knows that you speak English. So, the younger generations in Germany basically everybody speaks English. Like, some are better. Some are not so good. But everybody knows. also, that the older generation. So, my mom's English is pretty good. My dad's English is... grammar and vocabulary wise, very good. But speaking-wise it's OK. OK. And then my grandma, she speaks English too, but my grandpa doesn't speak any

English. Like, it really depends also on what kind of degree you had even when you're older. So, when you're, like, really highly educated you want English. when you're like old person than most of take some of them speaking English, too, because I know when they went to University and all that they most, a lot of them actually studied it, or like wanted to learn it later because they thought it's likely helpful with their jobs. (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

Both Leon and Marie believe that English is an important language because it is a world language, and therefore, it makes sense that it is a required language in Germany. Leon also associates English with belonging in the repertoire of someone who is highly educated and wants better professional opportunities. While there has been contact between the English and German languages since the eighth century, it has reached its current status of the dominant foreign language in Germany fairly recently, i.e., only in the second half of the twentieth century (Hilgendorf, 2007). Until the 17th century, the German language had incorporated into itself only a few dozen Anglicisms. However, with greater subsequent contact, by the end of the 20th century, the status and function of English was such that thousands of terms had been borrowed within the span of only four decades. At present, like in the previous case of Oman, English has spread to numerous domains including politics, law, business, advertising, science and research, the media, and education in Germany as well. A growing number of Germans have increasing contact frequently, if not daily, with English in various aspects of their professional and personal lives (Hilgendorf, 2007). Ursula Lanvers (2018) notes that foreign languages have traditionally been a strong focus in the German education system, and over the past two decades, Germany has responded enthusiastically to the challenge of
internationalization of education. 'Englishization' is a term that is generally understood as the use of English as lingua franca, which can take the form of English as Medium of Instruction (EMI), increase of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) via English, or English supplanting other foreign languages (Lanvers, 2018). In all sectors, over the past two decades, Germany has experienced an increase of Englishization in all forms. Lanvers (2018) observes, "at least $95 \%$ of primary school children in Germany receive English lessons and at secondary level, $87 \%$ - alongside the popularity of English, the motivation to learn other foreign languages declined" (p. 38).

Thanh and Linh, two participants from Vietnam also both noted that they started learning English in Vietnam since they were very young. Thanh said that it is a required second language in school and Linh mentioned that it was mandatory." . So, I started to learn in (at a very) early age." (Linh, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

In their paper on 'English in Vietnam', Phuong Minh Tran and Kenneth Tanemura (2020) note that in Vietnam, English displays different, even if not equal, functions in the instrumental, regulative, interpersonal, and creative domains in Vietnamese society. They write, ". Specifically, the use of English in Vietnam is primarily restricted to its instrumental function as the dominant foreign language in the educational system and to its interpersonal function as the symbol of socio-economic prestige, whereas its regulative function only serves economic, rather than regulatory, impetus and its creative function is limited to borrowings" (p.531, Tran \& Tanemura, 2020). Today, English is the most studied and spoken second language in Vietnam. In 2008, Vietnam's government approved the implementation of the National Foreign Languages 2020 Project (NFLP 2020) to realize the grand ambition of renovating English
education in Vietnam so that 'all young people leaving school by 2020 have a good grasp of the language (Parks, 2011 as cited in Tran \& Tanemura, 2020). The Vietnamese government views proficiency in English as being the linguistic instrument for 'national economic development, modernization, and participation in the global economy (Le, Nguyen, Nguyen, \& Barnard, 2019 as cited in Tran \& Tanemura, 2020). AEnglish language has high social status in Vietnam and Vietnamese people regard English proficiency as the key to educational and professional success and economic prosperity (Le, 2019 as cited in Tran \& Tanemura). As a result, in upwardly mobile, urban areas of Vietnam such as Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi, parents send their children to English academies from a young age and consider it an early investment (Nguyen, 2011; Le et al, 2019 as cited in Tran \& Tanemura, 2020).

It is important to reiterate that most participants expressed a lot of joy and pleasure in being multilingual and in the process of learning additional languages. They believed that their varied linguistic repertoire allowed them to connect more meaningfully with more people, widened their thinking and gave them additional facets to their personalities. Similarly, most participants had experienced or had been exposed to the colonial and postcolonial imperialist ideology about the dominance of English and that knowledge of English, and the ability to speak the language, was indicative of a person's intelligence or their superiority, and gave them access to greater power. The participants also believed that English is an international or global language and therefore, it is an important language to have in one's repertoire to gain access to better opportunities in their academic and, consequently, professional lives. They equate English with greater power and better opportunities. The interplay of socio-economic,
cultural, and ethnic tensions produces positive and negative attitudes toward learning English. Learners confront an array of sociolinguistic factors associated with dominant and subordinate languages, which in turn, play a role in their acquisition of English (Francis \& Ryan, 1998; Snow, 1992).

## Ideologies about Language and Race

All the participants in this study are international students from different countries across the globe enrolled in an Intensive English Program in a midwestern American university. The majority of international students in the United States come from nonpredominantly white countries (Institute of International Education, 2020), and when arriving in the U.S., they become racialized beings within the context of the U.S. racial structure (Yao et al, 2019). A somewhat unexpected, yet not surprising theme that emerged from the data analysis was that of raciolinguistic ideologies. Most of the participants in this study reported having experienced raciolinguistic ideologies in their life inside and outside the classroom in the United States (although they did not use that term per se). Raciolinguism is based on the idea that language and race are not separate and autonomous entities. Language shapes our perception of race, and race shapes our perception of language. As mentioned in the literature review of this dissertation, raciolinguistics, also called languaging race and racing language (Alim et al, 2016) examines how race is constructed and performed in and through language and how ideologies about race impact language and language use (Wang \& Dovchin, 2022). Raciolingusitics connects critical-language related research with critical-race scholarship in order to develop a more robust understanding of the historical and structural processes that organize the modes of stigmatization in which deficit perspectives are rooted (Rosa
\& Flores, 2017). The colonial distinction between Europeanness and non-Europeanness, and therefore, whiteness and non-whiteness, anchor the joint institutional reproduction of categories of race and language, as well as perceptions and experiences thereof (Rosa \& Flores, 2017). A raciolinguistic perspective seeks to understand the interplay of language and race within the historical production of nation-state/colonial governmentality, and the ways that colonial distinctions within and between nation-state borders continue to shape contemporary linguistic and racial formations (Rosa \& Flores, 2017).

## Expectations of language based on appearance

As we know, the participants in this study are from different countries and, therefore, are racially diverse. Most of the participants shared experiences where they realized that they were expected to speak in a certain language or in a certain manner because of how they looked. Abbas, a participant from Kuwait described an interaction that he had with one of his Black friends in the United States.

One of them is like... one of the, my friends, he is Black - I don't want to be offended (offensive) or be racist okay - he is so funny. So, he come to me as I'm, like, brown. So, he said, like, "Oh, bro, I wanna to aks you". "Aks", when I hear it, I thought it's the axe to cut the wood, okay? But his meaning is ask. So, like, come on. Do you know how to do this? Like, I didn't understand what you are saying exactly. So, when he told me in formal English language, I was like, "Ohhh, you mean this". He was like, "Come on! We the same color, you need to understand" Yeah, but I can't, hahah. This gave me a different meaning. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

Abbas was met with surprise or shock when his black friend realized that his manner of speaking was not only not shared by Abbas, but also created some confusion and lack of understanding in Abbas' mind. In a critical discourse analysis study which explores Latino/a/x preservice teachers struggles with raciolinguistic ideologies, the researchers found that many of their Latinx teacher candidates reported that their Spanish-speaking Latinx interlocutors assumed they spoke Spanish and reacted with surprise or reproach when they realized that was not the case (Fallas-Escobar, Henderson, \& Lindahl, 2022) Looking Latino/a/x made these teacher candidates subject to raciolinguistic policing which triggered negative reactions when the expectation for Spanish proficiency was not met (Fallas-Escobar et al, 2022). In the accounts of the teacher candidate, it is evident that their perceived race (skin color) is amalgamated with a perceived ethnic background (being Latinx), which in turn mobilizes expectations for particular linguistic repertoires (Rosa\& Flores, 2019; Fallas-Escobar et al, 2022). Similarly, in Abbas' situation, his perceived race (skin color brown with curly hair) is associated with a perceived ethnic background (being of African descent), which in turn creates expectations for Abbas' knowledge of his friend's dialect of English. Abbas recounts this as a funny experience. However, when his friend realized that not only did Abbas not know his dialect, but he understood what he said differently and was trying to make sense of it, he reproached Abbas by suggesting that he should have known this dialect because of his skin color. This interaction is likely to have altered the nature of the friendship between Abbas and his friend and is also likely to influence Abbas' process of learning English.

Another participant, Buthaina, had a similar experience to share, but in the
opposite way. Buthaina grew up in Oman, but her parents are from Zanzibar, Dar Es Salaam. As a result, she can speak Swahili. This surprises people because Swahili, according to Buthaina, is more commonly associated with people who have a skin color that is a darker compared to hers.

Usually when they ask us if we know the other language or something and then I say that I know Swahili, everyone is shocked and surprised that I know Swahili because usually the one who knows Swahili is more dark than me. They are more darker. So, when I say that I know Swahili, they say oh my god, how do you know Swahili. You're from Africa? And they start asking a lot of questions. Yeah, and that, and that's it. (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

A similar example exists in a recent study that explored the marginalization of two dual language bilingual education teachers in bilingual contexts. The findings revealed that both participants shared a variety of complex, sophisticated languaging practices over various spaces of their lives (Babino \& Stewart, 2023). One of the teacher participants was born in the United States to Zoroastrian parents who migrated from Pakistan. She speaks English, Gujarati, Hindi, Avestan, Farsi, and Spanish with varying levels of fluency and in different contexts and spaces in her life. When she uses the Spanish she learned in high school with her students in the Dual Language program, her students are shocked that she knows Spanish. This is because raciolinguistic ideologies regiment racialized language speakers. So, even though she was drawing on her metalinguistic knowledge of Spanish, she did not fit the profile of a Spanish-speaker and thereby, her ability to speak Spanish was marginalized. The researchers posit that it is unfortunate and dehumanizing that her multilingualism was not seen in the school as a
teacher (Babino \& Stewart, 2023). In the same manner, Buthaina was not seen as fitting the profile of a Swahili speaker and her achievement of being a speaker of Swahili was not acknowledged, valued, or for that matter, even believed to be possible, which can be dehumanizing and marginalizing.

## White Equals American

International students from European countries or who are white have similar experiences, except that they are assumed to be English speakers or 'Americans'. The two participants from Germany, Leon and Marie, spoke about how their instructors and peers in the classroom do not realize that German is their first language, and not English, because of their racial identity. Leon spoke about how he encounters surprise and excitement when they find out that he is from Germany.

So here in America, like they all know about it. So, okay, like one day in class (besides the English classes), I think that in one lesson I told him that I'm German and he was like...like, people who get always really excited when, when you tell them that you're not really not American, especially that I don't know like I am like I look kind of American so they are always like, a little surprised. Then when I start talking, they realize that I'm not from here because I have, like, a pretty strong European accent. (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

Marie shared how she sometimes has difficulty keeping up with the instructor in online classes because the instructor does not realize that she is an international student, and that English is not her first language. She said,

Some instructors ask us where we are from, what kind of languages we can speak but sometimes they don't. For example, in my online class. For me, it's harder, like, more difficult than for an American because our instructor. I think he doesn't know that I'm like an international student or we may need a little bit more time to answer a question than an American. Yeah, but sometimes they say, like, oh, where are you from, because we have, like, an accent. (Marie, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

Based on their appearances, their instructors and peers in the U.S. often did not realize that for these two students from Germany, English is not the first language. At times, this leads to problems in the classroom. Marie found online classes more difficult and wished her instructors took into consideration the fact that English was not her first language and gave her more time to respond to their questions. However, it appears that it did not occur to her instructors in her non-English classes that someone who was white in the US could have a non-English first language. They assume that because these students look 'American' (in Leon's words, which seems to stand for 'white'), they are proficient in English. However, when they hear him speak, they realize that he is European and then they become curious about his language. Leon used the words 'really excited' to describe the reactions of his peers when they realize that he is from Germany. In other words, both the participants spoke about experiences where their whiteness was equated with English. Even when they spoke and their peers or instructors heard an accent, their Europeanness elicited curiosity and excitement, both positive emotions. Another possible explanation for this excitement that Leon encounters about his German heritage could be the context that he is in, a Big R1 University, in a state where the population, as per data
from 2012, is mostly ( $90.1 \%$ ) and the main ethnic group was German (40.7\%) (Nebraska Legislature, n.d.). High concentrations of German and Czech immigrants settled in socalled frontier regions, including the state of Nebraska where Leon is located, and have established roots by farming lands for years (Sudbeck, 2015). It is likely that many of the students and instructors and people in general that Leon interacts with themselves have a German heritage or feel a sense of familiarity with the culture and heritage and are therefore curious and associate positive feelings with Leon's identity. I also want to highlight the metonymy in Leon's choice of words, the metonymy 'European accent' to refer to his own accent. There is, possibly, at least one accent per country in Europe viz. French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and so many others. In Leon's conceptualization, however, when he takes on the American perspective, it does not matter which European country the accent is associated with. The fact that it is associated with Europe and his racial identity as a combination is exciting for his American friends in the U.S.

While Leon spoke about being met with excitement about his German heritage, another participant Rahul who is from India, described how, in his experience, people in the U.S. react differently to European and non-European languages. It might seem that he said it in response to what Leon said, however, Rahul and Leon were in different focus groups. Rahul said,

I mean, I could, like, sometimes even see, you know, I only speak English here. But if, like, a group of people is, like, speaking in Chinese or Arabic. Those are the two... I could see, like, people getting visibly.... Like they're aware, they're speaking Arabic, but they don't want to comment on that. They don't want to, like,
tell them to speak English because they're, like, pretty.... in America, people are like, pretty quick to label you racist. They don't want to be labeled as racist, like you're stopping them from speaking their own language. I think that's mostly the case with Chinese, Arabic, or other, like, Farsi or Hindi, but that's not the case if you like speaking any European language. They consider it exotic. People not teachers just like people in general. You're speaking French, you're like, considered exotic or any other European language. First world European language. (Rahul, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

Leon spoke about how people became excited when they found out that he speaks German. Rahul also noticed that people in the US were usually welcoming and accepting of European languages, but were skeptical of people speaking in Chinese, Arabic, Farsi or Hindi. In the United States, various studies have revealed that international students of color report experiences of discrimination and racial bias due to their nationality, their language, their accented use of English, and their international student status, while student from Western or English-speaking countries report minimal or no bias, prejudice, or discrimination (Bordoloi, 2014; DiAngelo, 2006; Koo, Kim et al, 2021; Wong et al, 2014; Yao et al, 2019). As mentioned above, the distinction between Europeanness and non-Europeanness and therefore, whiteness and non-whiteness, is a central idea in the raciolinguistic perspective (Rosa \& Flores, 2017). Colonial histories have shaped the conaturalization of language and race as part of the project of modernity (Rosa \& Flore, 2017). Racialization is the long-term process of producing classification through institutions, laws, treatments, practices, and desires that place those who are disenfranchised in situations and relations adequate only to beings/societies who are
inferior, in contrast with the superior civilized, human, colonizers. (Veronelli, 2015). Race as a construct was an inherent element of the European national and colonial project, which allowed for the discursive production of racial 'Others' in opposition to the superior European bourgeois subject (Stoler, 1995 as cited in Rosa \& Flores, 2017). This was a part of a broader process of national state/colonial governmentality and a form of justification of European colonialism. Along with race, the creation of language hierarchies positioned European languages as superior to non-European languages (Veronelli, 2015). European colonizers described indigenous language practices as animal-like forms of 'simple communication' that were incapable of expressing the complex worldviews represented by European languages (Veronelli, 2015). Early European colonizers characterized indigenous languages as being incapable of expressing Christian doctrine and, as a result, questioned whether those communities were human enough to receive Christian teaching (Greenblatt, 1990 as cited in Rosa \& Flores, 2017). In other words, from the beginning of European colonization, indigenous (non-European) populations were stripped off their humanity in part through representation of their languages in animalistic terms that suggested they were not capable of expressing ideas that Europeans believed were integral being a full human being (Rosa \& Flores, 2017).

In his book "Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality: A Brief History of the Education of Dominated Cultures in the United States", Spring (2022) provides a detailed report of how language and education were used systematically to deculturalize and oppress minority cultures in the US. Believing that the Anglo-American culture was the superior culture and the only culture that would support republican and democratic institutions, early educators in the US forbade the speaking of Non-English languages
and forced students to learn an Anglo-American-centered curriculum (Spring, 2022). This continues in the present-day context as well, where people who do not speak English or do not speak so-called "standard" English are stigmatized, pitied, and laughed at because they are perceived as less worthy, less intelligent, and less capable (Dovchin, 2021). Evidence of this can be seen through the outpouring of sympathy, concern and care that is evoked (or not) when a crisis or a natural calamity occurs in European (and non-European) contexts. Russia's terrible attack on Ukraine in February 2022 raised some uncomfortable truths about racism worldwide. There were several animages and video clips of people of African and Asian descent (including Indians) who underwent racial discrimination near the border of Ukraine and Poland as they tried to escape the war, while white people in Ukraine were allowed to pass (McKenzie, 2022). Besides racism at the border, the narratives about the war on news media were also racist in many cases. US CBS news correspondent Charles D'Agata said on air that "Ukraine isn't a place like Iraq or Afghanistan, this is a civilized place", adding that he was choosing his words thoughtfully. (McKenzie, 2022). Phillipe Corbe on France's BFMTV said that they were not talking about "Syrians fleeing the bombing of the Syrian regime", but instead they were talking about "Europeans leaving in cars that look like ours". The most cited example of racism is when a former deputy prosecutor general of Ukraine told the BBC, "It's very emotional for me because I see European people with blue eyes and blond hair being killed every day". The journalist who was interviewing him, empathized and said, "I understand and respect the emotion". An ITV journalist said in a broadcast from Poland that this was "unthinkable" and that this was not a "developing, third world nation. This is Europe". (McKenzie, 2022).

The war and the terrible, unfortunate situation in Ukraine and other parts of Europe receives an outpouring of solidarity and sympathy (like it should). On social media websites such as Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat etc. many users changed their profile picture to the Ukrainian flag to show their horror about the war and their solidarity with the people of Ukraine. Unfortunately, however, other parts of the world where there are crisis situations do not share these experiences of solidarity. In fact, often, those crisis situations do not even receive enough coverage in the media. In modern life, some wars get more attention than others (Gharib, 2022). The war in the Tigray region of Ethiopia that started in 2020, caused thousands of casualties and displaced millions of people has been largely ignored by the world. Or for that matter, the war in Yemen. (McKenzie, 2022). Similarly, social media users are not changing their flags to the Turkish or Syrian flag in the wake of the Kahramanmaras earthquake that struck that region in early February 2023, causing more than forty thousand deaths so far. These comments signal to the viewers and audiences of these media outlets that these are the human beings that are worth protecting, not the lives of people of color who are lower in the "hierarchy" created by the world's white supremacist, capitalist system (Kemigisa, 2022, as cited in Gharib, 2022).

In his comment, Rahul highlighted that he only speaks in English in the US. This was a deliberate, intentional choice. Research in linguistic anthropology has drawn attention to how racialized subjects carefully calibrate their displays of language according to ideas of linguistic deficits and authenticity, engaging in sociolinguistic efforts that those regarded as White are not held accountable for (Alim \& Smitherman, 2012; Pennesi, 2019; Rosa, 2019; Shankar, 2015; Zentella, 1997 as cited in Lo \& Chun,
2020). Racialized populations bear an unequal burden in accommodating to a monolingual order, as language practices associated with racialized populations are framed in terms of disorder, secrecy, and manipulation (Woolard, 1989). Rahul spoke about noticing that people in the US are visibly uncomfortable when they observe and overhear people speaking in languages such as Chinese and Arabic, especially Arabic. He thinks that they are uncomfortable about it, but they usually do not ask people to stop speaking in those languages because in the US, you could easily be labeled racist, a label they want to stay away from. However, even though they are not openly asking the speakers to stop speaking in their languages, Rahul senses a definite disapproval from them. Ali, another participant in this study, who is from Oman said, "Here in the U.S., Yeah, yeah. They know that because it's obvious on our face that we are from the Middle East. So yes, they know that we speak Arabic." (Ali, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

In "What does a terrorist sound like?", Kamran Khan (2020) refers to how Mohammed Suleiman, a six-year-old child with Down-syndrome was reported to the police in Texas by a substitute teacher for allegedly saying the words 'Allah' and 'boom'. While the police cleared him of any wrong-doing, Child Protection Services were still investigating the case at the time that Khan was writing the chapter (Khan, 2020). While the fear and suspicion of Muslim bodies has intensified post 9/11, discursive constructions of Islam and Muslims in the West as 'enemies' are not new. A large part of the West's perception of Muslims has been discursively constructed via texts and (re)presentations from the eyes of the West (Said, 1978, as cited in Khan, 2020). In the twenty-first century, there has been a shift from external to transversal threat (Bigo, 2002,
as cited in Khan, 2020). While 9/11 was perpetrated by those outside the United States, the 2005 bombings in London or the 2015 Charlie Hebdo killings in Paris were caused by those who were either born in the United Kingdom or France or had at least spent many years there (Khan, 2020). The War on Terror has made the social construction of an Islamic enemy abroad acceptable and because they share a common faith, a domestic enemy has been defined along similar lines (Selod and Embrick, 2013). Muslims undergo raciolinguistic profiling, which associates specific words and languages with Muslims as security risks, specifically within education and travel in the United States. According to Khan (2022), "the term 'Muslims' becomes a de facto racial classification, which, when combined with linguistic practices and languages that appear deviant, causes insecurity among those in the immediate vicinity of persons presumed to be Muslim" (p. 2). Security, language, and Muslims are highly racialized and securitized notions that distribute fear and proliferate suspicion within everyday life. Surveillance, "the purposeful, routine, systematic, and focused attention paid to personal details for the sake of control, entitlement, management and influence of protection" (p. 4), has become a part of everyday life of Muslims (ICO, 2006, as cited in Khan, 2020). Racialized surveillance attributes risk to Muslims as sources of insecurity, while whiteness or proximity to it, is associated with security. (Patel, 2012, Saulnier, 2017). So, citizens who may display shared characteristics, values, and languages as white "natives" are constructed in the discourse as "less risky" (Khan, 2020). Rosa and Flores (2017) draw on Inoue (2006) and linguistic practices to a listening subject, whom they refer to as the "white listening subject". The white listening subject is synonymous with monoglossic perspectives and linguistic practices that enable white supremacy (Rosa \& Flores, 2017).

The white listening subject is not necessarily a description of skin color, but the racial configuration of power relations as well as a form of ideological positionality. In 201617, US policies such as Trump's administration's travel bans excluded travelers from primarily Muslim and non-White countries to the US (Koo et al, 2021), which added to this narrative This explains the covert disapproval that Rahul senses in people in the United States when they hear a group of people speaking in Arabic or Farsi. The presumed guilt of Muslim bodies and their associated words takes precedence over innocence, and this is based entirely on race and language (Khan, 2020).

Rahul also mentioned that this kind of surveillance is also common with speakers of Chinese. In an article titled 'Why should I not speak my own language (Chinese) in Public in America? Linguistic racism, symbolic violence, and resistance', Min Wang and Sender Dovchin (2022) state that it is quite common for Asians in the U.S. to experience "linguistic racism" as symbolic violence (Bourdieu \& Passeon, 1990). It is a kind of explicit or sometimes implicit (non)verbal violence being perpetrated on those not belonging to the dominant racial, ethnic, and social group (Wang \& Dovchin, 2022). Symbolic violence can be exercised through daily (non) verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities that communicate hostility, derogatory or negative racial slights and insults toward linguistic minorities (Pierce, 1969) to socially, culturally, and linguistically exclude them from mainstream. In Wang \& Dovchin (2022)'s study, their participant Hong, an international student from China, went with his friend to Walmart. As they were exiting, they were stopped by a greeter to show her their receipt. Hong was explaining his interpretation of the occurrence to his friend in Chinese, when this elderly lady asked him, "Why do you speak Chinese in public in America?" This question is an
example of linguistic racism and symbolic violence in which there is an implication that Hong's Chinese language is illegitimate or occupies a lower ranking than English in the language hierarchical pyramid and, as a result, it is unacceptable to use it in the United States. Additionally, there is a command that Hong should speak English, the only legitimate language in the US. As it was in the case of Arabic and Farsi speakers from the Middle East, linguistic racism takes place through the symbolic violence of the white gaze in the case of speakers of Chinese as well (Rosa \& Flores, 2017). This kind of verbal or nonverbal symbolic violence under the scrutiny of the white gaze produces arbitrary power, control, and domination. This kind of discrimination perceived and experienced by international students in higher education in the US is not new. In the United States, Asian Americans have long been considered a threat to a nation that promoted a whites-only immigration policy, and they were considered a "yellow peril" or unclean and unfit for citizenship in the US (De Leon, 2020; Spring, 2022). This led to the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the first law in the United States that barred immigration solely based on race (De Leon, 2020; Spring, 2022). In February 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 to incarcerate people under suspicion as enemies to inland internment camps. Though this order also affected German- and Italian-Americans on the East coast, the vast majority of the ones who were incarcerated were of Japanese descent. Many were naturalized citizens or second or third-generation Americans, including those who fought in the 442nd Regiment to prove their loyalty to the US (De Leon, 2020; Spring 2022). Over the past several years, the relationship between China and the US has become more problematic, which has possibly increased anti-Asian sentiment and mistrust of Chinese people (Fischer, 2021). This was further
exacerbated in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders and international students from Asian countries uniquely suffered from racial or ethnic discrimination or even attacks during the pandemic (Koo et al, 2021). News and media aggravated existing racial and ethnic hatred and xenophobia toward Asians by creating and using xenophobic terminology such as 'Wuhan virus' and 'Killer Virus' to increase fear and panic, which in turn encouraged prejudice, xenophobia, and discrimination among the public (Das, 2020; Karalis Noel, 2020 as cited in Koo et al, 2021). Since the COVID-19 outbreak, racial discrimination and xenophobic violence against Asian students have increased alarmingly on and off campus in the US. One of the manifestations of this xenophobic distrust of people from China and the need to control them and keep them in a subordinate position is the disapproval and perhaps, suspicion, that Rahul notices in people when people speak to each other in non-European languages, and in this particular case, Chinese.

## All Asians are Chinese

Kaito, a participant in this study who is from Japan, spoke about how people in the US tend to group people from various countries in Asia (and south-east Asia) together. He said,

Yeah. So yeah, in the US, teachers know I speak Japanese, but you know for American people, I mean, I mean, like, except Asian people they don't tell the differences between the like Chinese and Japanese like they You know, We look like the same, but we can recognize that they are not from Japan. Yeah, that kind of stuff. (Kaito, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

I probed and asked him how he felt about people in the US not recognizing the diversity amongst Asians. He replied, "Nothing. Yeah, yeah, a lot of Chinese people here so Yeah, it's happened. You have yeah, yeah... I feel nothing. It's like that." (Kaito, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

International students often face challenges when they try to make sense of their pre-US identities with their new identities as racially minoritized students in the US (Bardhan \& Zhang, 2017). As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the majority of international students come from non-predominantly white countries and when they arrive in the US, they become racialized beings within the context of the US racial structure (Yao et al, 2019). In the United States, the term Asian American was established by activists in the 1960s as a means to build political power and was eventually adopted by the US Census bureau (Pew Research Center, 2021). However, it has been criticized for obscuring the immense diversity that is present amongst those that the term claims to cover. It is seen as usually centering East Asians, which prevents specific ethnic groups from getting the policy support they need (Zhou, 2021). In the 1980s and '90s, this classification was broadened further via the term Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI), which is also a contentious term (Zhou, 2021).

In fall 2021, Pew Research Center undertook the largest focus group study it had ever conducted, with sixty-six focus groups and 264 total participants, to hear about lived experiences of Asian Americans living in the United States (Ruiz et al, 2022). Many participants in this study highlighted how the pan-ethnic "Asian" label represented only a part of themselves. A participant of Taiwanese origin in the study reported that she checks off 'Asian' only on application or test forms and that is the only time she would
identify as Asian, because the term Asian is too broad. Like Kaito, several participants in this study spoke about how, in their experience, when others think about Asians, they tend to think of someone who is Chinese. An immigrant man from Nepal in the study described how "Asian" often means Chinese for many Americans (Ruiz et al, 2022). As mentioned above, the ramifications of this were clear during COVID-19 when Asians and Asian Americans of various backgrounds (people who were not Chinese) were victims of hate crimes that were aimed at Chinese people/ government (Wang \& Catalano, 2023).

Kaito said that he did not find anything remarkable or problematic about the fact that many or most people in the US tended to use the term Asian as an umbrella term to refer to people from various countries. He has accepted that people take him to be Chinese without finding out more about his nationality because there are more Chinese people here. However, he points out that they can distinguish between the various ethnicities and countries of origin. Interestingly, there was a study published in 2018 that explored the extent to which Chinese, Japanese, and Korean faces can be classified, and which facial attributes offer the most important cues (Wang, Feng, Liao, Luo, 2018). This study found that Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans exhibit substantial differences in certain attributes such as bangs, smiles, and eyebrows and the researchers believe that this work complements existing Application Programming Interfaces and could be used in tourism, e-commerce, social media marketing, criminal justice, and even to counter terrorism (Wang et al, 2018). However, most people are not able to visually determine specific Asian ethnicities (Pan, Shen, Liu, \& Hsi, 2021). Extensive evidence shows that adults are better at recognizing faces of their own race than those of another unfamiliar race (Meissner \& Brigham, 2001, as cited in Anzures et al, 2013; Ferguson, Rhodes, Lee,
\& Sriram, 2001). The other-race effect in face recognition refers to better recognition memory for faces of one's own race than faces of another race and this is a common phenomenon among individuals living primarily in mono-racial societies (Anzures et al, 2013).

It is clear that it is visually difficult for most humans to discern the nationalities or countries of origin especially when it concerns people from another race. However, with greater experience with a novel race class, the other-race effect can be prevented, attenuated, and even reversed (Anzures et al, 2013). It is important to reflect on why that is often not the case and why Asian people from many diverse countries are often perceived as a monolith. It is also worth our while to examine how the grouping of people from diverse backgrounds under one umbrella term may benefit those in power. European Americans grouped people from varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds under the all-encompassing term "Asian", which facilitated the rationalization of economic and social exploitation, as well as discrimination (Spring, 2022). It may be argued that not recognizing the diversity in human beings and grouping them all under one broad category is dehumanizing. In an opinion piece titled 'Stop Treating Asians as a Monolith', Professor Lisa Son notes that Asian Americans are frequently viewed as all being much the same and are treated as though they do not have rich inner lives. She argues that even supposedly "positive" stereotypes such as 'model minority' and being focused and excelling in math and science are limiting and dehumanizing (Son, 2021).

Suarez-Orozco, Marks, \& Abo-Zena (2015) note that three types of context matter in the experience of migrating to a new country: (a) the economic context and labor market opportunities available in the new land; (b) the legal framework of the new
community, including immigration policies granting and restricting the rights of new arrivals; and (c) the social context, including the general level of xenophobia and the level of acceptance and media representation of immigrants. Given these three types of contexts, when people migrate to a different country, there is an expectation from them to acculturate, assimilate or integrate into the dominant culture. The onus is on immigrants to try and make themselves an integral part of the new country and to prove their worth and loyalty to the nation. The dominant, powerful population in those countries is often opposed to 'others' or 'outsiders' entering their country and immigrants are often viewed with suspicion and doubt. It may be argued that this is one of the barriers that prevents dominant groups from getting more deeply acquainted with the diverse cultural and linguistic identities that are often grouped under one monolith. Kaito has accepted this ideology- of Asian individuals not being recognized as people from diverse countries of origin and varied cultures and languages by the dominant group - as a normal fact and a given part of his life in the United States.

Pivoting back to Rahul's comment about him noticing people getting visibly uncomfortable when they hear people from other countries speaking in Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, or Farsi, it seem as though he has not experienced (or at least did not share any experience of) direct or overt linguistic racism where he or someone he knew was questioned for their language use, insulted for not being proficient in English, or asked not to speak their language in public. On the contrary, he noticed covert nonverbal linguistic racism through changes in body language and perhaps the expressions of the people who noticed a group of people speaking in non-European languages. In his understanding, these people, in reality, do want to tell the speakers of Chinese, Arabic,

Hindi or Farsi to stop talking in those languages, but hold themselves back, at least verbally, because in his words, "in the US people are quick to label you racist... they don't want to be labeled as racist".

Many societies share the emergence of a political climate where overtly racist statements are unacceptable and taboo (Augoustinos \& Every, 2007 as cited in Bouvier, 2020). Additionally, many share the belief that we now live in post-racial societies (Lentin, 2014 as cited in Bouvier, 2020) or society where race is no longer important in determining social status and income (Spring, 2022). Overt racism is seen as belonging to the past or is characteristic of extreme regimes such as Nazi Germany or Apartheid in South Africa (Bouvier, 2020). Many people believe that the arrival and existence of a post-racial society was signaled and emphasized by the election of the first African American president, Barack Obama in 2008 (Spring, 2022). This is despite the fact that there is a clear structural racism in terms of salary levels, poverty levels, police harassment, lower standard of living, success in education and professional lives, and levels of poor physical and mental health in the case of minority groups (Alexander, 2016 as cited in Bouvier, 2020). With the shared belief that we are now in a post-racial society, it may therefore be argued that people perceive that being racist is not possible.

In 'What do you do when they call you a racist?', Tatum (1998) about the fear of the racist label. When a white teacher was asked what it would mean to her if a student or a parent accused her of being racist in her behavior, she replied that it would feel like she had been punched in the stomach, or like she had been called 'low-life scum' and would never want anyone to say that to her. Multicultural education scholar DiAngelo (2011) coined the term 'white fragility' which she defines as "a state in which even a minimum
amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress inducing situation" ( p . 57). Racial stress is a result of an interruption to what is seen as racially familiar. This can include being told that a white person's viewpoint comes from a racialized frame of reference which is seen as a challenge to objectivity, or receiving feedback that one's behavior had a racist impact which is seen as a challenge to white liberalism (DiAngelo, 2011). In an interview with CNN health, DiAngelo highlights that one of the most important white pillars is the good/bad binary where one is either racist or not. If one is racist, one is intentionally and consciously mean to people based on race, and therefore, one is bad. If one is not racist, that implies that you are good, open minded and nice (LaMotte, 2020). DiAngelo says that that is the root of almost all white defensiveness the idea that racism has to be conscious and intentional in order to count (LaMotte, 2020). The combination of the belief that racism is a thing of the past and the good/bad binary associated with racism is what leads to the fear of being labeled racist that Rahul has observed in people. However, while this is stopping them from overtly asking those people to stop talking in their languages, they continue to express covert disapproval or linguistic racism in ways that are noticed and felt by these speakers of non-European languages.

## Ideologies about language teaching and learning

Language learners form mini theories of additional language learning (Hosenfeld, 1978), which shape the way they set about the learning task (Ellis, 2008). The emergence of a large number of research findings on cognitive and learning styles, both general and
specific to the domain of second languages, led to the understanding that learners with their individual goals and resources must ultimately take charge of their own learning (Horwitz, 2007). The Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) was first the instrument that was developed in the early 1980s by Elaine Horwitz to assess students’ beliefs about learning a new language (Horwitz, 2007; Nikitina \& Furuoka, 2006). Horwitz states that her experience with student teachers taught her that students' beliefs could facilitate or impede the learning process, which led her to develop ESL and foreign language versions of the student-directed BALLI (Horwitz, 1987, 1988, 2007). This allowed her to explore why some language learners were more successful than others and to create a tool that helped teachers reach a wider range of learners (Horwitz, 2007). She believes that it is essential to learn about the beliefs of every group of students because while there are several common beliefs, every belief study has found variation among learners on every type of belief. So, while the BALLI can serve as one way to understand learner beliefs, she encourages teachers to use a variety of other approaches, including discussions and spontaneous conversations with learners, to gain a deeper insight into their beliefs (Horwitz, 2007).

## Ideologies about teaching

The data in this study from focus group interviews with multilingual international learners from various countries in an Intensive English Program revealed their ideologies about how languages should be taught and learned. This included their beliefs about what teaching should be like, what the content should be and the importance of its relevance, the role of grammar in language learning and how a teacher should conduct themselves. Many of the participants spoke about how they had experienced or witnessed the
disapproval of their English teachers when students in the class used their first languages or mother tongues in the classroom. I will elaborate further on this theme in the subsequent section on ideologies about translanguaging. However, one of the participants, Abbas, who grew up in Kuwait, felt passionately about how a teacher should teach in a situation where they see a student using their mother tongue. He also elaborated on the importance of maintaining a positive disposition and not getting angry.

One time, I had, in my class, two Vietnamese girls. One of them, she is good in English. The other person, she is not that good, but she understands little bit. So, every single time, the instructor said, "Okay, you - the girl 1, let's call her, the one who speak English very well and the girl who don't speak English very well, 2 - Girl 2, just answer the question". She want to answer it, but she couldn't cause she don't know how to say it in English. So, she asked Girl 1 to translate it. So that bothered the instructor, and she told her, "You need to learn English or you will fail in my class". That's not a response as I see it. If you want to teach someone, you need to make it interesting. Love what you want to teach him. Not just like teach him this and that's it. He's not going to learn. Even like, any subject in the world. If you want to teach someone, make him to understand it. Now he can learn. But if you just, like, give him this, like "if you learn it you will pass, if you don't, you will fail', he, just like, he want to learn it just to pass and he forget it. But if you make it, like, for long time, you make him understand what you want to teach him - that's my own experience - every single time when she translates for her, the instructor, she's like pissing off and she get mad. Okay, So she doesn't learn and she come here to learn. Why you angry? Why are you mad?

Everyone here has come here to learn something. So, that give me a bad experience about how American people - not all of them - a few of them teach.
(Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

The experience of the two Vietnamese learners that Abbas witnessed was very upsetting to him and he was not appreciative of the teacher's threatening approach. According to Abbas, if teachers want their students to learn what they are teaching, then they should make it interesting for the learner and ensure that the learner understands. He felt that the teacher was not really helping the student learn by merely letting her know that she will fail if she does not learn English, and that in such an environment, the student will learn only to pass the exam and after the exam, will later forget what was learned. Abbas could not understand why the teacher was angry each time the student sought her friend's help. He believes that the teacher's anger was futile and that the student did not know and wanted to learn Hiromi Saito and Miriam Eisenstein Ebsworth (2004) conducted a study to explore how college-level Japanese English language learners in English-as-second-language (ESL) and English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) contexts viewed their English teachers and classroom activities. The EFL students in this study reacted negatively when a teacher called on students randomly. They preferred knowing exactly which question they would be answering so that they could prepare themselves (Saito \& Ebsworth, 2004). Muhammed Tanveer's (2007) study on the factors that cause language anxiety for ESL/EFL learners in learning speaking skills revealed that teachers' attitudes toward and beliefs about language learning and teaching, their reaction to the learners' errors, and whether they create a stress-inducing environment in the classroom was significantly related to second or foreign language anxiety. Through
focus group interviews, participants made it clear that authoritative, embarrassing, and humiliating attitudes of teachers toward their students, especially when they make mistakes, can have severe consequences on learners' cognition and willingness to participate in class (Tanveer, 2007). This finding was replicated in another study that explored the level and causes of language anxiety experienced by first year college learners of English as a Second Language at a university in the Philippines (Said \& Omar, 2022). The participants in this study indicated that a rigid and judgmental classroom causes them great anxiety and they become emotionally distressed.

Abbas believes that a teacher should take as long as is needed to help their students understand and that anger was futile. College level Japanese students in EFL classes in Saito \& Ebsworth's (2004) study appreciated teachers who provided native language support and avoided possible loss of face entailed by challenging and unexpected questions. In a study on foreign language classroom anxiety, Horwitz, Horwitz, \& Cope (1986) also found that many of their participants felt nervous when the language teacher asked questions which they had not been able to prepare in advance. In their conclusion they explain that foreign language anxiety can probably be alleviated to a certain extent by a supportive teacher who acknowledges their students' feelings of isolation and helplessness and offer concrete suggestions for attaining foreign language confidence (Horwitz et al, 1986). The participants in the aforementioned Said \& Omar's (2022) study conducted in the Philippines reported that teachers should make the classroom an engaging, cooperative and friendly environment so that learners do not feel pressured and avoid anxiety. Teacher's friendly and encouraging roles are critical in
making the classroom a safe and less anxiety-provoking environment (Said \& Omar, 2022). Abbas summed it up by saying that teaching is like an art.

As like, you teach French, most of the students keep silent if he know the answer. And I am sure each person know the answer. But he don't have the confidence or the words to answer it. So that's why teaching is like an art. You need to understand what you want to present. Then you start teaching it - is my own experience now because I am teaching, but a different thing. So, I learn from teaching. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Referring to my (researcher's) past work as a French as a Foreign Language teacher, he conjectured that many times students are silent in the class even when they know the answer because they lack the confidence or do not know the right words to answer the question. Reflecting on his own recent experience as a teacher of some other non-language subject, he said that teaching is like an art wherein the teacher needs to understand what they want to present and then they should teach it.

## Ideologies about Language Learning in Home Countries

Almost all the participants in this study, from various countries, spoke about their experience of learning English in their home countries and compared it with their experience of learning English in the United States. They spoke about how, in their home countries, many of them had been taught English in their mother tongues and how the focus had been primarily grammar and some amount of reading and writing. They had hardly experienced any conversational or spoken English, or if they did, then it was very dated from nearly forty or fifty years ago, as a result of which, they did not find it
relevant or helpful. They believed that their learning of English was more effective and efficient after moving to the US or other English-speaking countries (two of the participants had lived briefly in Canada and Australia), where they were surrounded by it and were compelled to use it to speak with people here.

Kaito, a participant, who grew up in Japan and then went to Australia for a year to pursue his undergraduate education before moving to the United States, spoke about how in Japan, all he learned was very basic grammar.

I learned English when I was, like, twelve years old. So, probably Japanese learn English even all year in this time, but, and like first time I learned like very Basic grammar. Yeah, and then Yeah, just grammar and we don't we don't practice writing or speaking on listening and then Like, same, same as junior high. Okay. And yeah. I didn't use English at all in Japan. At all. Yeah, our English, our English education is just for the exam, so we don't use that. (Kaito, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

According to Japan's educational policy, students are required to start English language instruction in the fifth grade (Hashimoto, 2011, as cited in Osterman, 2014) and they must study it for a minimum of eight years before they enter university (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, 2009). However, compared with other countries in Asia, Japan has been ranking low in terms of English proficiency, with a steady decline, since Education First published its first English Proficiency Index in 2011(Ogawa, 2020). As per the most recent report, Japan ranks low (80th) in terms of English proficiency (Education First, 2022). Like Kaito mentioned, the grammartranslation method of instruction is common in the Japanese education system (Osterman,
2014). Research has shown that once students start grammar-based junior high school learning, $57 \%$ say that they did not like English overall and that grammar was their least favorite aspect of learning English (Benesse, 2009 as cited in Osterman, 2014). Even though Japanese people need and want to communicate internationally, the majority of English-as-a-foreign-language learners in Japan lack the ability to engage in spontaneous English speech, even when they have the necessary grammatical competence to do so (Yazawa, 2017). One of the reasons why Japanese students having adequate grammatical and vocabulary knowledge cannot engage in spontaneous verbal and written discourse is a lack of English rhetoric and communicative skills. Writing in schools is restricted to drills and tests, with little or no focus on content based writing or academic report composition (Yazawa, 2017). Tsunekawa (2019) states some other reasons why Japanese people are not highly proficient in English. In school, the focus is mainly on reading and writing to pass the nex test with the teacher's role being only to teach and the students' role being only to take notes. They also do not have enough time to practice speaking English even though they have learnt all the material in class. Additionally, they have very few chances to watch English videos because they have many tasks associated with other lessons. Also, they are afraid of making errors when speaking in English due to their shyness, which is part of Japan's character and they are reluctant to communicate in front of many people (Tsunekawa, 2019). Kaito's comment about learning basic grammar and his emphasis on never using English in Japan is consistent with the research on English language teaching in Japan and he believes that merely learning grammar and taking tests was did not help him make any significant progress in terms of being able to communicate in English.

Ali and Buthaina both grew up in Oman and spoke about learning English in Omani schools. Ali, who grew up in rural Oman, reflected on his English learning experience and said that his spoken English was not very good and elaborated on the reasons why this was the case.

In Oman, we start to learn English. In first, like first grade. We are like we start in age seven, I think. And the teacher give us, like, listening in reading and grammar. But unfortunately, the, the teacher will speak a lot of Arabic. So, that's why our speaking is not, not that good. Yeah. (This continues) through high school. That's my experience. Yeah, he's speak Arabic because there are a lot of students, they don't know English. I don't think so. If he started speaking English. No one will understand like $50 \%$ of students understand that. Yeah. (Ali, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

In a different focus group interview, Buthaina also had a similar report.

English, we start learning the letters on English at seven. And then they start to teach us until we grow up. Yeah. In our country, we have... if you want... if you are in the government school. So there is no English, English as a language. That they didn't. They don't teach you anything in English such as math or or anything, they don't teach you, right, if you want. If you want to go to a private school. So everything where they're in English and Arabic is a language. But our English. It's not that strong English. Yeah, so sometimes here it's different from what I learned in my country because in my country, I learned something in general, but here it's more specific. Yeah. In our country, it is similar that in our country, even if we listen, it's the same strategies, but on the grammar and we don't write
anything. We don't have many writings and we just write at the exams and the final exams. But here we are always writing... (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

I asked her what she meant by her English not being strong and she responded, "I mean that it's, maybe, it's a little stronger when I talk. And I understand more than I talk But as a language as Listening, Listening speaking or in writing. I didn't think that it's very strong." (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2022)

As mentioned above, in the section on the participants' ideologies about English and multilingualism, English plays a central role in the Sultanate of Oman's schools, colleges, and universities because of the belief that English will remain the preeminent language of science, scholarship, and international business for the foreseeable future (Al-Mahrooqi \& Denman, 2018). As a result, English is taught as a subject in government schools, is used as a dominant medium of instruction across many tertiarylevel institutions and enjoys high levels of official support (Al-Mahrooqi \& Denman, 2018). It is the country's only official foreign language and is taught from the first grade (Al-Mahrooqi \& Denman, 2018). "Oman needs English - the only official foreign language in the country - as a fundamental tool for 'modernization', 'nationalization' and the acquisition of science and technology" (Al-Issa, 2007, pp. 199-200). The government has spent a huge amount of resources on supporting English instruction in the country since a formal education system was introduced in 1970, but this huge investment is yet to yield the expected gains (Al-Issa, 2011; Al-Mahrooqi, 2012; Al-Mahrooqi \& Asante, 2010; Moody, 2009, 2012, as cited in Al-Mahrooqi \& Denman, 2018). In line with what Ali and Buthaina said, tertiary-level graduates are often reported as being 'weak' in

English and with communication skills that are inadequate for the job market (AlMahrooqi \& Denman, 2018). Students start learning English from Grade 1 along with Arabic which is their mother tongue (Al-Jardani, 2013). They have 5-7 periods per week and each period lasts for 40 minutes, which makes for about three or four hours of English learning per week (Al-Jardani, 2017). While English is spoken in international institutions and big companies and for students, a 40-minute lesson per day for twelve years of primary education, it is rarely spoken at home (Al-Jardani, 2017). In a study that explored students' perspectives on low English proficiency in Oman, the researcher found that the major factors involved were : ineffective teachers, inadequate curricula, uninterested students, limited exposure to English outside the classroom, unsupportive parents, a poor school system, and peer group discouragement (Al-Mahrooqi, 2012). In this study, $85 \%$ of the participants thought that teachers are the major cause of their low level of English proficiency. They believed that the teachers were not well prepared or qualified and used old-fashioned, traditional teaching methods that were boring to the students. The teachers' English proficiency is low, and they do not work to improve this and lose their competence in English (Al-Mahrooqi, 2012; Al-Mahrooqi \& Sultana, 2012). They use simple language in the classroom and are mainly concerned with finishing the assigned curriculum, do not care about their students and are not motivated to teach. Most teachers teach only the textbook, and their teaching methods stimulate only lower order thinking and cognitive skills. The participants in the study also pointed out that some teachers use Arabic when teaching English, in fact, some teach English in Arabic (Al-Mahrooqi, 2012).

In the study cited above, the participants shared that a weak curriculum was also responsible for low proficiency in English (Al-Marooqi, 2012). Students often sit passively in the classroom and there is a lack of communicative tasks. Additionally, English is taught very formally and there is too much focus on grammar, with inadequate focus on reading (Al-Mahrooqi, 2012). Ali believed that his communicative skills in English were poor because his English teachers in school used a lot of Arabic to teach English. Buthaina, however, feels that she is better at spoken English, but her English education in Oman lacked specificity and writing practice. She finds her English classes in the United States are more specific, and she is able to practice a lot of writing in the US as well.

Similar to the participants from Japan and Oman, Thanh, a participant from Vietnam also shared how in her experience of learning English in her home country, the main focus was grammar and speaking. She said,

I prefer studying English here (in the United States) because in Vietnam I just focus on speaking and grammar. But when I come here, I can study about the listening, reading, speaking and grammar too. so studying English is really hard because the grammar in English is also different than the grammar in Vietnamese. I think that listening is the most difficult because until now I can make conversation with anyone but when I listen like a lecture for example, maybe I don't understand. Listening is very hard. But actually listening is also most important in English because you have to understand what they talk so you will study, right? Although I can speak and I can talk with anyone, but sometimes
when I study in class in person, maybe I don't understand when my teacher talk anything. It is really difficult. (Thanh, one-on-one interview, November 11, 2020).

Linh, another participant from Vietnam also spoke about how she has been learning English since she was five years old and can speak English fluently enough, but she still finds it hard to learn.

Ummmm, to me, I, even though, I .... Since I was a small student, English when I was in young ages, and I get to learn English, I not turn in. So I think that it's not really hard for me to speak English fluently. But, I think, I still have struggle while I learn English. Um. Uh, learning English? Sometimes I feel it's hard too. (Linh, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Unfortunately, due to internet connectivity issues, perhaps Linh's shyness, and a certain difficulty expressing herself in English, Linh was not able to elaborate further. However, both Thanh and Linh alluded to not feeling like their years of English education did not make them very proficient in English. English Language Teaching (ELT) in Vietnam started developing in 1986 when the Vietnamese government decided to attract foreign investment and English language centers came up all over the country, especially in Ho Chi Minh city, Hanoi, and other big cities (Hoa \& Tran, 2007). At present, English is the preferred foreign language in Vietnam and there is high demand for English language proficiency in jobs, business, and communication. In the public education system, English is a compulsory subject starting from third grade (Kirkpatrick, 2010) and to graduate from secondary school (grades six to nine), Vietnamese students are required to pass four national exams, one of which is for English or another foreign language (Tienphong, 2019 as cited in Tran \& Tanemura, 2020). For those who select

English, the two most important English examinations are the high school graduation exam and the university/college entrance exam (Tran \& Tanemura, 2020). Listening and speaking tests are not included in these exams (Le, 2007). Despite the growing importance of English in Vietnam, the quality of ELT in Vietnam tends to be low (Vu \& Peters, 2021). This partly reflected in the fact that a large number of Vietnamese learners of EFL are unable to communicate in English for survival needs despite many years of formal English instruction (Vu \& Peters, 2021). There is no national policy on which language should be the medium of instruction in English classrooms in Vietnam (T. Nguyen, 2017) and a number of studies have shown that Vietnamese teachers instruct in both English and Vietnamese and frequently code switch (Q. Nguyen, 2012, as cited in Tran \& Tanemura, 2020). Moon (2005) (as cited in Hoa \& Tuan, 2007) presented a conference paper on the investigation of English as primary level in Vietnam. This research sheds light on the methodology used by primary teachers, finding that the teaching methods are more suitable for adults, with the following features: a focus on form of the language and on accuracy rather than fluency, emphasis on reading and writing skills from the beginning stages, heavy use of repetition drills and whole class chorus work with the aim of helping students to learn the word perfectly, and lack of attention to and opportunities for using the language more freely and for communicative purposes (Moon, 2005, as cited in Hoa \& Tuan, 2007). Since the early 1990s, communicative language teaching has become popular in Vietnam because traditional pedagogy, which focused on grammar and vocabulary acquisition in isolation rather than communicative competence, did not satisfy the requirements of English learning (Pham, 2005 as cited in Vu \& Peters, 2021) In reality, however, the emphasis of ELT in Vietnam
is still primarily on reading and grammar (Nunan, 2003, as cited in Vu \& Peters, 2021). Even when there is focus on vocabulary, it is to facilitate reading and grammar exercises (Vu \& Peters, 2021). This is consistent with the English learning experiences in Vietnam that were shared by Linh and Thanh. Thanh shared that she struggles with listening, a skill she deems very important to facilitate understanding. While her English classes in Vietnam focused more on speaking and grammar, her experience of learning English in the United States is more holistic and she feels that she can focus equally on listening, reading, speaking and grammar as well.

Huang, a participant from China, while talking about her experience of learning English in China, mentioned that her mother is an English teacher and that gave her a head start and allowed her to have advanced linguistic skills even at a young age.

Okay, so, I started learning English at the age of 3. Yeah, we, in my city, I learned English from very young age. My mom, she is an English teacher, so I know a little bit better than anyone else at school. But basically, we started learning English in kindergarten too. Start from (age) three. So, I have no memories of how I started. But it's like, I know something because, because of my, I think it's because of my mom. So, I think I can get used to it. When I went to kindergarten, I spoke a little bit better than others. And, um, yeah. And then at school, it's like, uh, everything is like, everything I learn is, uh, a little bit earlier than anyone else. Uh, because of my mom. And the thing is in school, English education in school is easy for me. (Huang, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

When I asked her about the style of teaching, she had experienced in China, she said,
"Uh, I think more about it is like reading and writing. Speaking is, like, a little bit less than others." (Huang, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Growing up and learning English in China, Huang felt pretty good about her own proficiency in English compared to that of her peers and she found English learning to be an easy experience. She emphasized, however, that she owed this to the fact that her mother was an English teacher and helped her learn it, an advantage that her peers did not have. When I asked her about what the style of teaching was, she mentioned that the focus was largely on reading and writing and not so much on communication or spoken English. According to Liu, Lin, \& Wiley (2016), the most commonly adopted methodology in Chinese public schools throughout ELT history was the grammartranslation method, which was characterized by a systematic analysis of grammar, rote memorization of vocabulary, and emphasis on reading and writing. As a result, the Chinese educational system tends to produce learners who cannot use English for authentic communication even though they are able to pass English exams in reading and writing (Lin et al, 2016). To bring about a change in this situation, the Chinese Ministry of Education developed and implemented a series of English curriculum standards for schools at all levels that emphasized the productive use of English (i.e. speaking and writing) over only the learning of receptive English skills such as listening and reading (Chinese Ministry of Education, 2001a as cited in Lin et al, 2016). However, these changes have been hard to implement for varied reasons such as the lack of qualified teachers, absence of meaningful professional development opportunities, and the drawbacks of a high-stakes summative testing structure (Ruan \& Leung, 2012 as cited in Lin et al, 2016). In their study exploring Chinese learners' views on English language
teaching in China, Lin et al (2016) found that the participants tended to be most confident in their English reading skills and least confident in their English speaking, listening, and writing skills, and that they wished their teachers would focus more on those skills.

It is interesting that despite differences in the countries of origin (Japan, Oman, Vietnam, China), many participants shared that their English learning experiences in their home countries did not help them become adequately proficient in English. Some of the participants felt that they were able to speak in English but did not have confidence in listening or reading. Others spoke about how, in their countries, English was taught in their mother tongues, which did not help them gain proficiency. Some others spoke about how grammar tended to be the focus and they wished they had been able to get enough exposure to other aspects of using English, which they believe they were able to get here in their classes in the United States.

## Ideologies about language learning while studying abroad.

Many of the participants also reflected on their experience of learning English in the United States and indicated that learning it here, or in another country where English is the dominant language, had made a difference and that they had become more proficient in a relatively shorter time span.

Abbas grew up in Kuwait and started learning English in elementary school. Despite learning it over the course of several years, he found that he lacked the confidence to speak, and it was only after moving to the US that allowed him to feel more at ease with English.

So, I started learning English from elementary, but I don't have that much confidence to speak, so only I listen and understand it. But my tongue is so heavy to speak and communicate with other people, so that was a trouble I got with my cousins. But after a while of practicing, what made me more comfortable after I come here to United States, because here it is like an English country. So you need to communicate with other people in English. So, like that's what give me a boost or motivation to speak English. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Marie who grew up in Germany and learned English there also spoke about struggling with a teacher who taught too fast and not being able to speak easily until after moving to the US for higher education. She said,

It was really hard for me to learn English. We have like some similarities, like the sentence structures. But If I compared to learn a different language, then English is easier to learn but I think it was hard to me at the beginning because my teacher was really like When you say that he was going on, very fast with something and I think after like then I changed the instructor and she was more like slowly and she explained it more And we practice it more and Yeah, but now it's much easier if we live in America to learn English because you hear it, like every time. (Marie, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

Marie spoke about how she found learning English difficult, despite similarities shared with German, because she had instructors who progressed through class at a fast pace. She noticed learning English was easier after moving to the United States because
she was able to hear it around her all the time, she is surrounded by it. Like Marie, Leon also grew up in Germany. Prior to moving to the United States for higher education, he had spent one year of his high school education in Canada as a foreign exchange student. He shared,

The highest school is, like, called 'gymnasio' (high school). This is where I went and this one goes to ... okay, it depends from state to state, but normally to grade 12 and sentence to grade 13 and at that moment, I went to this school. Yeah, English was a way bigger deal. So, the teacher started just talking English in our classes and we actu... They actually taught us, like, grammar, vocabulary, everything.... speaking, listening, so like, reading, everything you needed. For me, like this, like, didn't work out so well to be honest, like, for me it's like the easiest way to learn the languages is want to actually talk them and Actually talk on a daily basis. So, until I went to Canada. My English was pretty bad. So I feel really uncomfortable talking in English and all of that. So, that wasn't so good but then when I went into Canada. So my English improved a lot and it really helped me. And then when I came back from Canada, I switched schools and I, um, went to school, high school where I have, like, a bilingual profile. So I had basically every subject in English. Too. So that really helped me all today to improve my English. (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

Unlike many other participants in this study, Leon's experience of learning English in Germany focused on various aspects of English such as grammar, vocabular, reading, writing, speaking etc. However, despite that, he did not think he was proficient in English and was uncomfortable speaking in it. However, his English improved
significantly when he moved to Canada for one year as a high school foreign exchange student and he kept up with the progress he had made by switching to a bilingual immersion program in Germany. In this program, each subject in school was taught in English, which he believes helped him improve his English skills.

Like Leon, Kaito, who grew up in Japan, also went to Australia as a high school student for a language program for three months and lived with a host family. This is what he shared about his experience there:

I actually, I went to the Australia for three months as a, like, language program when I was in high school, like 17 years old. Then I probably I learned English informally and formally as well. Because, like we have a lot of English. English classes and then like because I I live in in like host family, so I have to communicate with English and then listen to, listen to English, then like they used a lot of slang. I'm not good at English and I went to the Australia and then they have like real English, right? (Kaito, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

In the previous section, Kaito spoke about how his English learning experience in Japan did not equip him to have any conversational skills because the focus was on grammar. He believed that moving to Australia and living with a host family Interestingly, Kaito perceives Australian English, (perhaps in opposition to Japanese English) to be 'real' English.

In all of the quotes extracted above, the participants spoke about how poor or bad their English was while they still lived in their home countries and how much it improved after moving to the United States for their higher education or to Canada and Australia
where they spent time as exchange students. They hold deficit ideologies about their English which they learned in countries where German or Arabic or Japanese were their mother tongues or first languages. Abbas said that he did not feel confident speaking English because his tongue was very heavy which presumably led to different pronunciations and created communication problems. Leon said that despite having been taught reading, writing, grammar, and speaking skills, he felt uncomfortable speaking in English, until he moved to the US. Marie spoke about finding it easier to learn English in the US and Kaito said that taking many classes and living with a host family helped him pick up slang. And Ali, spoke about how

There exists a lot of research that recommends informal interactions with 'native' speakers to improve communicative skills, in both academic and nonacademic English learning environments (Lee \& Song, 2009; Lussier, Turer \& Desharnais, 1993; Martin, 1980; Yager, 1998; Zhang, 2005 as cited in Lee, 2016). Informal learning environments have been defined as natural setting(s) where learning takes place in real life situations and meaning is derived partly from context (Lee, 2016). Formal language learning is structured, purposeful, and school-based, while informal learning is unstructured and may lack a specific pedagogical purpose (Rogers, 2004). Nonetheless, informal learning is the most extensive and most important part of all the learning that all of us do every day of our lives (Rogers, 2004). Barbara Freed (1998), however, published a paper that problematized this notion. While she agrees that it is often the case that a combination of immersion in the native speech community. Combined with formal classroom learning results in the learning of many aspects of the language, she cautions that the extent to which the language is learned, and the style and dialect that is acquired, depends on
multiple variables (Freed, 1998). Following a careful review of the literature, she notes that test scores alone reveal little about the actual linguistic gains made by students who study abroad and that it is important to consider factors in a student's prior learning experience which might predict success abroad (Freed, 1998). Victoria Surtees (2016) notes that with social and critical turns in education and applied linguistics, there has been an increased focus on the role of language ideologies, discourses, and narratives as a way to connect macro and micro phenomena, such as language policy and everyday language practices, and to critically interrogate the field's long-standing assumptions about the nature of language(s). She also points out, however, that 'Study Abroad' research has typically preferred approaches to beliefs that rely on psychosocial frameworks, which view actions and experiences as the result of individual actions, knowledge, and desires. She argues that a language ideological framework can potentially further our understanding of why these beliefs appear at times contradictory and how they often continue to be reproduced (Surtees, 2016).

The existing 'study abroad' research on policy and advertising shows a clear parallel between students' and teachers' Study Abroad expectations and locally circulating institutional messages (Surtees, 2016). Allen and Dupuy (2012) discuss how the 'Communities Standard' for foreign language education in the USA is reflected in student and teacher attitudes towards study abroad programs. This national policy specifies learning outcomes for language education and is a guiding document for program design which references the importance of traveling to communities and countries where the language is used extensively to further develop their language skills and understanding of culture (National Standards, 2006, as cited in Allen \& Dupuy,
2012). The researchers found that the priorities set in the Communities Standard were reflected in US college students' own views of the value of study abroad (Allen \& Dupuy, 2012). Similarly, Zemach-Bersin (2009) compared the underlying narratives of Study Abroad advertising and the pre-sojourn expectations of twenty-two students at a liberal arts college in the USA. She discovered that the advertisements portrayed study abroad as an exotic adventure and commodity designed primarily for the individual consumer's self-improvement and personal fulfillment. The narratives of the student participants mirrored those that were found in the advertisements (Zemach-Bersin, 2009). Akalin and Zengin (2007) conducted a study with 711 Turkish participants and found that a majority of them considered living in the country where the target language is spoken, interacting with native speakers of that language, and learning about the culture of the country were necessary conditions that maximize language learning. Studies have shown that positive opinions about the efficacy of Study Abroad programs are common throughout the world (Güvendir, 2017). Tanaka and Ellis (2003) note that there is a general assumption that natural settings involving informal learning through out-of-class contact with the L2 leads to higher levels of proficiency than educational settings where instruction is provided.

It may be argued that 'Study Abroad' is a different, usually short-term experience and it cannot be compared with studying abroad or moving abroad for higher education. In a study abroad program, participants are usually still enrolled in and tied to their school or institution in their home country and move abroad for a short period of time, anywhere from a few weeks, a semester, or up to a whole year (Freed, 1995, Francofile,2021). Whereas, when a student moves to a different country for higher
education (like the participants in this study), they are enrolled in an institution in the new country, and it is usually a long-term program that goes on for anywhere from one to four or five years, depending on the field. Since the students pursuing higher education in a new country live there for longer, this experience is seen as more immersive compared to short-term study abroad programs. However, the narratives and discourses about the concept of 'study abroad' are uniform and similar across the world (Tanaka \& Ellis, 2003) and the participants in this study (who are international students, and some of whom have participated in 'study abroad' programs) are likely to hold those ideologies too even though they are in the USA for higher education. Isaac Gaines (2015), in his paper on increasing confidence and English use outside the ESL or IEP classroom for lower-level learners, notes, "from my experience teaching ESL, I have found that many study abroad students have fallen into the habit of using their first language while spending time with compatriots... I know from my own experience studying abroad, however, that making friends in a new country and in a new language is not easy" (p. 56). Many studies have found that not making friends with domestic native speakers has been found to contribute negatively toward second language acquisition and overall academic success (Gareis, Merkin, \& Goldman, 2011; Ward \& Margaret, 2004, as cited in Gaines, 2015). Gareis (2012) discovered that nearly $40 \%$ of international students, and a higher percentage of East-Asian students in American universities had no American friends, while many of those who did have American friends were dissatisfied with those relationships.

Doerr (2015) addressed and challenged the tendency of study abroad research and advertising to connect learning with linguistic immersion and noted that the field of study
abroad uncritically privileges experiential learning models. She analyzes advertisements and observes that the study abroad experience promises cultural and linguistic immersion in the host country, but the notion of immersion is not critically investigated and most discussions on immersion focus on supplementary activities such as well-planned predeparture courses, service learning, journal writing exercises, and ethnography projects to ensure its effectiveness. She subsequently describes the experiences of three American undergraduates in Europe who recognized that they "should" be attempting to immerse themselves through interaction with locals. However, two of them place greater value on learning from their fellow Americans or other international students. This research demonstrates how ideologies about language learning (in this case, learning through experiential immersion) can be simultaneously recognized and resisted by learners.

In this study, it can be seen in the quotes that I extracted from the data, that many participants hold deficit ideologies about their knowledge of English. The term 'deficit ideology' is drawn from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) And Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages TESOL) literature pertaining to the role of first language (L1) speaker norms in language learning. Over the course of a few decades, Firth (1990), Firth \& Wagner (1997), Kachru (1990), May (2011), Ortega (2012) have suggested that the worlds of SLA and TESOL have historically been dominated by a deficit ideology that positions the second (or additional) language (L2) user of a language as an imperfect user of the second language, as compared to the 'ideal' L1 user. As a result, the deficit ideology also assumes that it is the L2 user's (learner's) responsibility to conform to the norms of L1 communication as closely as possible in order to be viewed as a competent, although still imperfect, L2 user (Subtirelu, 2014). Even though it was varied in nature,
all the participants in this study had several years of experience of learning English in their home countries. While in some countries, there was greater focus on grammar, in other countries, the teaching of English consisted of teaching reading, writing, grammar, vocabulary, and conversational skills. Irrespective of the nature of their experience, most of the participants in this study expressed that they did not feel confident to speak in English in their home countries and when they first arrived in the United States for their undergraduate program or when two of them went to Canada and Australia for their study abroad stints.

The participants' quotes also reflect 'native speakerism' or 'native speakerist' ideologies that are dominant in the field of TESOL. Native speakerism is the tendency to privilege and uphold "native speakers" as inherently more qualified to teach English on the arbitrary basis of linguistic birthright (Jenks \& Lee, 2020). The use of the term 'native speaker' in English can be traced back to 1859 (Lowe, 2020). The use of the term increased in tandem with work on identifying standards of English in Britain, particularly in the face of perceived threats posed by the global diversification of the language, primarily American English, discourses of linguistic nationalism, and even the racial ideology of Anglo-Saxonism (Hackert, 2012, as cited in Lowe, 2020). Lowe (2020) observes that the term 'native speaker' is not an objective label, but it is, in fact, burdened with the political and social circumstances of its birth. The popularity of the term may have been further strengthened by a shift in Western education from the classical languages of Greek and Latin (there were no native speakers for these languages) to modern ones and by the parallel emphasis on spoken rather than written word (Dewaele, Bak, and Ortega, 2021). This was reinforced by Chomsky's influential concept of an
"ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly" (Chomsky, 1965 as cited in Dewaele et al, 2021). Despite outspoken criticism of the term in the late 20th century (Halliday, 1968, Ferguson, 1983; Pikeday, 1985), the native speaker myth has turned out to be resilient (Dewaele et al, 2021). On the contrary, Rampton (1990) noted that the efforts to drop or modify the term ended up testifying directly to their power and that any alterations made were merely cosmetic (as cited in Dewaele et al, 2021). Ramptom listed five properties for the myth behind the 'native speaker' label: a particular language is inherited, either through genetic endowment or through birth into a social group stereotypically associated with it, inheriting a language means being able to speak it well, people either are or are not native/mother-tongue speakers, being a native speaker involves the comprehensive grasp of a language, just as people are usually citizens of a one country, people are native speakers of one's mother tongue (p. 97, as cited in Dewaele et al, 2021). Jenks \& Lee (2020) argue that the imperviousness of native speakerism within TESOL results from the enduring ideological commitment to what they call native speaker saviorism, which reflects the long-standing assumption that the White community can "save" peoples of color by teaching them English.

More recently, a reconceptualization of native speakerism through a poststructural orientation that denaturalizes the non-native and native speakerist ideologies was proposed by Aneja (2016). As mentioned previously in Chapter 2, she argues that (non) native speakered subjectivities, or abstract, idealized notions of native and nonnative speakers, are historically grounded as well as constructed over time through the discursive practices of individuals and institutions. (Non) native speakering can be
understood as a process of subject formation and identity negotiation that is simultaneously historical and emergent, producing "effects of truth... within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false" (Foucault, 1980, p.118). In other words, people are not native or nonnative speakers per se, but rather, they are (non)native speakered with respect to different characteristics, through different institutional mechanisms, individual performances, and social negotiations.

The ideology of native speakering is reflected in the perspectives shared by the participants in this study. Kaito said that in Australia, there is "real" English. Most of the participants felt that they were only able to gain more confidence and speak well when they came to a country where the dominant or native language is English. They did not perceive the English that was taught to them and used in the contexts of their home countries as authentic and believe that it is in the United States or Australia or Canada ("inner circle" countries, Kachru, 1985) that native English can be found and learned.

I argue that it is a combination of three different ideologies and discourses that has resulted in the formation of the participants' belief that they can achieve increased proficiency in English by being in the inner-circle countries and by being in contact with native speakers of English (See Fig. 4.1 below).

Fig 4.1 Ideologies about language learning while studying abroad (increased proficiency through contact with native speakers


The participants believe that their English, which they learned for several years in their home countries, was not good enough or was poor and this is indicative of the deficit ideology. Coinciding with this ideology is the native speaker ideology, or the belief that the real or authentic language is in the possession of those who were born into it, which is also reflected in the participants' reflections. In addition to this, there are ideologies and discourses pertaining to the field of 'study abroad', where national policies and advertisements in schools and colleges promise students that studying abroad gives students a culturally and linguistically immersive experience which leads to increased proficiency in the language being learned. The intersection of deficit ideology, native speaker ideology, and the discourse surrounding study abroad experiences leads to the creation of the ideology that being in contact with native speakers and in a country where the language being learned is the native language promotes greater proficiency in the language.

## Ideologies about translanguaging

As mentioned earlier in this chapter and in chapter 2, in contrast to research on student or learner beliefs, which tends to conceptualize ideas as individual and static understandings, research on language ideologies highlights the ways systems of belief are socially constructed and contextually incentivized (Ahearn, 2012, as cited in Marshall, McClain, and McBride, 2023). Language ideologies are the stories we tell each other and the explanations we give each other about what language is, why language varies, and whose language matters (McClain, 2020). Language ideologies frequently serve the interests of dominant groups (Ahearn 2012, as cited in Marshall et al, 2023), reifying systems of linguistic discrimination (Lippi-Green, 2012).

This study draws from Garci \& Wei’s (2015) definition of translanguaging as well as the related concept of translingual practice from Canagarajah (2013) to refer to the various ways in which multilingual learners use and mix their linguistic repertoire in the classroom as a means to support their learning of the new language. These may include intentional strategies such as identifying a cognate, or more generally the bi/multilingual sense-making which is common amongst language learners (Garcia \& Wei, 2014). A translanguaging space advocates a multilingual pedagogical stance that accepts all existing semiotic and linguistic resources of teachers and students in the process of language learning and use (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese \& Blackredge, 2010; Li, 2011, 2018). When students use more than one language in communication, they are selecting language features from their overall repertoire in ways that help them fulfill their communicative needs and assert their linguistic and cultural identities (Garcia \& Wei, 2014). When translanguaging pedagogy is adopted, the entire linguistic repertoire of a
learner is valued and employed as a scaffolding and affordance strategy in learning an additional language (Cenoz \& Garter, 2020; Walker, 2018). From a cultural perspective, a translanguaging approach encourages equal participation and spontaneous communication between teachers and learners in an increasingly multilingual world (Duff, 2019). As a critical theory in nature, translanguaging empowers additional language learners with a legitimate voice in the class. Student knowledge of their languages is valuable for the teaching and learning for the second or additional languages (Wang, 2020).

Although it is being increasingly accepted as a scaffolding strategy, translanguaging is rarely accepted as a legitimate practice that students should understand how to do (Garcia \& Li, 2014). Translanguaging pedagogies are frequently undermined by ideologies of linguistic purity: the common sense' assumptions that multilinguals are simply the sum of their monolingual competencies (Grosjean, 1989), that simultaneous multilinguals suffer from 'languagelessness' (Rosa, 2016), and that language mixing hinders students' mastery of politically named languages (Grosjean, 1989; Rosa, 2016; McClain 2020, as cited Marshall et al, 2023). Teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards language and instruction, and the connection to language mixing have been studied by many scholars (Gkaintartzi,Kiliari, and Tsokalidou, 2015; Palmer, 2011; Razfar, 2012; Sayer, 2012; Young, 2014 as cited in Aghai, Sayer, and Vercellotti 2020). Sayer (2012) argued that the relationship between a language ideology that a teacher holds and a corresponding language practice is not simple and competing ideologies can exist in a community and influence language practices. Teachers' language ideologies often become the basis of de facto classroom language policies (Palmer, 2011). Garcia (2009)
stated that different languages and standards are imposed as a result of an ideology in a classroom. Scholars have noted that many bilingual teachers, especially those in dual language programs, have ideologies that validate translanguaging (Aghai et al, 2020). However, second and foreign language TESOL contexts with adult language learners are still most often seen by teachers through a monolingual prism (Aghai et al, 2020).

The monolingual ideology amongst ESL teachers has often been supported by work in second language acquisition (SLA) (Aghai et al, 2020). Until a couple of decades ago, the general belief in the field of SLA was that there is a clash between using the first language and second language which would result in negative transfer and reduce the amount of exposure and students' opportunities to practice the target language (Duff \& Polio, 1990 as cited in Aghai et al, 2020). ESL teacher are the agents who shape and influence their students' translanguaging practices by encouraging, ignoring, or prohibiting them from translanguaging in the classroom (Aghai et al, 2020). In their study exploring the effects of teachers' language ideologies on language learners' translanguaging practices in an Intensive English Program, Aghai et al (2020) adopted the classic framework: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource (Richard Ruiz, 1984). Hult and Hornberger (2016) explained that these orientations, which are the three main types of language ideologies, have been widely used to inform the analysis of language policy and planning. This framework enabled them to analyze the manner in which their three participants' views of translanguaging represented distinct ideologies and the beliefs they had about the positive or the negative role that the first language could play in learning the second language. They combined Ruiz's (1984) orientation framework with their analysis of the teachers' views of
translanguaging and renamed the ideologies: Translanguaging-as-a-problem, translanguaging-as-a-natural-process, and translanguaging-as-a-resource.

In this study, I asked the participants if their teachers asked about the multiple languages that the participants knew, if they drew from their entire linguistic repertoire in the process of learning a new language, whether their teachers encouraged them to do so, what their teachers felt about this and whether they agreed with their teachers' thoughts and actions toward translanguaging. The analysis revealed that there was a stark difference in their ideologies vis a vis their practice. In practice, many of the participants’ statements showed that they considered translanguaging to be a natural process and to be a resource. However, even though in practice they did engage in translanguaging, overwhelmingly, all of the participants claimed that they conceptualized translanguaging to be a problem for their language acquisition (see Fig. 2 below) While they spoke about how they use the languages in their repertoire in their acquisition of a new one (most examples were about English acquisition), they believed that one must use the target language alone to learn it, a monolingual ideology that is common in the field of SLA. Below, with examples from the data, I elaborate on how their practice reflects the ideologies of 'translanguaging-as-a-natural process' and 'translanguaging-as-a-resource'. Subsequently, I move on to provide details on how, despite the ideologies reflected in their practice, they ideologize translanguaging to be a problem, in a section titled 'translanguaging-as-a-problem'.

Figure 4.2 Ideologies about translanguaging


## Translanguaging: Practice

Translanguaging-as-a-natural-process. As mentioned above, many participants in the study shared instances where they had a natural tendency to use their overall or prior linguistic knowledge in the process of learning a new language. Their translanguaging practices take many different forms. Abbas reflected and spoke eloquently about his processes.

Uh, yes, I use Google Translate a lot cause sometimes, even when I speak like English very well, some words I don't know what is it exactly even when they give me a meaning in English. So, it's hard to understand. Or maybe, I understand it but it's different cause every single word have a lot of meanings. So maybe you
give me this meaning and I understand another one. So, I need to little bit translate it in my own language. Or sometimes, I research about it. So, it's little bit take times as multilinguals. Sometimes, it's my own experience, I confuse the language. So, there's one funny moment. One of my friends, he start speaking English with me and blah blah and he switched to French. And I switched to Arabic, automatically in the same conversation. But then we were like, let's return to our language. So, sometimes, it's like, the language, it's like mixed together, mixed. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Abbas observes that he uses online translation services frequently to help with meaning-making and communication, especially when it concerns words that have more than one meaning. He needs to translate to Arabic in those instances. He also speaks about how instinctive or natural it can be for multilinguals to use more than one language while communicating with each other and it often happens without any deliberate effort. He reflected further on his process of drawing from his linguistic repertoire and added,

When the instructors are speaking English a lot, I won't, like, translate every single word, word by word, but it gives me a different meaning. But, when I listen to English, I understand it very well. But, when I translate it, it's different. It's like - how can I understand his... it's like, it comes natural with the physical body and the hand gestures and body movements. It's like, okay, okay, it's hard to translate every single word. But at least, I understand what it's about. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

Abbas said that in situations where his instructors speak at length, he finds it futile to translate each word because often the meanings generated are not relevant. He knows
that he can understand English well and this understanding is influenced largely by the physical body; hand gestures and movements. The combination of verbal and body language allow him to understand what is being said even though he may not be able to translate every word. He mentions specifically how it is something that comes 'naturally'. Otheguy, Garcia, \& Reid (2015) explain that the idea of a language repertoire transcends traditional conceptualizations of language, and disrupts the notion of languages as discrete, bounded systems. It recognizes all of language users' fluid language and multimodal practices as part of an integrated meaning-making system. Block (2014) noted that whilst applied linguistic research has made significant progress in overcoming the monolingual bias in the last two decades, there remains a 'lingual bias', or the tendency to conceive of communicative practices exclusively in terms of the linguistic (morphological, syntax, phonology, lexis). He termed this 'linguialism' and urged applied linguists, especially those in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) to move beyond it to embrace multilingual embodiment and multimodality. Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, and Tapio (2017) point out that communicative repertoires are inherently multimodal and therefore, we should refer to semiotic repertoires rather than linguistic repertoires. Semiotic repertoires include but are not limited to the linguistic. They include aspects of communication that are not always thought of as 'language', including gesture, posture, and so on; they are arecord of mobility and experience, they include gaps and silences as well as potentialities, and they are responsive to the places in which, and the people with whom semiotic resources may be deployed (Blackledge, Creese, \& Hu, 2015). Blackledge \& Creese (2015) conducted a study to investigate how people communicate in superdiverse cities in the United Kingdom. They studied three interactions between
butchers and their customers at a butcher's stall in a city market. They found that gesture and body were deployed as resources and through their analysis they argue that when people's biographical and linguistic histories barely overlap, they translanguage through the deployment of wide-ranging semiotic repertoires. They propose that "in communicating with resources available at particular times and in particular spaces, they do not separate the linguistic from the embodied, but make meaning through repertoires of signs which integrate verbal and non-verbal action" (p.255). Cai and Fang (2022) conducted a study to investigate teachers' usage of and attitudes toward translanguaging at two universities, one in Macau and the other in Mainland China. They found that teachers' Powerpoint presentations, lectures, gestures, objects, touch, tone, and blackboard writing were included in the use of translanguaging. Belhiah (2013) demonstrated how gestures can be used as a resource for achieving mutual understanding and displaying alignment and intersubjectivity in second language learning situations.

If I look back at my own past experience as a French as a foreign language student and teacher with the Alliance Francaise de Mumbai, India, the importance of teaching French only in French was drilled into me in both the roles. My teachers never once used English or any Indian language such as Hindi while teaching French. If this did not instill the monolingual bias in me, my teacher training program did the needful by reminding us, future teachers, that the usage of other languages to French was detrimental and that using French alone to teach French was the only acceptable and efficient way of teaching it. It is important to point out that these ideologies about the target language exist because there are educational contexts, where the target language is not used at all and the students do not learn. As a result, these rigid policies that do not reflect natural
practices are made in the interest of protecting students' learning. In my 'level one' class, where I taught absolute beginners (or "vrais débutants"), I was allowed to use English briefly, for fifteen to twenty minutes, at the very beginning of the first-class meeting. I remember spending a significant portion of those few minutes letting my students know that after this time, I would only speak with them in French and encouraged them to speak and think in French. I diligently avoided the use of English or any other verbal language over the new few months, however, I relied heavily on the use of body language, gestures, miming, photos on the internet or in the books, and my terrible acting skills to help my students make meaning, understand, and learn French. For example, when I would teach them how to speak about their nationality ('Je suis indienne' - I am Indian), I would draw a quick sketch of the map or India or I would pretend to hoist and salute a flag, or hum the tune of the Indian national anthem, and also used the sound of the word 'Indienne' (which sounds somewhat similar to Indian) to help them figure out what I was trying to say. I believed for the longest time that my students and I were not translanguaging, because like the research mentioned above pointed out, my understanding of translanguaging was restricted to the use of verbal languages. However, my body movements, gestures, and other modes of teaching (photos, PowerPoints etc.) were used by my students and me to help make meaning. I was aware that I shared at least two other verbal languages and gestures or nonverbal semiotic repertoires in common with my students. My students and I used these multimodal semiotic repertoires, to borrow Abbas' words, 'naturally' to help the meaning-making and communicative process.

Besides using common multimodal semiotic repertoires, I also used more verbal linguistic translanguaging pedagogies in the classroom. When I taught the Subjunctive mood (the manner of expressing hypothetical situations and outcomes such as wishes, hopes, desires etc.) to my students in French, I invariably relied on our shared knowledge of Hindi and/or Marathi (rather than English) to help their learning process, because the structure in some cases, such as when expressing negativity or doubt was exactly similar in these three languages, and not quite as similar with English. This illustrates how translanguaging is not only translation. It requires learners to think about how things function in their other languages to help them grasp or learn something. This is further explained in the next sub-section on translanguaging-as-a-resource.

Two of the participants in my study were from the same countries, shared their mother tongue, and were friends (although they were in different focus groups). I asked Marie and Leon if they ever conferred with each other in German during English class to help themselves understand the assigned task or the reading better and faster. Here is what Marie and Leon said in separate interviews. Marie noted, "Um, yeah, sometimes I have, like, a question, what do we have to do. So, I'm asking Leon in German. Because it's easier for me to understand." (Marie, focus group interview, October 30, 2020). Similarly, Leon observed:

Yeah, and I think this actually happens a lot. So, I know, like, sometimes you don't get a word or like you're not paying attention in class. And then you ask real quick. What was that, and you don't want the teacher to understand you, because I know it's kind of rude. When you're not listening to them. So, ha-ha, so you asked that in German quick. (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

Garcia (2010) argued that translanguaging goes beyond code-switching and translation in education because it refers to the process in which students perform bilingually in the myriad multimodal ways of classrooms - reading, writing, taking notes, discussing, signing, and so on. In a classroom setting, when students have common languages or share their linguistic repertoire, it is natural for them to switch between the two (or more) languages. A translanguaging lens proposes that, rather than making decisions about which language to use in a particular social setting, people have a linguistic repertoire from which they select resources to communicate (Creese \& Blackledge, 2015). Ryosuke Aoyama (2020) conducted a study to examine advanced Japanese high school students' use of and perceptions toward using their first language (Japanese) in translanguaging during communicative second language (English) activities. The quantitative survey results of this study indicated that all the students partially used Japanese during communicative English activities to varying degrees. The classroom observations revealed the students' use of the first language for various purposes during communicative tasks which included asking for help, for equivalents, and for metalanguage (Sampson, 2012 as cited in Aoyama, 2020). According to Aoyama (2020), "through using these speech functions, the observed students showcased their ability to leverage their linguistic resources in their language system, which exemplifies translanguaging practice that Garcia \& Kelin (2016) refer to. The students' translanguaging practice highlighted their dynamic multilingual communication triggered by classroom discourse where the first language is shared among the students. Cook (2001) stated that "like nature, the first language creeps back in, however many times you throw it out with a pitchfork" (p. 405). In the study conducted by Aghai et al (2020)
exploring the effects of teachers' language ideologies on learners in an Intensive English program, one of the teacher participants, Nasser noted that translanguaging is a 'natural occurrence' not only for learning a second language, but also for communicating with students who share the same native language. He added that in the IEP, a large number of teachers told their students not to speak in Arabic, but the students speak in Arabic anyways. When he was a student, he noticed that his Chinese classmates who spoke fluent English always spoke with each other in Chinese when they worked together. He himself code switched between English and Arabic when he worked with Saudi classmates because it is unnatural to speak in English when one is speaking with someone who shares one's native language.

Huang, a participant in this study who grew up in China also spoke about this. She said,

So, I was in a school that has a lot of international students who speak Mandarin. And also, there are some local people. But every time when all the international get together, the local students, we used to prefer to speak our own language. (Huang, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Abbas had made similar observations amongst his friends,

As I see, okay, that my friends from China, when they start speaking English with me and my classroom, okay, we have fun, we communicate with each other, we go out. But when he goes with his own friends from China - it's not even from like same town. It's like he's from south and other people from north, it's the same country - China. So, like, he feels more comfortable and speak more fluently and
feel happy more than when you go out and speak a different language, even when I know him from three years. But it's more common, cause it's my own language, it's my identity. So, like, it feels, like, different. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Nasser, the teacher in Aghai et al's (2020) study, like Huang and Abbas, noted that regardless of a speaker's proficiency in a second language, when students share the same native language, they will speak in their first language rather than the language being learned. When students use their native language, they increase their comprehension in the second language, which, in turn helps them become more aware of how they can draw from their linguistic repertoire to assist them with learning the second language (Aghai et al, 2020). Lucas and Katz (1994) observed that using students' native language has psychological benefits in addition to serving as a practical pedagogical tool for providing access to academic content, allowing more effective interaction, and providing greater access to prior knowledge.

Translanguaging-as-a-resource. Many of the participants in this study shared experiences where they said that they found the process of translanguaging and their use of their prior linguistic knowledge to be a resource that supports their acquisition of a new language. Marie spoke about morphological and syntactic similarity between German and English which she found to be particularly helpful. She shared,

We have a lot of words that are similar to English. That's pretty helpful. Like they're pretty close like not really close, but we have like a lot of similar words right and that helps me a lot. As, like, information is like 'informationen'. Okay it's like to say, and we have only an ' $e$ ' and an ' $n$ '. So, it's, it's the same also the
pronunciation is Yeah, if I compare to German the sentence structure is kind of the same. Like I used the future like the future thing I will go to school. It's like the same structure as that in German. (Marie, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

Leon shared his thoughts about the morphological similarities between German, English, and Latin.

Now I have to think about my Latin. Like that, like Latin is more similar to German. But German and English are also, like, pretty similar too, so I bet there are similarities. So like, especially the word stems in Latin, and German that you can use a lot of words from Lati to get to, to understand the German terms. So, yeah. So probably you can use. Yeah, I am pretty sure you can use it in English, too, but I have no good example right now. (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

Rahul shared a similar experience with regard to learning French in India. Here is an extract from the conversation with Rahul.

Rahul: I mean when I started, like, learning French. It was very similar to English spellings and certain words. Maybe 70-80\% of the words were similar to English. So, it was very easy to correlate the meaning.

Madhur: Right. So, you used English to help you learn French.

Rahul: Yes, like, I had to make sure to not pronounce ' $h$ ' while I was speaking French. I remember it was pretty similar. (Rahul, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

Rahul noticed the similarities between French and English, and also a point of difference. Essentially, he used his knowledge of English to help his acquisition of French. This is something that teachers can encourage their students to do if they are aware of their students' other languages. Or, at the very least, they can certainly encourage their students to draw from their entire linguistic repertoires, and think like Rahul, because they may not always go back to their other languages to help them. Buthaina also joined in this conversation with great excitement to share some words and gender patterns that allow her to make connections between her first language, Arabic, and English.

I remember! Alcohol! In our country, we say 'kuhulon'. So, I listen alcohol and I think alcohol. It's Arabic language! It means the same thing. Even cotton. It's the same meaning. We say 'coton'. And when I come here, they say cotton. So, that's I think one of the things I realized. Also, in Arabic and English, there is 'she' and 'he'. "Hua' and 'Hia' - in Arabic we say that for she and he. But in Swahili, many words, it's for the ladies and boys. So, I always connect that too. (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

Buthaina instantly made connections between words that sounded similar in both Arabic and English. She also used her linguistic repertoire to help her learn English by comparing the use of gender in Arabic, English, and Swahili. She pointed out that in Arabic, they use the same third person singular pronoun for 'he' and 'she'. In Swahili, there is no gender. On the website, My Languages (n.d.), they note, "In English it is known that feminine refers to female qualities attributed specifically to women and girls or things considered feminine. The complement to feminine is masculine. In Swahili,
nouns are not masculine, feminine, they might be considered 'neutral'." In Arabic however, like in English, there are separate words for 'she' and 'he'. Buthaina has found that she uses Arabic as a frame of reference to help her learn English and she specifically reminds herself that it is not like Swahili where the same word can be used to refer to 'he' and 'she'.

Ali reflected on his use of his first language in the process of learning English and remarked that he resorts to it more when he is writing an essay or an email to an instructor. '

When I start, like, writing an essay or sometimes an email to instructor, I start thinking in Arabic. And then I try to translate to English. I don't have a lot of vocabulary in English or my brain is still first thinking in Arabic. If you use your dictionary or translator, Google translator and sometimes it will be a lot of mistakes, especially.

I asked him if he corrects those mistakes by himself. "Yeah, I change, I change it and try to get the best sentence I can" (Ali, focus group interview, November 3, 2020). Leon also believed that he uses his knowledge of German more when he is trying to write in English, especially formal writing like essays, than when he is speaking in English.

So actually, when I talk to do it. But when I actually when I write like formal essays and all that, I start like by making up the sentence in German, and then I come up with an idea how to do it like in English. This is how I do it. But just like we need formal stuff because I think it's so much easier to like to relate to use my, to use my German writing skills because I am pretty sure they are way more
advanced than my English ones to come up like to make proper like formal sentence. And then I make it into like a proper English sentence, a formal English sentence. This always really help me when I am when I am writing essays. But otherwise, I just speak English. And they also normally I think in English... But also, like, but also not like when it's like when I just text with my friends. Then I then it's just Just English, English, but when it's like really formal and I know that I have to put some effort in it because like moving my grade depends on it. Then I actually would check it with like a German sentence, how I would say it in German, and then I translate into English.

I asked him if he believes this helps him. "That really helps. But I think like in the moment I get like even better in English." (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

Multilingual speakers select features from a repertoire and assemble their language practices in ways that fit their communicative situations (Garcia, 2009; Velasco \& Garcia, 2014, as cited in Kiramba, 2017). Ali and Leon both used their first languages while constructing formal texts in English, to be able to express themselves to the best of their abilities in English, the language that they are learning. After reviewing the relevant literature, Velasco and Garcia (2014) note that bilingual writers use different problemsolving strategies and exhibit ways of expressing meaning that are not present in monolingual writing and is unique to bilinguals. For example, bilingual writers often use 'back translations' which entails translating words and phrases that they are using in one language into the 'other' language. This is often used, like in Leon and Ali's cases, to verify the intended meaning or use (Wolferberge, 2003, as cited in Velascco \& Garcia,
2014). Thus, students use translanguaging in writing as a resource to achieve higher standards of thought, creativity, and language use compared to the writing of a multilingual (Velasco \& Garcia, 2014).

These processes shared by Ali and Leon and the literature on translanguaging in writing cited above reminds me of my own process of writing synopsis for a writing class I took in French more than a decade ago in 2011. I remember one particular assignment that required me to write a very short synopsis of a page long article on 'ageism'. It was a challenging task. I had to make sure I was including all the most important points in the article in a very, very concise manner. Like Ali mentioned, I also remember using Google Translator on and off to enable me to express myself better. But I knew, like Ali, that often translators are incorrect, so I was also relying heavily on my own knowledge of French to edit and modify it. When the course instructor, a French citizen and therefore, in my worldview back then, the ideal 'native speaker' of French, saw my synopsis and wrote 'Très bon texte!' (Very good text), I remember feeling both great and guilty at the same time, because I felt that I had done something wrong to have used Google Translator. After speaking with the participants and reading this research, I have realized that I was translanguaging, and that as a multilingual, my process and approach toward writing in was different. I feel like I can now let go of the feeling of guilt or like I had engaged in some sort of 'cheating on a test', that I had felt back then and have subconsciously carried with me for all these years.

Research on translanguaging conducted in the field of bilingual education has suggested that it is a valuable resource for learning (Burton \& Rajendram, 2019). The reported benefits of translanguaging in the literature include building background
knowledge, promoting a fuller understanding of the subject matter, developing higher order thinking skills, building metacognitive ability, engaging learners in identity investment, and interrogating linguistic inequality (Carroll \& Sambolín Morales, 2016; Duarte, 2016; García, Johnson, \& Sel $\square$ er, 2017; García \& Li Wei, 2014; Wiley \& García, 2016 as cited in Burton \& Rajendram, 2019). Translanguaging as a pedagogical practice has also been shown to be advantageous specifically for second language learning, by enabling, for example, cross-linguistic transfer, promoting collaborative language learning, and helping student develop a more critical understanding of language and culture (Bono \& Stratilaki, 2009; French, 2016; Rajendram, 2019, as cited in Burton \& Rajendram, 2019). The data from this study reflects many of the practices mentioned above being used by the participants as a resource in their learning of a new language. This section focused on the practices of the participants in this study where it is evident that they indulge in translanguaging as a natural process and use it as a resource. However, as mentioned in the introductory part of this theme, the participants, despite their practice, ideologize translanguaging to be a problem in their process of learning a new language. The following section elaborates on how the participants view translanguaging as a problem to their language acquisition.

## Translanguaging: Ideologies

Translanguaging-as-a-problem. As seen in the previous section, during various focus group interviews, I asked the participants if their mother tongues and the other languages they knew in the process of learning English. Many of the participants (quoted in the previous section) pointed out how this was a natural process for them and one that they used purposefully as a resource. However, there were some participants who shared
that they did not find the process feasible or helpful and perceived it to be problematic. Thanh used the word 'weird' to explain why she prefers to use English to learn English and how she felt about using English to learn Vietnamese.

Hmm, actually I just use English to study English because when I use Vietnamese to study English, when you translate from Vietnamese to English, it's really weird. So, yeah, I think just to use English to study English is better than to use another language to study English. (Thanh, interview, November 11, 2020) Kaito said,

So, for Japanese, like, the grammar and sentence structure is totally different from English one so I don't make a connection with them but Like I only connect the like technical term. Like yeah, taking the time to the my own language because it's a hard to, it's hard to memorize it, but I try to, I try to learn English as English. It's kind of separate yeah. (Kaito, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

I asked Kaito what he meant by technical terms. He said that he could not come up with an example, but he was referring to scientific terms or terms from Economics which had been incorporated into the Japanese language directly from English. He emphasized that he perceived the two languages to be very dissimilar in terms of grammar and sentence structure, and therefore, he prefers to learn English "as English" and to keep both the languages "separate". Ali also believed the same about Arabic and English. When asked if he uses Arabic to learn English and if he believes teachers should encourage him to use his prior linguistic knowledge to learn English,

Ali: I don't think so, because there is no, not a lot of connection between English and Arabic. So, it's not useful. Okay, yeah.

Madhur: So you mean that there are no similar words or grammar, sentence construction. Is there anything similar? Nothing at all?

Ali: I don't think so. Okay. (Ali, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

Interestingly, in the previous section we saw that Ali relied on his knowledge of Arabic and drew from it in the process of writing essays and emails to instructors. However, he also said (above) that there are no similar words and therefore he does not find it useful to use his knowledge of Arabic to learn English. In a study exploring the attitudes of bilingual future teachers towards translanguaging, a classroom assignment required the participants to move across Modern Standard Arabic, their native Emirati Arabic, and English (Al Bataineh \& Gallagher, 2021). One of the findings of this study was that the participants rejected translanguaging in writing for fear of potential tensions between the three languages, which they believed were caused by the linguistic distance between Modern Standard Arabic and English. One of the participants in the study said, like Ali, that Arabic and English are totally different languages. Kaito also spoke about how different Japanese and English are and how he does not see any connection between the two that would help him learn English. The perception of language distance is considered a decisive factor in cross-linguistic influence, since the subjective perception of language similarity influences the identification of objective similarities between languages (Cenoz, Hufeisen, \& Jessner, 2001).

Leon also shared that he deliberately and thoughtfully uses his knowledge of German to aid his 'formal writing' in English. However, like Ali, he also stressed that he wants to get rid of it, he knows that it is not useful, and he wants to keep German and English separate.

I don't know, I kinda want to get like rid of it like that. I think in German when I talk English because I know like sometimes it's not it's not useful because like this happening to me like I noticed, like the past week. So sometimes I want to say something in German, I'm talking to my English friend and then, they just the exit(ed) because I was talking, and not paying attention. I just said, like a German word by accident. So ... And this is happening because something, then I'm, then I'm thinking, and then I'm not really paying attention, what I'm doing. And I'm just talking and then like one second to another, like I'm in German, and I think like if you'd like always had the connection from the English words to German words. I feel like this happens a lot, especially when you use that particular word the teacher tried to teach you. So I feel like it's better if you actually try to like get the context clue, or like if you use a synonym to understand the word. And yeah, as I already said like, the best way to learning language is like talking and like my just by talking and like speaking with my roommates. I learn so many new, like, words with my American friends. I learned so many new vocabularies. Since... I'm. So, yeah, this is my opinion when more helpful than like actually making connection to your own language because I would try to like not true. Yeah, I would try to keep them separated because Otherwise, you always like try to yeah because you're always otherwise you're always trying to make a connection in German
even when I'm talking to my friends now. (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

In Leon's case, it was not language distance that made translanguaging seem like a problem. He felt that he was, at times, relying too much on his knowledge of German and lost track of what he was saying. This led to him accidentally saying German words while speaking in English, which led his interlocutors to disengage from the conversation. He felt that he needed to make conscious efforts to keep his German separate because he was always trying to make a connection with German even while speaking with his friends. Leon believes that using his knowledge of German was beneficial, but he felt that he was relying on it too much, which was hindering his learning of English.

The participants in this study were asked if their teachers (in their home countries or in the United States) knew about their multilingualism, whether they encouraged them to use their entire linguistic repertoire in their acquisition of English. I asked them about their teachers' reactions to their students' use of their other languages to learn English, and finally, how they felt about their teachers' beliefs. Most of the participants reported that their teachers were not aware of their multilinguality. Overwhelmingly, with very few exceptions, it was revealed that the participants felt that their teachers were disapproving of translanguaging practices and that the teachers believed that English is best learned in English alone. When asked how they felt about this, the participants were in agreement with their teachers' beliefs and shared the view of translanguaging to be a hindrance or problem in their learning of a new language (mostly English).

When asked if their teachers knew about their multilingualism, most of the participants reported that their teachers in the United States knew about their mother tongues or first languages but did not really ask them if they knew or spoke any other languages. Here are some extracts from the data highlighting the participants' experiences with this. Abbas said,

Hmmm, nada. No. They don't know. They just, just, they just said, "do you speak your mother language?" and that's it. But they didn't ask about, "How many languages do you speak? Or how many languages do you understand?" They didn't ask me that. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Here is an extract from my interview with Thanh:

Madhur: Do you think they know that you speak Thai and Mandarin. Do they know the different languages... not the language. But do they know that you know these languages?

Thanh: No

Madhur: No? So, they don't know that you speak Vietnamese?

Thanh: Yeah, they know that I speak Vietnamese. But other language I don't share with anyone, so..

Madhur: Why don't you share?

Thanh: Maybe cause they don't ask me (Thanh, one on one interview, November 11, 2020)

Rahul spoke about how the teachers in his English (IEP) classes ask students about the language they speak on the first day and how it seems to be more of a 'formality'.

On the first day, like, not the academic classes, just the English language classes. Have an introduction day when they ask you what language you speak. I mean they don't put a lot of emphasis on it. Just basic, like asking it just for a formality. (Rahul, focus group interview, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

Marie was the only participant who said that only one of her teachers knew that she spoke German and Dutch.

Some instructors ask us where we are from what kind of languages, we can speak but things. Sometimes they don't. I think only one instructor knew that I know Dutch. And that I think is Tara (pseudonym), because we have done like an introduction video. So, yeah, yeah. (Marie, October 30, 2020)

Based on the participants' responses, it appears that most instructors are not aware of the multilinguality or their students. Interestingly, I had a similar experience when I first approached instructors in the Intensive English Program informally to tell them about my research topic and to let them know that I would be soon approaching them formally to recruit participants for my data. The three or four instructors that I spoke with were all worried and concerned for me because they were highly doubtful about being able to find a large enough number of multilingual participants for my study. They were very certain that nearly all of their students in their IEP classes were emergent bilinguals and only spoke one other language besides English, which they were in the process of
learning. After speaking with them, I was worried too. However, as mentioned in chapter 3, when I started the recruitment process, I only ever went to one classroom and spoke about my research study to a group of twenty odd students. I specified that I was looking for participants who were multilingual and by the end of my ten-minute talk, I was able to recruit all ten participants who were interviewed in this study. It appears that while the ESL teachers do know the home countries and the first languages of the students in their classrooms, they do not recognize the multilingualism of their students. The participants seemed to share this idea that their multilingualism was not of much relevance. During the interviews, some of the participants did not understand why teachers needed to know about their linguistic background at all. One of the participants, Ali, asked me, in a somewhat incredulous manner, why it was necessary for them to know their students' linguistic backgrounds. Here's an extract from the interview:

Madhur: Ali, do you think teachers should know that you know you speak Arabic and that you think in Arabic and, you know, things like that? Do you think that'll be helpful to you?

Ali: No, I don't think so.

Madhur Shende: Why not?

Ali: I don't have a reason to tell them. Like why do they want to know? (Ali, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

Kaito's shared this view with Ali:

Madhur: What are your thoughts, Kaito? So, what do you think? Do you think your teachers should know about the other languages that you know?

Kaito: I don't think so.

Madhur: Why?

Kaito: Okay, I don't have particular reason that I just, I just thought, it's not necessary, you know, English is that, just, international language, if you can speak English, that's fine you know. You know, uh, you know unless, we can't communicate in English. So, so I For me, I don't use Japanese here. So, uh, uh, yeah. (Kaito, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

Kaito believed that if the students knew enough English to communicate with the teachers, then it was not necessary for them to know about the other languages that the students speak or know. In other words, their mother tongues or other languages have a place only if they are unable to communicate in the language they are trying to learn. The idea that first language use is a crutch for students with high proficiency but a necessity for students with low proficiency level in English is consistent with a view that developing greater second language proficiency means avoiding use of one's first language (Aghai et al, 2020). In a study examining the beliefs of instructors and learners in EFL classes in Costa Rica, the researchers Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri (2015) found that their participants had similar reactions to being asked to consider the possible utility of their first language while learning a second one, when, in their words, "common wisdom holds that L2 (second language) learning is most effective in an L2-only environment?" (p.311). The participants' and my experience with the instructors and the explanations provided by Ali and Kaito indicate that there was not adequate cognisance about the possible salience of a multilingual classroom (Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri, 2015).

Reflecting on moments in the classroom when they spoke to their friends in a shared language (other than the language being learned) or used translations or their first languages in some ways to help with their learning of English, the participants all shared that their instructors did not like it or encourage it. Some of the instructors directly told the participants that they should not speak in their mother tongues in the classroom. Others were not as direct, but the students felt the disapproval. Abbas said,

Actually, as long as I study here in the United States, they always ask us to don't speak our language in the class. Even when like, let's say, I saw a friend (who speaks)in Arabic, so we start to have a conversation between us in Arabic, they said, like, don't speak in Arabic, just speak in English. So he can understand it, even if it's some personal thing between me and him, he was like, speak in English. So, the instructor, he can understand it. So, they didn't ask us to compare this language with this... with your own language. No. They didn't do that. But they mention some of like, uh, some of the words like are similar, yes. But compare? No. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Leon remarked that the teachers occasionally accept it but are not fans of it.

I think like the first time we had class and they told us they don't want us to speak like in our like real languages because they want like a nice like conversation with everybody, so everybody can understand us. But I think as long as it's not happening too often, and I think it's not happening too often. So, when we are in class. And when we have discussion or that and when it's like important, everybody speaks English. And even when I we normally try to like speak English with each other. So, especially when they didn't make people from different
countries around. So I think how they they accept it but they're not big fans of it. I can't remember, I think it was Ms. Strong's (pseudonym) class, I think, you know? She said that this classroom language is English or something! (Leon, focus group interview, November 3, 2020).

Ali, who was in the same focus group as Leon, smiled wryly as Leon was speaking, nodded his head and said,

I think they they don't like that. But we try if we speak in Arabic, we don't laugh. so At least we don't laugh so they don't like like feeling that we we say something wrong about them, or something like that. (Ali, focus group interview, November 3, 2020)

Ali's comment about being deliberate about not laughing if he talks with his peers in Arabic is important. He feels the pressure to prove to his instructors that he is not mocking them or speaking badly about them. In a different focus group, Marie shared similar thoughts, "I think they want that we are talking English because of that, we can also communicate with the other ones, and not only with our friends." (Marie, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

I asked her if she talks to her friend Leon and she said that at times she does, a quick question to get some clarity on the task that has been assigned to them in class. Then I asked about her teachers' reactions.

Madhur: Right. And in that case, do you think your teachers are okay with that?
Or do they disapprove?

Marie: I'm not sure. Yes. Um, because they don't know, like, what I'm, like, what I'm asking. Or if I'm talking about a random subject or if it's about school. Yeah. Maybe that's more the problem. (Marie, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

Linh also explained why the instructors in her classes do not like students' use of their languages in the class. "Umm, I think that they don't really like when use our language in the class because they don't understand it and they think that we should talk in English so we can improve English" (Linh, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Huang shared an experience from a school in her home country, where a teacher was very directly disapproving of her students' use of Chinese in a Mathematics class being taught in English.

Yeah, umm, I, well in my school, there's a teacher... So, it was my first day at that school and I had a bad impression of that teacher cause another girl talked to a boy in Chinese cause she didn't understand what's the class going on (what is going on in class) - it was a Mathematics class. So, the boy told her in Chinese that this is the way you figure out, this the way you solve the equation, that kind of stuff. But, the teacher didn't understand and she thought they were talking, like, something else and she said, "No, in my class you cannot speak Chinese". So they were like, "Oh, she's so mean!" (Huang, focus group interview, October 24, 2020).

Growing up and learning English is India, Rahul had a teacher who emphasized that to learn English, students should think in English and not just translate from Hindi. I asked him how he felt about that.

I think that was harder at first but got easier. When you're like switching back to Hindi and English is like I need ten seconds, not ten, like, two or three seconds to just switch back. My brain functioning was like different in Hindi language. (Rahul, focus group interview, October 30, 2020)

During my one-on-one interview with Thanh, I asked her if there were any other students in her classroom in the IEP who also spoke Vietnamese. She said that she was the only Vietnamese person in her classroom. I asked her if she ever uses VietnameseEnglish dictionaries or online translators, and what her teachers think of that. In response, she said,

I don't think they like it. They don't like it because they always want to tell students to use their English-English dictionary. Actually, I still use the Vietnamese-English dictionary because half the words I don't understand when I read in the English-English dictionary. (Thanh, interview, November 11, 2020)

I asked her if she prefers to use the English-Vietnamese dictionary and she said that she does. When I asked her if her teachers say something about it, she responded, "Like, 'you are not allowed to use Vietnamese dictionary because it is not helpful to you, blah blah blah'" (Thanh, interview November 11, 2020),

Thanh added that this included her English teachers in Vietnam who also had similar beliefs about teaching and learning English. I asked her how she felt about being
told to not use the Vietnamese-English dictionary. She said, "Yeah, I feel normal, because I, because all the English teachers, they are always like that." (Thanh, one on one interview, November 11, 2020). The participants attributed various reasons for their teachers' dislike or disapproval for drawing from their other languages in the processing of learning a new one. Some of the participants felt that the instructors disapproved of it because they felt like the students were mocking them or talking badly about the instructors. Or they thought it was because the students were not on task and were probably talking about other topics that were not pertinent to the goings on in class. Others said that their teachers explained to them that a new language is best learned when learners start thinking in that language and resorting or 'translating' from their first languages would slow down or hinder their learning.

I asked Buthaina if, in her experience, her teachers encouraged her to use her other languages to learn English, or if they wanted her to learn English in English alone. She said that she had always been encouraged to learn English just in English, and that in fact her family also wanted her to solely use English all the time. Below is an extract from the interview:

Buthaina: Just in English. Yeah. Here. Even my family. Because they say that you go there and English. English people so just speak English. And when you come here, you can speak Arabic. Yeah, even they want me to talk with them in English, but I can't do that, so I said no, let me speak with you guys in Arabic.

Madhur: Why do they want you to talk with them in English?

Buthaina: So they can, they know how I'm going so far. And then they listen. Some, because, the, some words is different from London and its different here. So they like to learn more about the languages. Then they can take from me some words (Buthaina, focus group interview, October 30, 2020).

The participants, for the most part, seemed to be in agreement with their teachers on the belief that English, or a language, is best learned in that language, keeping any other language separate from the learning process. Linh stated, "I don't think that when we learn English they (should) encourage us to use other languages. It's like... if I want to be able to use English, I need to study in English." (Linh, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

Abbas started off by saying that he believes 'fifty-fifty' that learners should be using their different languages to learn a new one. However, when he started explaining, it appeared that he did not think it was a great idea because it would create problems.

For using different languages, I say Yes and No, fifty-fifty, cause if you want to learn other language, you need to speak and you practice it. You can't speak your language to learn other language, in my experience. Because I learned French. When I speak French and understand French and keep, like, communicate with people in French, that's how I understand and learn French. But, if every single word I translate it to English, and learn it from French and translate it to English and like explain it to ... Let's say, I have like Grammarly and explain it in English, then I understand English more than French. But when you make it as simple as possible and explain it in French, its understanding and your mind, your brain it's reset and now it's different language. So, it is a process to understand and
translate it by its own self. This is for agreement to don't speak the other languages. (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24, 2020)

Abbas believed that it is best to learn a new language (French) in that language, because translating each word from one language to the new language would not be helpful. He then offered an explanation as to why; however, it is sometimes necessary to speak other languages. But this was because he feared that in the process of learning a new language (English) he would forget his first language and not from a translanguaging perspective. So, on the whole, Abbas also conceptualized translanguaging as problematic and not helpful in the process of learning a new language.

Many of the participants expressed the belief that a new language is best learned in an environment that only allows for the use of that language. The domain of applied linguistics has largely operated upon this premise that monolingualism is the default for human communication and that the learning of additional languages later in life is to be examined vis-a-vis monolinguals' communicative competence (Escobar \& DillardPaltrineri, 2015). Under such a premise, the language competence of emerging bilinguals is compared not with the competence of other multilinguals, but instead against an idealized native speaker. This is a person whose monolingual upbringing granted them a 'superior' language competence or nativeness (Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri, 2015). This assumption that bi or multilingualism is double (or additional) monolingualism has led to the creation of the belief that bi/multilingual speakers' ability to translanguage disproves the disconnected role each language is believed to play (Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri, 2015; Marshall et al, 2023). This double-monolingualism approach to second language learning has spread over to bilingual education all over the world, causing the first
language to be pitted against the second, "a practice which contradicts the sociolinguistic reality of student who naturally language bilingually in and outside of the classroom" (p.303, Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri, 2015). The language separation has been favored because it emulates the one-parent-one-language practice that is believed to nurture effective bilingualism and also because translanguaging is perceived as revealing laziness and lack of education (Sayer, 2013, as cited in Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri, 2015). English as a Foreign Language programs have also frequently discouraged translanguaging under the belief that a second-language-only classroom policy maximizes language learning opportunities. The learners in such programs are expected to leave their prior linguistic knowledge outside the classroom to maximize their learning experience in the classroom. Teachers believe that by doing this there is a lower risk of cross-linguistic 'contamination', which allows for stronger language acquisition (Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri, 2015). This practice is believed to be so self-evidently effective that no research has been required to prove it (Escobar \& Dillard-Paltrineri, 2015). This monolingual teaching practice is also rooted in the assumption that bringing learners' first language into the classroom is as good (or bad) as returning to the now demonized grammar/translation method (Creese \& Blackledge, 2010). The section on 'ideologies about language teaching and learning' in this chapter has elaborated on similar views about the grammar/translation method that were expressed by many participants in this study. Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) notes that instead of modeling instruction after the organic, dynamic mix of languages that characterizes multilingual speakers, foreign language education still traces the language practices of a monolingual individual and fails to portray the communicative complexity of the 21 st century, within which he
concept of a first and second language has also begun to unravel. There is a strong belief that language mixing in the classroom or translanguaging is evidence of semibi/multilingualism. This leads to students believing that languaging bilingually or multilingually is harmful to their learning of a third or additional language.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, my own experience of learning and then teaching French was influenced by the monolingual bias and I always felt guilty and not adequately competent or deficient any time I engaged in what I now know were translanguaging pedagogies. While this monolingual bias exists in the domains of various (perhaps all) languages that are taught and learned, it is important to consider the role of English in shaping these ideologies. Given its colonial past and the global hegemony of English, and the neoliberal ideologies associated with it (i.e. learning English is the gateway to greater success in neoliberal market economies), the English language holds greater power than other languages. The section on 'Ideologies about multilingualism and English' in this chapter describes how the participants ideologize English as an international, global, and powerful language that is 'required' for everyone to know and opens the door to more opportunities. The participants, international students seeking higher education in the United States, highly covet proficiency in English. These ideologies ( which the participants have held with them since the time they were in their home countries) about the dominance or hegemony of widely coveted English, in combination with the monolingual bias in second (or additional) and foreign language education reinforces the 'translanguaging-as-a-problem' ideology that is evident in the thoughts and reflections shared by the participants in this study.

In this chapter, I provided a detailed description of the ideological themes that emerged upon analysis of the data in this study. The data revealed the participants' ideologies about multilingualism and the role of English, about language learning and teaching, about language and race (or raciolinguistic ideologies) and ideologies about translanguaging. The next chapter (chapter 5) details out the metaphors and metonymies elicited in the participants' interview and provides an exhaustive critical metaphor and metonymy analysis of the data.

## CHAPTER 5

## "ENGLISH IS THE BUBBLE OF A CHEWING GUM": A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS RELATED TO LANGUAGE LEARNING

This chapter presents findings from the analysis that counted and categorized metaphors/ metonymies pertaining to language(s) from the three focus group interviews and one one-on-one interview that were conducted for this research. The metaphors on source domain 'LANGUAGE' are presented here in order to examine how the analysis helps inform the thematic analysis presented in chapter 4 . There were many other metaphors that pertained to other source domains, and those were not included in this analysis. Analysis of the metaphors used by the participants to talk about their language learning experiences revealed dominant, secondary, and occasional metaphors (as modeled by Santa Ana, 2002) in the discourse that shed light on the participants ideologies about English and their own languages. Table 5.1 represents the metaphors found in the data.

In this chapter, I will explain and provide examples of the dominant and secondary metaphors with the source domain LANGUAGE, which is the focal point of this study. The metaphors include those that came up naturally in the participants' responses during their focus group interviews as they spoke about their language learning experiences as well as the metaphors that were elicited by asking the participants to pick a noun and an adjective for English and for their other languages. The dominant metaphors found in the data were 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON, and 'LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT / SUBSTANCE', both ontological metaphors. Ontological metaphors help speakers conceptualize events, abstract ideas, and emotions in terms of concrete entities
and natural forces. Our experience of physical objects and substances provides a framework for understanding (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980). Ontological metaphors in this analysis involved conceptualizations of language as physical objects or natural forces (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980; Velazquez, 2013). The secondary metaphor was 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD'.

Table 5.1 Metaphors with the target domain 'LANGUAGE'

| Metaphor Type | Source Domain | Example | Sum | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dominant |  |  |  |  |
|  | PERSON | Arabic, my language, is a little bit picky <br> English sounds just like weeping | 24 | 53.33\% |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { OBJECT/ } \\ & \text { SUBSTANCE } \end{aligned}$ | For English, I will say 'fishnet'. <br> Hindi is like a wooden table. | 14 | 31.11\% |
| Secondary |  |  |  |  |
|  | FOOD | For Mandarin, I will say noodles. <br> English is like a chewing gum. | 7 | 15.55\% |
| Total |  |  | 45 | 100\% |

*Metaphors with less than two tokens are not represented in the table.

In order to better understand the conceptualizations and ideologies of the participants, for each source domain within the dominant and the secondary metaphors, I separated the metaphors that the participants used for English versus those that they used for the other languages that they know. In the following sections, I will present the
findings that emerged reflecting the participants' ideologies of their own languages and of English, by focusing on two or three examples in each category, for each of the two dominant metaphors, as well as the secondary metaphor.

## Language is a person

LANGUAGE IS A PERSON ${ }^{1}$, one of the two dominant metaphors that emerged in this data, is an ontological metaphor. According to Lakoff \& Johnson (1980), perhaps the most obvious ontological metaphors are those where the physical object (source domain) is further specified as being a person. This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980). Personification is a general category that covers a wide range of metaphors which are extensions of ontological metaphors that allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms or terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980). Most of the participants talked about their language learning experiences or their thoughts about the languages themselves in the metaphorical sense of the languages being a person. Abbas said, "There is a quote that I read about it, about learning a second language... it like, it gives you a way to think differently." (Abbas, October 24, 2020). Below, I will first discuss examples of the metaphorical use of words related to English as a person, followed by the metaphorical

[^0]use of the words related to the participants' mother tongues and other languages as a person.

## English

Of the total of twenty-four metaphors that were categorized as 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON', only seven pertained to English. Most of the rest (eleven) referred to the participants' mother tongues or the other languages they knew or had learned besides English, while one (Abbas' utterance mentioned above) was about learning a second language. Abbas, one of the most enthusiastic participants, said, "English, it's like a head ${ }^{2}$ for me. If you want to talk to his (a person's) brain, talk to him in English." (Abbas, focus group interview, October 24).

Here, Abbas is reminiscent Nelson Mandela's quote "If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart" (as cited Language Policy Survey, 2014). The head (or the brain) and the heart are popular metaphors embodying important features of one's personality. Usually, the head or the brain is seen as embodying one's reason and intellect, while the heart is where the emotions, particularly care and compassion are located (McGreal, 2015). The two body parts - head and heart - have been ascribed particular psychological significance throughout the history of Western civilization. Plato was among the first to suggest that the head is the source of rational wisdom and intellect, whereas the heart is the source of the passions (Fetterman \& Robinson, 2014; Swan, 2009). According to Fetterman \& Robinson (2014), in our daily lives too, we frequently make references to

[^1]the head or the heart. To 'use one's head' means that one thinks rationally and logically. Similarly, expressions like "she has a brain" or "he is brainy" are also used to characterize intelligence. Usually, brainy individuals are characterized as being more interested in intellectual problems than in other people, implying that there is a certain dearth of social or emotional connection. Common metaphors with the head or brain suggest greater rationality and intelligence, albeit in combination with some lack of social connection (Fetterman \& Robinson, 2014).

In comparing English with the head and following that up by saying that if you want to connect with someone's brain, then talk to them in English, Abbas reveals how he conceptualizes English as the language of intellectual, rational content or communication. Elsewhere in the interview, while speaking about his experience with English education in Kuwait, he said,

Yes, it's like, you need to learn English from elementary school to high school and after that for college and associate degree. So, it depends on you if you like, you practice more, you get more degree. If you don't, you just fail. So, you need to practice it because it's a second language and now a days everyone using, speaking English. So, it's like part of your job. So, if you apply for a job and if you don't know how to speak English, it's hard for you to find a job (Abbas, October 24, 2020).

Abbas emphasized the importance of learning, practicing, and knowing English and associated poor or inadequate knowledge of English with failure. It is, according to him, important to learn English because now a day everyone speaks it, and it is a part of one's job. He also spoke about how his instructors in his academic (non-English) classes,
when it comes to international students like himself, act like they do not understand the content. He said emphatically,

> No, no, no, no, the problem is that we can't express with you in the same language. For example, let's say about Physics. We know the Physics, everyone has studied Physics, but with our own language. We understand it in our own language, we didn't understand it in English. Okay, if you come to... let's say if you come to Arabic, and tell me, "Explain it to me in Arabic", I will explain it like fluently. (Abbas, October 24, 2020)

Abbas' discomfort with responding to the instructor's question about Physics in English was seen by the instructor, according to Abbas, as an intellectual issue of understanding. So, Abbas perceived the instructor equating understanding (a function of the brain) with knowledge of English. Proficiency in English would demonstrate knowledge of Physics to the instructor, which in turn would demonstrate intellectual and rational ability which would then lead to success. Yet, as Abbas explains above, that is not the case as he fully understood the concept, he just could not use English to explain it.

Conceptualizing English as a head ties in with Abbas' experiences with English learning in Kuwait, his thoughts about the need for knowing English and his experiences with the perceptions of instructors in the United States about their international students' knowledge or proficiency of English. While these are likely to be the entailments, it is important to consider that Abbas' juxtaposed English and brain with mother tongue and heart or emotional connection. Fetterman \& Robinson (2014) point out how, common metaphors with the head or brain suggest greater rationality and intelligence, albeit in combination with some lack of social connection. So, when Abbas compares English to
the head or conceptualizes it as rational or intellectual, he simultaneously implies that for him, in the English language, it is hard to make the kind of deep, emotional and social connections that one can make with their mother tongue. This may refer to the attachment that people feel toward their mother tongues and also the nature of the connections that people make with other people when English is the sole language of connection and communication between those people.

In another example of the 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphor, Huang said about English, "I would say it's popular. Yeah. Cause all of the people are learning it" (Huang, October 24, 2020). Huang associated the popularity of English with there being high demand for it everywhere. Through this metaphor, it is clear that Huang believes that English has reached most, if not all, parts of the world and that 'everyone' is trying to learn it and be a proficient user of it. In order to explore Huang's conceptualization of English as popular, it is important, and interesting to explore the notion of a 'popular person'. Mitch Prinstein (2017) wrote a book titled 'Popular: The power of likability in a status-obsessed world'. In an interview by Dave Nussbaum (2017) on the website Behavioral Scientist, Prinstein notes that while pre-adolescence kids view popular as being liked the most, the vast majority of people, start differentiating between likability and status popularity starting at adolescence. Most people, when they think of popularity, think of cheerleaders and the football players in high school. They may also think of the movie "Mean Girls" and folks who are aggressive, but nevertheless influential and powerful (Prinstein, as cited in Nussbaum, 2017). In the episode 'Why Popularity Matters' of the 'Speaking of Psychology' podcast published on the American Psychological Association's website (www.apa.org), Prinstein says that when we think of
popularity in high school, "we think about what it was like to be cool, and that really translates scientifically to being known by everyone, being visible, being influential, dominant, and powerful. That kind of popularity is called status" (Luna, 2019).

Thus, for most people, a popular person is one who is well-known but not necessarily, or in fact, often not well-liked. Many publications have explored and studied the worldwide spread and power of English (Abbott \& Wingard, 1981; Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson \& Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Graddol, 1997; Hassall, 2002; Holliday, 2005; Jenkins, 2000,2006; Kachru, 1986; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Nakamura, 2002). Similarly, many studied have also examined the roles that English has played in the lives of individuals as well as communities. These include marginalization and hegemony on the one side, to empowerment and upward mobility on the other. Kachru (1996, as cited in Sharifian, 2009) said, "the universalization of English and the power of this language have come at a price, for some, the implications are agonizing, while for others they are a matter of ecstasy" (p.135). I want to emphasize, though, that there was nothing in Huang's interview responses to directly suggest that the popularity of English makes it less likeable or that it has caused negative effects on other languages or people. On the contrary, during the interview, at one point she said that she enjoys learning English and was always ahead of her peers because her mother is an English teacher. So, while the notion of popularity often conjures the image of being less liked and "aggressive" (Nussbaum, 2017; Luna, 2019), and there is plenty of literature to support the claim that the popularity (or the aggressive spread and hegemony) of English has led to agonizing implications for some languages and people, this is not supported by any of Huang's utterances. However, in a different part of the interview, Huang used another
metaphor ('fishnet', explained below in the section on LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT/SUBSTANCE) which also highlights the spread of English across the globe. Her metaphors for her own languages, Mandarin, and Cantonese, however, were about her personal connection with those languages with a sentimental connection to it. So, with her mother tongue Cantonese and Mandarin, which she was surrounded by since childhood, she feels a deep, personal, and emotional connection. In contrast, she views English from a distance, as an outsider. She is one of "everyone" who wants to learn it because it is 'popular' and coveted.

Kaito had a 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphor for English, which he explained with the help of his view of Japanese.

Okay, English is kind for me. Yeah. It just kind Okay, and Yeah. English has to be mentioned like Subject 'I', 'you', 'it'. In Japanese doesn't have to be like we don't use subject. But we understand So what you're talking about. So yeah. That's why so.... Like easier to understand what. So, when I, like, when I study Spanish, so, like they all need the subject and then what is the subject it that's what that's what I saw. But English has, has to mention, the subjects. So, like you and I, or something like that. So easy easier to understand the which is the .... who who's, who is doing that, like, something like... (Kaito, November 3, 2020).

I asked him if he was saying that English is kind because it is easier to understand. He said "Yeah, easy to understand. It's also like, like, I'll say, its international language, everyone understands" (Kaito, November 3, 2020). Kaito was translanguaging and compared English with Spanish and Japanese. He noticed that in the Japanese language, subjects (pronouns) was not used or needed and that speakers
understand what is being said by context. According to Wikipedia, in general, naturalsounding Japanese tends to avoid the use of nouns that refer to people except when explicitly needed. He also noticed that in English and Spanish, subjects that are pronouns are used and required and this led him to conceptualize English as a kind language, because, in his view, English (compared to a person) makes it easier to understand the meaning by requiring the use of pronouns. This makes it easier for English users to understand who is doing what or who is the doer. Kaito also referred to English an international language that everyone understands. In other words, he views English as a powerful international language that he wants to learn and be a proficient user of. Lakoff \& Johnson (1980) state that personification helps us make sense of the phenomena in the world in human terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics. In conceptualizing English as 'kind', Kaito believes English knowledge or proficiency, which is his goal, is accessible and that the language itself is easily accessible, which possibly encourages and motivates him to take the efforts needed to become a more proficient user of English.

This section elaborated on three examples of the 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphor for English. Findings revealed that the participants ideologize English as a widespread, powerful language that is in demand all over, a language that everyone wants to learn or understands, a language of the intellect and the rational mind, which is important and easy to learn. In the following section, I examine the participant ideologies that are reflected in the "LANGUAGE IS A PERSON" metaphor for their other languages.

## Mother Tongue and Other languages

Eleven of the twenty-four 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphors that the participants used were about their mother tongues and six pertained to their other languages. Interestingly, all the metaphors about the participants' other languages (only six of them) belonged to the 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' category. During the analysis, I observed that, across all focus groups, all the utterances or thoughts that the participants shared about these languages, which is their mother tongues and other tongues, were from the vantage point of a person who does not speak that language. They spoke about how difficult or complicated their language is to someone who would try to learn it, or how it sounds to an outsider. My interview question was 'What noun and adjective would you pick to represent each of your languages?'. One reason why they looked at their mother tongues from an outsider perspective is because that is how they saw me; someone who does not speak their language, and therefore, they thought about how I might perceive their languages.

Mother Tongues. In two different focus groups, both the participants from Germany, Marie, and Leon, referred to German in the same manner. Marie said, "German is very aggressive and strict. And Dutch is really kind. If you want to say something bad, it sounds... it sounds friendly. And in German, everything is so aggressive." I asked her if she meant that it sounds aggressive and in response, Marie said, "That's what, yeah" (Marie, October 30, 2020). Similarly, Leon shared,

When I talk German really quick with my friends and we just talk normally, a lot of people always think that we are arguing about something, and that we are mad at each other, but actually we're just talking like so normal with each. It's just like
fast and the way like German words are pronounced. It's like I feel like it's a little more aggressive than English. So, like, especially when I was in Canada, like my best friend, he was from Austria, and we were talking in German. Like, like even if you like, like a little longer distance, like in the hallway or something like a lot of people always thought that we were fighting or something and they looked, and then they moved out of the way. But we were just like talking about and what we're doing for lunch break or something. In English, it's like always, like, it's nice and calm and like you can like really easily say if someone is mad or not. (Leon, November 3, 2020)

German has been frequently described as guttural, harsh, or phlegmy and has often been perceived negatively by speakers of languages such as English, a language that does not have the same phonetic profile as German (Cronin, 2013). In an article titled 'The Harshness of the German Language: Beyond Sound and Stereotype,' on The Cambridge Language Collective website, Niamh Sayers (n.d.) wrote about how when people hear that she studies German at university, she is commonly asked why she is interested in the Nazi language. She notes that languages are not simply collections of sounds. Each of them is de facto bound up with cultural assumptions and perceptions, both internal and external. French and Spanish, to a native English speaker, are languages of love, while Russian is associated with spies and mystery, and German is a harsh, martial language, used by people who bark orders and drink beer all day. The languages that English speakers tend to view as harsh, such as German and Russian, incorporate many noises made at the back of the throat, known as uvular fricatives. Additionally, the linguistic feature 'Auslautverhartung' or hardening of the final sound' and 'stimmerloser
glottaler Plosiv' or glottal stop (like Bri'ish or bu'er) contribute towards this perception of harshness. Charles V, the Roman Emperor from 1519-1566, has been reported as saying that he spoke German only to horses, and Mark Twain has written extensively about how tiresome he found learning German. The Nazi history has also reinforced this perception, as also the representation of Germans in twentieth-century films, for example, the caricature of German enemy screaming Achtung is pervasive in films about World War II (Sayers, n.d.). This combination of different linguistic features, historical context, and representation in the media has led to this ideology of German being a harshsounding, or in Marie's and Leon's words, 'aggressive and strict' language, wherein speakers sound like they are arguing or fighting.

Leon and Marie have imbibed this North American or British English speaker's ideological view of the German language, perhaps because they now live and are pursuing their education in a country where the dominant language is English. It is fascinating that the Nazi history originating with a person (Hitler) in combination with a different phonetic profile, has led to the belief that German sounds harsh, strict, and aggressive. It is so deep-rooted now that the supposed harshness of the German language is projected onto German people, making it a classic 'What came first, the chicken or the egg?' situation. By taking on this ideological view German as strict/aggressive (LANGUAGE IS A PERSON), that did not originate from Germans themselves, Leon and Marie are conceptualizing German, their mother tongue, in the way English speakers would - as a difficult, unapproachable, not very easily accessible language that is less appealing and deficient compared to other languages such as Dutch (Marie) and English (Leon) both of which are 'kind and friendly' and 'nice and calm' as opposed to 'strict and
aggressive' German. It is hard to tell whether they had this ideology in Germany or if it is something they became aware of after moving to the United States. In Leon's case, he had also spent a year of high school as an exchange student in Canada. It is likely that they were exposed to this belief in their home country, where people are often familiar with stereotypes about one's culture and language that exist in the United States.

Kaito, who described English as 'kind' also used a 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphor for his mother tongue, Japanese. He said,
(For Japanese) I would say complex or polite. Polite. You know, like you say we have Kanji and Katakana and Hiragana - the three types of letters and then probably like you say, people who are learning Japanese, like, are like struggling with that kind of words. So, That's why it's complicated. So, when you learn Japanese. Yeah. Again, but if you learn Japanese and you can speak Japanese like native level. I think the Japanese is the most polite language in the world for me. Yeah, respect, like respect. Like when you refuse, refuse an offer probably in English, like just one sentence. But when, when we use Japanese, you will probably receive like three or four sentences like to refuse them for you (Kaito, November 3, 2020).

Kaito conceptualized English as 'kind' because it requires speakers to use subjects (pronouns) in sentences, thereby making it easy for learners to understand who the doer is, something that is significantly different as compared to Japanese, where using pronouns does not sound authentically Japanese, but sounds instead like a translation from another language that uses subject pronouns. In contrast, Japanese is conceptualized as 'the most polite language in the world', 'complex', and a language that has a lot of
'respect' in it. He explains that it is complex and complicated because of the three scripts Hiragana (for Japanese words), Katakana (for words originating in other languages but adapted into Japanese), and Kanji (a system of Japanese writing using Chinese characters). Looking at the language from the perspective of a Japanese learner, he conceptualizes it as difficult. However, he believes that it is a polite language because in Japanese if one refuses an offer, one will explain their refusal in at least three or four sentences, as opposed to English, where one word or line would suffice. According to an article titled 'Politeness in Japan' (2009), published by the Embassy of Japan, "Japanese has a complicated system of honorific expressions, and it's troublesome for Japanese learners. A speaker chooses words taking into consideration the relationship between himself and the person he is speaking to - according to social status, rank, age, gender, the favor that he owes, etc. There are two types of honorific expression; one is to use respect (i.e., elevate the listener), and the other is modesty (i.e., to humble the speaker)" (p. 1). The Embassy of Japan wrote this article for 'foreigners' visiting, who can use it to prepare themselves for the culture in Japan, anticipating a certain culture shock and hoping to make it as mild for the visitors as possible. The ideologies in Kaito's metaphors and his explanation for those metaphors are also reflective of this 'outsider' perspective, the narrative of the non-Japanese, English-speaking world about Japan. Just like the layers of one's personality make a person complex, to Kaito, the three different scripts make Japanese a complex language which is difficult for a person to learn. The linguistic culture of respect and honorifics add to its complexity.

Linh also used a 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphor to describe Vietnamese. She said,

Vietnamese ... umm, some people say that Vietnamese sounds like when you sing.
Yeah, like, yeah, it goes up and down. I mean, like, foreigners say that. In
Vietnamese, we have like a tone, you know? Ummm, like, like for example, like if one word if you speak it with different tone, it going to have a different meaning. Like, ma, if you say 'ma'(says it in one tone), it's going to have a different meaning than if you say 'ma' (says it in a different tone). Yeah, that's very hard in Vietnamese. (Linh, October 24, 2020).

I asked Linh if she found it hard. She replied, "Yeah, it is hard for foreigners to study" (Linh, October 24, 2020). Like Kaito with Japanese, and Leon and Marie with German, Linh also shared views about her mother tongue from the perspective of a 'foreigner', or in other words, for someone who does not speak Vietnamese and is trying to learn it. Linh's description of Vietnamese as sounding like when a person sings, the language going up and down, and having a tone are all 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphor, in this case, a person who is singing, with a tone, with the notes going up and down. For most people, singing is a form of art, an act of joy, or at the very least, an expression of deep, personal emotion. By describing Vietnamese in terms of a person singing, Linh reveals her deep, personal, positive, intimate connection with the language. Typically, singing in tune, is not a skill that everyone has. In each phase of life (infancy, early childhood, older childhood, adolescence), the human voice has a distinctive, underlying anatomy and physiology that is capable of producing a diversity of 'singing' behaviors (Welch, 2006). Despite this research, there is also a commonly held belief, a persistent myth, that singing is best learned since childhood and requires a lot of practice. This implies that one has to be singing since a very young age, or in other words, one has
to be born singing. Linh's emphasis on 'it is difficult for foreigners' or in other words, it is difficult for people who are not born with the language and the only true speakers with whom the authority of Vietnamese lies are the ones who were born speaking it, commonly known as native speakers.

On the whole, Linh conceptualizes Vietnamese as a language that she has a deep, joyful, intimate relationship with and one that is difficult for those who were not born speaking it. In contrast, interestingly, this is how Linh described English: "I think my first impression of English is that it sounds like ... umm... kind of like, shshshshshshsh (giggles)." Abbas, who was in her focus group, asked, "So, it's, like, noisy?" In response, Linh said, "It's like...it's just like weeping" (Abbas and Linh, focus group interview, October 24, 2020). In stark contrast to her conceptualization of Vietnamese, she conceptualizes English pretty negatively, a language that weeps, is a language that is seen as unpleasant, one that causes pain, gives no joy, but instead expresses suffering.

Abbas also described Arabic as a person, calling it "picky" and "attractive". He said,

Uhh, picky, I will say. My language is a little bit picky. Cause sometimes the vowel, it change the meaning. Sometimes, the dot, it change the meaning. Sometimes, the pronoun, it gives you a different meaning; not change the meaning. It gives you a different meaning. For example, - this is the funniest example - the, you know the bug, the insect, a fly? And, you know the tank for the war or for the military? The size is different right? In Arabic word, okay, it's the same word, the same alphabet, but the difference is the dot, on one of the letters. If you... like, the dot, if the word comes with the dot, that means the insect. If you
remove the dot, it means the tank. That's the difference. (Abbas, October 24, 2020).

He also said that Arabic is attractive because "if you want to learn it, cause it's like excellent. It depends on the person" (Abbas, October 24, 2020). The 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphors are also seen in his utterances 'the vowel changes the meaning', 'the pronoun gives a different meaning'. It is evident that he conceptualizes Arabic as a person who has a personality, an appearance, a vibe, a mood, etc. His choice of the adjective 'attractive' indicates that he believes the language is beautiful and excellent. However, like the other participants mentioned in this section thus far, through the use of the adjective picky and his explanation of how meanings change with a small change in accent or 'dot', Abbas has embarked on the narrative of how Arabic is a difficult language to learn. Both 'attractive' and 'picky' are adjectives that most people would use to describe people that they have a very close relationship with, like a lover and a child, respectively. These metaphors reveal the love and pride that Abbas feels for his mother tongue.

For the most part, the 'LANGUAGE AS A PERSON' metaphors in the participants' utterances reveal their deep and personal relationships with their mother tongues. These metaphors also reveal, in most of these cases (and in other cases not highlighted here), that the participants are aware of, and often in agreement with, the ideologies about their languages that are held by speakers of English in the United States (perhaps Canada and the United Kingdom too), like Leon and Marie's description of German as 'aggressive or strict'. Almost all of the participants believe that their mother tongues are very difficult and complicated to learn, especially when compared to English,
and have, in many cases, they are complicit with those very ideologies. French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1979) argued that people are often complicity with the ideologies that others hold about them, particularly in situations where power is unevenly distributed. Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence suggests that individuals who occupy positions of power in society, such as those in positions of wealth or authority are able to impose their ideas and beliefs onto others in a wat is perceived as natural and legitimate. He further argued that working-class individuals come to accept and are often socialized to accept and internalize the dominant ideologies of those in power. This can lead them to accept and reproduce the beliefs and practices that are imposed upon them, even if those beliefs and practices are harmful to their interests. In other words, people can be complicit with dominant ideologies and mistakenly believe that it is in their best interest, even if it perpetuates social inequality and oppression. Once again, this takes me back to my own example of rejecting my mother tongue and Hindi and chasing English proficiency all through my schooling and undergraduate because I grew up surrounded by ideologies that these languages were not of any great use, and it was English alone that was worth pursuing because of its power and status. As a result of this, I had little interest in reading for pleasure in Marathi or Hindi and I do believe that I have suffered linguistic loss because of being complicit with the dominant ideologies around me. My loss is in the form of not being able to think in my mother tongue, not having read even the most famous literary works in my mother tongue, as also not being able to connect very deeply with people who are more at ease with Marathi language and culture.

Other languages. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, six of the 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' metaphors in the data were found in the participants'
utterances about the other languages, besides their mother tongues and English, that they participants knew. This was also the total number of metaphors about their other languages, or in other words, none of the 'LANGUAGE AS AN OBJECT/

SUBSTANCE' or 'LANGUAGE AS FOOD' metaphors were about their other languages.

Thanh's mother tongue is Vietnamese. She grew up in Vietnam where she started learning English at a young age, in elementary school. She had also learned a little bit of Mandarin and Thai. This is how she described her way of learning Thai:

Uh, hahah, actually because I really love the Thai movie. Actually, now when I hear, when I listen the Thai talk anything, I also understand. I don't need the translation. But to talk about, to talk fluent, I cannot because I just studied it like a baby. I just know some words. Yeah. Like a baby. The baby, their parents just teach them like the word, single word. And me too. They teach me like a single word and just like some sentences like talk with another people when you want something. When I studied Thai I was 18 years. And until (even) now, I talk to my friend. He send vocab to me and I also learned. I also miss them, but I try to (Thanh, November 11, 2020).

Thanh said that she started learning and understanding Thai because she loved watching Thai movies. She learned it from a friend in her high school at eighteen years old, like a baby, which meant that she learned it one word at a time. This, she says, is how parents teach their babies to speak - one word at time or one sentence at a time. Thanh was not able to tell me exactly how her friend sends her the new words or what their process of teaching and learning is. It is also debatable whether babies learn a
language one word at a time. However, when she says that she learned Thai like a baby, she is conceptualizing her relationship with the Thai language and her process of acquiring it. The general perception about babies is that their brains are very elastic and capable of learning multiple languages at a fast rate. Also, when a person has known a language since the time, they were a baby, they are often referred to and recognized as 'native' speakers, having full ownership of, and authority over that language. Most importantly, a baby has a very close and deep bond with their language, it is their first means of being able to express themselves with their caregivers, their kin. Elsewhere in the interview, Thanh mentioned that her friend who taught her Thai had moved back to Thailand from Vietnam. Based on what Thanh has said about her interest in Thai language and Thai movies, and her need to communicate and to remain in contact with her friend, it appears that Thanh feels a deep, personal, connection with the language, which is revealed in her conceptualization of learning it like a baby.

Leon had very strong feelings about Latin, a language that he had as one of his subjects in high school. He said,

I had Latin. Latin too. So, but Latin, it's like a dead language. So, in Germany, like most of the skills you can like, or my first high school, I could cho... choose between like Latin and French and I don't know why, but I chose Latin, but I think like I took like the one way would which one I thought was like, not, not as bad. So, I chose Latin. Not a really good decision by the way, it's really boring very boring to learn but yeah so and on this (Leon, November 3, 2020)

When I asked him what noun he would choose to represent Latin, he said,

I didn't know This language, it's, it's so bad. It's so boring. But yeah, I don't like I don't know. Maybe funeral? Hahah yeah. Like, we can't because like Latin. It's actually nobody speaks it anymore. You can use some of the grammar. They used, but otherwise it's just like Interesting. Okay, like my one roommate is from Italy and like you tell you let them that's more or less, you know, because Latin comes from like Italy. So, I think you can use like Latin way better in Italy, then you can use it all like different countries, but so a lot of like languages like have similarities to let themselves. Yeah, that's in this either. We know so much for letting anymore to be. like it's just, it's just like, I don't know it because it's like, as I said dead language like it's actually that like you can't speak it. If you can't speak it like that's a problem. I don't know, like a better word, to be honest. (Leon, November 3, 2020).

In high school, when he had a choice between French and Latin, Leon chose Latin because he thought that it was the better choice. He explained that he found it boring and then said that it is a dead language and the noun he chose to compare it with was 'funeral' and that nobody speaks it anymore. He also emphasized that he found it 'boring' and that not being able to speak it was a problem. His framing of Latin as a 'dead language' and 'funeral' reveals his conceptualization of it as a language he finds meaningless and of limited or no use in his world. He contrasts it with Spanish, saying,

Sadly, we didn't have the option to have Spanish like a lot of skills nowadays offer Spanish too so then chosen Spanish because I think like it's a really nice language and you can use it a lot of places worldwide. But as I said, you didn't have the option. So, I had to choose between the two language... languages. So, I have my,

I don't know what is called like my Latin degree. But to be honest, I can't
remember anything, like literally nothing. (Leon, November 3, 2020)

Leon wishes he had had the opportunity to learn Spanish, 'a very nice language’ that you can use in a lot of different places world over, but his school did not offer it. English-Spanish bilingualism is more commonly found in the United States. When you dial many customer service numbers in the US, there is an option to be able to reach a Spanish speaking agent. Many employers, when facing a choice between two similarly qualified candidates, would often give preference to one if that person is English-Spanish bilingual and students in higher education are aware of this demand in the job market for familiarity and proficiency in Spanish. It is a widespread language in the United States and in the Americas due to various historical, geographical, colonial, sociocultural reasons and it is likely that moving to the USA and pursuing a higher education has led Leon to wish he had the option to learn it. He perceives Spanish as a useful language that can be spoken in many places and therefore refers to it as 'nice' and Latin as a dead language because it cannot be spoken in too many countries, probably only to a certain extent in Italy.

In summary, there were only six metaphors in all that pertained to the participants' other languages, and all of those belonged to the LANGUAGE IS A PERSON category. Languages that were seen as having some utility, such as being able to use it in many countries, or being able to use it to communicate with friends were described using words used for people that are liked or that we have close associations with, such as 'nice' (Spanish), friendly and kind (Dutch) or 'learned it like a baby' (Thai).

As opposed to that Latin, which was perceived as a language having no use because it is not spoken anywhere was described as 'dead'.

## Language is an object / substance

Understanding our experiences in terms of physical objects and substances allows us to construct parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them, and by this means, we can reason about them (Lakoff \& Johnson, 1980). Our experiences with physical objects, provide the basis for an extraordinarily wide variety of ontological metaphors, that is, ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances. In this study, LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT/ SUBSTANCE was the second dominant metaphor. Nine of the fourteen instances of the 'LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT / SUSBTANCE' metaphor were about English, and the rest (five) were about the participants' mother tongues. Below, I will first discuss examples of the metaphorical use of words related to English as an object or a substance, followed by a discussion of the metaphorical use of the words related to the participants' mother tongues.

## English

English was overwhelmingly described in terms of an object or a substance by most participants in the part of the interview when I asked them to pick a noun to represent English and an adjective to describe it. Below are some examples of the object or substance that English was compared to. Huang compared it to a fishnet. She said, "And for English, I will say fishnet, cause a fishnet, it can include a lot of stuff and you
see it's like around the world, around the world people are using English. It's like a fishnet can combine all of the stuff and it can be different". I asked her if she was referring to the different Englishes in the world and how English borrows words from different languages, and she responded in the affirmative. As an afterthought, she added, "Like a fishnet, they (the strings making the net) are connected. So, they connect people like us" (Huang, October 24, 2020).

Huang compared English to a fishnet and her first reason was that it can include a lot of words. Fish in the fishnet are extremely valuable and a source of livelihood for fisherfolk. As a result, the fishnet is also very valuable, because without it, they would not have the fish. Huang conceptualizes English to be an indispensable means for earning money and financial stability and success in life. She said that fishnets are used around the world and that they combine different sea creatures and fish and it leads to something different, the same way that English has spread all over the world and each place has its own variations within English, which may be a result of English borrowing words and speaking styles from the local languages spoken in that region. She also added that a fishnet is connected, or that the strings are connected to each other to make the net. In a similar manner, due to its spread all over the world, English (despite its variations) is common to people all over the world and is the language that connects people from different parts of the world. By viewing English as a fishnet, Huang reveals that she conceptualizes it as a language that connects people from different parts of the world, and a language that has power and is an important factor in determining success in life.

Rahul's noun that he chose to represent English was 'rubber band'. He said, "English. English is like a rubber band. Like very flexible. A rubber band, it's very
flexible. It can be used differently. Different people use it differently, different countries speak it differently. We can definitely stretch a lot!" In a different focus group interview, albeit while comparing it to a different object, Rahul's reasoning was similar to that of Huang's. He felt that English is flexible and has the potential to stretch a lot and also alluded to the differences in English and the many different Englishes in the world. In common parlance, the rubber band metaphor is seen as symbolic of resilience. It stretches, gets pulled, yet despite the tension and pressure of the pull, (most of the time) does not break. Similarly, English is stretched to different parts of the world, comes in contact with the local languages from there, yet does not get destroyed and even while it borrows words and other linguistic features from those languages, is resilient, and it retains its identity or its Englishness.

Along the same lines, Marie said that English was like a tree (SUBSTANCE). She said,

I have a good noun for English. My noun is tree because it's growing. So, the English language is growing. Everyone is learning it and, how do you say it (action of things shooting out). Yeah, like the branches, yeah, the branches, they're growing like to the right and left. Because like widespread to like every country. Because I think like the older generation only some people learn English. And now more countries. So, it's, it was... And it is more important also for job opportunities. (Marie, October 30, 2020).

Marie's explanation for comparing English to a tree was also, like Huang and Rahul's reasoning, the growth and the spread of English. She explained that everyone is learning English and like the branches of a tree grow in all directions, so is English
spreading in every direction. She added that in the previous generation, fewer people in the world knew English, but today, it is important and therefore, more people know English. She also added that English is important for getting good or better job opportunities. Like trees are important for living, they provide oxygen, food, wood, etc. and enable human life. Similarly, English enables a better quality of life by creating access for people in the job market. Once again, the common conceptualization is that of the global spread and hegemony of English and how it is therefore, widely desired or coveted.

Another substance that came up as a metaphor was water. Kaito said, "English is more like water. You know, it's, you know, reminds me of like easily go through like so everyone, everyone can understand. Everyone knows English and then English can remove the language barriers that kind of stuff." Kaito compared English with water because it can easily flow to different places, which implies that English has spread everywhere and that a lot of people can speak it. He also speaks about how English can remove language barriers, like water in overpowering quantities, can remove physical barriers. Similar to the other participants, Kaito also conceptualizes English as a language that has spread world over and has the power to make communication possible for more and more people.

Abbas, however, viewed English a little differently. He said,

English is plain. Yeah, p-l-a-i-n, like, normal, without any color, just one color, without any scratch or something. Cause, they have like... uh, how can I explain? English will be a direct language, one plus one equals two. But Arabic sometimes, one plus one equals one. It doesn't mean one plus one equals two. Sometimes,
equal, maybe two and like zero. So you can't like, you can't... how can I explain it.. there's like a.... You can make it uh... different. Each one use Arabic, it makes it different. And the difference, if it's good or bad, beautiful or not, depends on the person. Cause Arabic has like a standard, modern, old languages. So, it's a different pattern (Abbas, October 24, 2020)

Abbas did not compare English with one particular object or substance, but he used adjectives and phrases such as plain, normal, without color, just one color, without any scratch, that are normally used to describe an object to speak about English. He contrasted English with Arabic, his mother tongue, to note that Arabic has three varieties - old, standard, and modern, and in his view, it is a language that allows for wide variety of permutations and combinations that can add or take away from the quality of language. The speakers of Arabic make choices and these choices can be perceived as beautiful or not beautiful. However, in Abbas' view, Arabic is a language that allows for a lot of variation. As opposed to that, he views English as a 'direct' language, where one plus one equals two.

Abbas views English as a language that does not allow for much or any variation. There can be multiple reasons for this perception of English. Firstly, Arabic is his mother tongue, which means he has had contact with the language all his life and he feels a deep, personal, emotional connection with the language. Growing up in Kuwait, all of his kindergarten through grade twelve education was with Arabic as the medium of instruction. In government schools in Kuwait, Modern Standard Arabic is the language of instruction, while vernacular Arabic or the Kuwaiti Arabic dialect is the primary means of communication in the classroom. English is taught from first to twelfth grade,
delivered in forty-five-minute lessons five times a week (Tryzna \& Sharoufi, 2017). The aims for teaching English in Kuwait are couched within three crucial general educational objectives such as pride in Islam, love and patriotism to Kuwait, and appreciation of Arab values, traditions, and culture. These values influence the choice of content throughout English as a Second Language (ESL) curriculum, eliminating all cultural information that is deemed offensive or undesirable (Tryzna \& Sharoufi, 2017). The curriculum progresses from less to more complex linguistic, cognitive and affective tasks and includes a variety of contexts, functions, and activities. Each unit is mapped onto a fivecategory grid: educational objectives, grammar, functions, vocabular, and activities. Language teaching methodology advocates a balance between the communicative approach, and a structural approach. (Tryzna \& Sharoufi, 2017). It is said to be contentbased, skill-based, and task-oriented (The ELT national Curriculu, 2011 as cited in Tryzna \& Sharoufi, 2017). On the whole, the State of Kuwait puts a significant emphasis and unique importance on English language education at all school level. However, due to its very different and distinct culture from the culture associated with English language in the western world, and because of social, religious, and political reasons, English language textbooks used in Kuwaiti public schools are all developed locally to reflect Kuwaiti culture and express daily life events in Kuwait (Al-Mutairi, 2020). As a result, while English is viewed in Kuwait as a language necessary for economic growth and a means of communication, it is also heavily controlled, which does not allow for a lot of variation and use. Abbas referred to this idea of English being required for work and business in a different part of this interview, saying

If you like, you practice more, you get more degree. If you don't, you just fail. So you need to practice it because it's a second language and now a days everyone using, speaking English. So, it's like part of your job. So, if you apply for a job and if you don't know how to speak English, it's hard for you to find a job. (Abbas, October 24, 2020).

It is plausible that the English language policy in Kuwait, which leads Abbas to view English primarily as a language important for finding a job, prevents him from finding a lot of variation in English language usage. His purpose for learning and becoming more proficient in English is not so much developing creative linguistic ability as it is having the language in his repertoire to improve his chances in the job market. This view, and his long, deep, and emotional association with his mother tongue Arabic, results in his conceptualization of English as a 'plain' language that has only one color with no variations, not even a scratch (typically a negative) to make it.

By and large, Abbas' conceptualization of English is that it is like a plain, uninteresting but useful object that is devoid of anything exciting like different colors or even a scratch on the surface. This object (English) is useful only for the purpose of direct communication in a formulaic manner, which is often the nature of communication in workplaces and for commercial or business use. Abbas was also the participant who shared Nelson Mandela's quote about speaking to someone in English if you want to speak to their brain or their rational selves and speaking to them in their mother tongue to speak to their hearts or to appeal to their emotions. It is clear that he associates with English the idea of a rational mind, whereas with his mother tongue Arabic, he associates emotions.

## Mother Tongues

Five of the metaphors in the 'LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT / A SUBSTANCE' were about the participants' mother tongues. Huang compared her mother tongue, Cantonese, to a Rubik's cube. This is how the conversation went:

Huang: For Cantonese, I will say, it's like $a$ - what do you play with, like that cube...?

Madhur: Oh, you mean Rubik's Cube?

Huang: Yeah. So, so, cause it has so many differences between Mandarin and Cantonese and I will say it's interesting cause I start learning it again in my life (Huang, October 24, 2020)

Huang's family speaks Cantonese, so it is her mother tongue. She spoke it as a child, but went to a school with Mandarin as the medium of instruction and therefore, she said that she is more proficient in Mandarin. However, in more recent times, she had started making efforts toward re-learning Cantonese, by using some textbooks and lessons. Cantonese was interesting to her and that was why she compared it with a Rubik's cube. A Rubik's cube is a three-dimensional combination puzzle invented in 1974 by Hungarian sculptor and professor of architecture Erno Rubik. On the original classic Rubik's Cube, each of the six faces was covered by nine stickers, each of one of six solid colors. For the puzzle to be solved, each face of the cube must be returned to have only one color (Rubik's Cube, n.d.). By the 1980s, the Rubik's Cube was a worldwide craze, with millions of Cubes being sold every year, and it started entering pop culture. In present times, it is revered as one of the most beloved puzzles of all time
(Rubiks, n.d.). A Rubik's Cube is a puzzle that cannot be solved instantly and requires a lot of patience and persistence. In life and in pop culture, some of the thoughts and feelings that the Rubik's Cube symbolically conveys are life's complexities, difficulties, intelligence, mystery, stylishness, elegance, and problem-solving (GoCube, 2020). Solving a Rubik's Cube is actually a simple process that involves some straightforward algorithms. However, it is not necessarily the fastest method (McNally, 2020). In a Rubik's Cube, it is not possible to restore order, that is have each side be of only one color, without first having chaos and there is no easy way out. (McNally, 2020). While solving a Rubik's Cube may not be the biggest achievement in life, it is still a monumental task that seems impossible and as a result, when you solve it, it is a very rewarding experience. Another characteristic of a Rubik's Cube is that it is deeply engrossing. For many people, it is impossible to stop playing with it, until it is solved.

In comparing the Cantonese language to a Rubik's Cube, Huang views it as an interesting, complicated, and difficult language that requires a lot of patience, perseverance, intelligence, and problem-solving skills. While it is all of these things, it is not out of her reach, just like solving a Rubik's cube is cumbersome, but not impossible. Also, Cantonese is something that she finds deeply engrossing, very interesting, and possibly something that calls out to her. Thus, Huang conceptualizes her mother tongue to be a challenging, interesting, difficult language that she feels hopeful of being able to learn and master with her intelligence, patience, perseverance and problem-solving skills

Rahul described Hindi as a wooden table. He said, "Hindi is like a hard.... like a wooden table. Because it is very rigid, very... there aren't a lot of changes that happen . It is as it is. But it's very elegant - that is my adjective for Hindi, it would be elegant."

Rahul perceives Hindi to be a language in which there are not many changes that happen, and it remains as is. In response to my question about when and how the participants learned all the languages they knew, Rahul said about Hindi:

So, about Hindi it's like. It's easier to read and easier to speak because reading Hindi, it's like you pronounce it as it is written. You don't have like different, so the pronunciation of words is the same as their language. But writing is hard because I get confused with like certain things. (Rahul, October 30, 2020).

So, when Rahul says that in Hindi, there are no changes, it is plausible that was referring to the fact that the script used for Hindi, Devanagari, makes it possible to write it exactly as it is pronounced, unlike English where 'go' and 'do', or 'but' and 'put' are not pronounced in a similar manner. It is possible that he was also referring to the fact that in Hindi there are fewer exceptions to grammatical rules than in English or the other languages he knows. It may also be possible that he believes that Hindi as a language has not changed with time and that is why he calls it rigid. However, that is not true because all languages are forever undergoing change. Watching any Hindi 'Bollywood' film will be evidence of how much Hindi has changed. Hindi used in these films has many modern English expressions and expressions from other Indian languages that enrich it and create shortcuts for so many Hindi speakers that are also proficient English speaker. A wooden table (as opposed to a plastic table, for example) is considered to have classic appeal, is sturdy, long lasting, or durable, and also expensive, especially if made with good quality wood. It is also appealing to the eyes, beautiful or like Rahul calls it, it is elegant. By comparing it with a wooden table, Rahul is conceptualizing Hindi to be a beautiful, classic language, which is long lasting, one that stands the test of time without losing its
popularity. He also calls it rigid, but it seems that he sees it as a positive feature of Hindi, where the language is easy to read, because it is pronounced as it is written and there are fewer exceptions to the rule.

On the whole, the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT / A SUBSTANCE metaphor about the participants' mother tongues reveal that they tend to conceptualize their mother tongues as complicated, challenging, classic, long lasting, and beautiful.

## Language is Food

LANGUAGE IS FOOD was the secondary metaphor that emerged in the analysis of the data in this study. Three of the seven metaphors in this category were about the participants' mother tongues, and two were about English. The other two metaphors were about languages being mixed together (like ingredients) and the importance of keeping languages separate and not mixing them up. LANGUAGE IS FOOD is a branch of the larger, overarching metaphor of IDEAS/KNOWEDGE ARE FOOD (Metaphor: IDEAS ARE FOOD, n.d.). As with the two dominant metaphors explained above, for this secondary metaphor as well, I will first explain the two metaphors about English and then move on to the metaphors about their mother tongues.

## English

Buthaina, who grew up in Oman, reflected a lot on how she wanted to describe English and what noun she would pick to represent English. At first she said that English was like a honey bee. However, while she responded to some follow-up questions by me and one by Rahul, she changed her mind and said that English is like honey. Here is how the focus group conversation went:

Buthaina: I think English is as a bee.
Madhur: A honeybee?

Buthaina: Yeah, because you take from many languages and many people and then it's goes in one place. And it's no back to one place. As the bee, it goes to many flowers. And then they.... As we are the flowers. We are from many countries and that all of us go speak the same language which is English, and these are the things for honey. That's for me that's a big thing. It has to...

Madhur: The beehive?

Buthaina: Yeah.

Madhur: So, then you're saying English is like a honeybee ... or like a beehive?

Buthaina: All of them.

Rahul: English should be honey then.

Buthaina: Yeah maybe.

Madhur: So, would you say it's a honeybee or a beehive or honey?

Buthaina: Honey. I will go with honey.

Madhur: So, is, is English also sweet then?
Buthaina: Yeah. Sweet. And sticky sometimes because it has grammar which makes it little bit hard. But it's very helpful and nice.

Madhur: And sweet because?

Buthaina: Because it's easy. More than Arabic (Buthaina, October 30, 2020)

In Buthaina's view, English is like honey. Honeybees go from flower to flower, collect nectar, and make honey. Similarly, English is a language that is a product borrowing words, accents, styles, turns of phrases from various other languages all over the world. This product, honey, is enjoyed by people everywhere, just like English is the common factor and the language of communication for people from different parts of the world. During the interview, I asked her if she perceived English to be sweet like honey, to which she agreed as an afterthought, promptly adding that it is also sticky, because English grammar is, at times, difficult. However, according to her, English is helpful and nice, just like honey, especially local honey, is believed to have some anti-inflammatory, anti-allergic, antibacterial properties. In that manner, English is also conceptualized as being helpful, important, and beneficial when it comes to attaining success in the world. It is interesting to note that sweetness was not the quality of honey that Buthaina focused on. Instead, her focus was on the spread of the English language world over, its role in facilitating communication between people from various corners of the world, how it borrows words and how there are many regional varieties of English, and how it is an important linguistic resource to have in one's repertoire for being more successful in the world. The other aspect of honey that she drew attention was its stickiness, which is how she conceptualizes English grammar, difficult and messy.

The other participant who had a 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' metaphor for English was Abbas. He compared English, interestingly, to the bubble of a chewing gum. Below is an extract from the conversation:

Abbas: Yeah, so, it's like a chewing gum. Everyone will see it in a different angle.

Madhur: And by angle, you mean...? I am trying to understand how angle and chewing gum are connected.

Abbas: Imagine, imagine bubble, and you see it from this side, and I see it from other side. Like, let's say - you see it from the right and other people see it from the left and everyone see it from different directions.

Madhur: So, you're talking about the bubbles that we make with chewing gums?

Abbas: Yeah, exactly, ha-ha. (Abbas, October 24, 2020).

Abbas' choice of a food that he compared English with was 'chewing gum', typically used as a mouth freshener or something that is used to pass the time or used for relieving stress. In fact, it was the bubble that people blow up when the gum is in their mouths. His explanation of comparing English with the bubble made using a chewing gum is that the bubble, which is spherical, can be seen from various sides. It is interesting that it is not just any bubble, but a bubble that you yourself make and can see in front of your face, and people looking at you can see it in a different way. Similarly, English is a language seen, valued, and spoken by people living in different parts of the world. This metaphor, like the previous one (honey) also was about the global spread and use of English, rather than the taste (or the joy) of using the English language. While honey is sweet, that was not the primary reason why Buthaina compared it with English. Chewing gums are not generally perceived as a tasty food item. Rarely do people regard it as a food that people chew for joy. It is utilitarian, but it has no nutritional value. It is, in fact, not even swallowed and digested. In the previous metaphor categories, we saw that Abbas views English as a language for intellectual purposes, a language that is useful and
needed for better job opportunities and a better life. In conceptualizing English as a chewing gum bubble, he once again refers to the utility of the language, without finding anything tasty or any emotional connection with it. Both the food metaphors for English are not about the taste of the food, usually associated with joy and other positive ideas. On the contrary, they focus on the usefulness of the food item and its spread across the globe.

## Mother tongues

The 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' metaphors for English did not focus on the taste of the food or pertained to food items that the participants did not have any meaningful, personal connection with. In stark contrast, the metaphors for the participants' metaphors were primarily about the foods that the participants had deep connections with or with foods or food related processes that the participants associated good taste or deliciousness with.

Huang said, "Okay, so for Mandarin I will say noodles cause for me it's easy, it's like when you have noodles, you just get into it, they're really smooth and you can speak it, like very... For me it's like, for my mind it will be very easy" (Huang, October 24, 2020). Huang grew up in Guangzhou, China, which is in the south-eastern part of China, close to Hong Kong. In March 2023, in order to gauge the accuracy of my analysis, I wrote an email to Huang asking her if noodles were a staple part of her diet. She replied saying that she grew up in southern China, where rice is more widely consumed than noodles. However, she personally loves noodles, prefers them over rice, and eats them regularly. She described noodles as being smooth and easy to eat. The medium of instruction in her school was Mandarin. She was surrounded by Mandarin from a young
age and for her, it is a language that she finds the easiest to think in and to speak in. By comparing Mandarin to noodles, she reveals that she has a deeply personal relationship with it, that it is a staple part of her life, that it is a language that she finds easy, almost like second nature, and a language that gives her joy, one that she loves.

Kaito compared Japanese to a marshmallow. This is how the conversation proceeded:

Kaito: And then Japanese Is $a \ldots$ what is it... A tough one. Okay, let's say, marshmallow.

Madhur: Marshmallow. That's interesting!

Kaito: It reminds me of like soft like in Japanese like we have a lot of ways to express my feeling and like, and also grammar is very, for example. Like let's say so in English. I go to the school, but in Japanese grammar. We say 'I school to go' let that kind of stuff. Yeah, very, flexible. And also like 'to go school I' We can say that and makes sense.

Madhur: So, the position of the words in a sentence can be different, and it still makes sense.

Kaito: Yeah, it makes sense. So, it's very, like, a flexible language for me.

Madhur: Are marshmallows flexible?

Kaito: I mean, I mean like it can be different shape like, yeah, yeah (Kaito, November 3, 2020)

Kaito described marshmallows as soft, flexible, and as having the ability to take different shapes. He said that Japanese is soft because in Japanese, there are many different ways to express emotions. According to Senko K. Maynard (1997, in the book 'Japanese Communication: Language and Thought in Context', Japanese is classified as an agglutinating language, one that contains many separate elements - particles, auxiliary verbs, auxiliary adjectives - attached to the words. Particles express not merely grammatical relations, but also personal feelings. The Japanese language is also known for its system of respectful and humble forms as well as its variety of strategies for marking politeness. Even though the Japanese language is known for its indirectness in communication, Japanese expressions are not always indirect. In fact, on the contrary, Japanese speakers find ways to express emotion directly through a variety of attitudinal verbs (Maynard, 1997). Kaito also said that like marshmallows, Japanese is flexible and can take different shapes, because the position of words in a sentence can be varied and yet the meaning remains the same. His example was of the sentence 'I go to school'. This sentence is meaningful only when the words are all in these positions. If it is changed to 'To go I school', it loses meaning. However, that is not the case with Japanese. Even if the order of the words changes, the sentence is still perceived as grammatically correct, and the meaning is conveyed.

In the case of Kaito as well, he compared the Japanese language with marshmallows, a food that is largely perceived by the vast majority as delicious or pleasing to the senses. The adjectives he used to describe the qualities of the marshmallow and the comparisons he drew for each of those adjectives, shed light on the deep, emotional, and joyful connection he feels with his mother tongue.

The third LANGUAGE IS A FOOD metaphor was used by Abbas for Arabic. He said that Arabic is like a bakery. He said, "Arabic will be like a bakery. It's a process, it's a process... and then at the end you get a good result. It depends on what you cook!" (Abbas, October 24, 2020). Abbas explained that in a bakery there is a process which can give you a good result. In a bakery, often similar ingredients with a few differences, and differences in quantities, times, and processes, lead to the creation of varied baked goods. For example, fermentation and proofing creates breads or buns, but similar ingredients with more fat (butter or oil) and sugar and baking powder can result in a cake or pie. Each recipe requires a process that makes a great product. In Abbas' view, Arabic is similar to a bakery, because learning and knowing Arabic is a process and once a person knows it and has figured out how to use it, then they can create beauty out of the language, just like a baker can create a delicious food item with all the largely similar ingredients. Like Huang and Kaito, Abbas' metaphor of a bakery is also indicative of positive feelings of love and joy that he has for his mother tongue. It also reveals his conceptualization of Arabic as a language that cannot be learned easily and that learning it is a process that requires time, focus, and effort.

On the whole, the 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' metaphors used by the participants for their mother tongues reflect the love and closeness that the participants feel toward these languages. As opposed to that the 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' metaphors for English did not focus so much on the joy or love for English, as much as they reflected the participants' recognition of the spread of English all over the world, their perception of it as a language that allows people from various parts of the world to communicate
with each other, and a language that allows people to have better professional opportunities in the world.

In the following section, I examine how the two dominant metaphors 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' and ‘LANGUAGE AS AN OBJECT / A SUBSTANCE' and the secondary metaphor 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' compare with each other, if there are any patterns that emerge which reveal similar and distinct participant conceptualizations about English vis a vis their mother tongues across the three target domains.

## Common conceptualizations across metaphors

In the sections above, I examined each of the two dominant metaphors and one secondary metaphor by separating the metaphors used for English and those used by the participants when talking about their mother tongues. Table 5.2 (below) shows how many of the metaphors for each target were found in the participants' utterances for English, how many were in their utterances about their mother tongues, and how many were found in their utterances for the other languages in their repertoire.

As mentioned earlier, there were only six metaphors found in the participants' responses about their other languages and those were also in the 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' category. None were in the 'LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT / SUBSTANCE' or 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' category. In the sub-section on 'Other languages', under the section on 'Language as a person', I have described some salient examples of metaphors used by the participants for their other languages. Languages that were seen as having utility, such as being able to use it in many countries, or being able to use it to
communicate with friends were described using words used for people that are liked or that we have close associations with, such as 'nice' (Spanish), friendly and kind (Dutch) or 'learned it like a baby' (Thai). As opposed to that Latin, which was perceived as a language having no use because it is not spoken anywhere was described as 'dead'.

Table 5.2 Metaphors for English vs Mother Tongues vs Other Languages

| Source | About English | About Mother Tongues | About Other <br> Languages  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| LANGUAGE <br> IS A <br> PERSON <br> (24) | $\begin{array}{\|l} \text { Number: } 7 \\ \text { (29.16\%) } \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Number:11 } \\ & \text { (45.83\%) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Number: } 6 \\ & (25 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
|  | Examples: <br> English is popular, everyone wants to learn it. <br> English is kind for me. | Examples: <br> Arabic is attractive. <br> Arabic, my language, is a little picky. <br> Vietnamese sounds like when you sing. | Examples: <br> Latin is like a funeral; nobody speaks it anymore. <br> I studied Thai like a baby. <br> Dutch is really kind; even bad things sound friendly. |
| LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT/ SUBSTANCE (14) | Number: 9 (64.3\%) | Number: 5 (35.71\%) | Number: 0 |
|  | Examples: <br> English is like a fishnet. <br> English is like a tree. <br> English is like a rubberband. <br> English is plain, like normal, no color or scratches. | Examples: <br> Hindi is hard, rigid, and elegant like a wooden table. <br> German is like a rock/stone. <br> Cantonese is like a Rubik's cube. | Examples: N/A |


| LANGUAGE <br> IS A FOOD <br> (7) * | Number: $\quad 2$ (28.57\%) | Number: 3 (42.85\%) | Number: 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Examples: <br> English is like honey. <br> English is the bubble of a chewing gum. | Examples: <br> So, for Mandarin, I will say noodles. <br> Japanese is like a marshmallow. | Examples: N/A |

*5 of 7 were for English and mother tongues. The remaining two were about translanguaging (languages getting mixed and keeping languages separate)

It is also important to consider what the small number of metaphors found in the entire data about the participants' other languages signifies. In Chapter 4, I mentioned how the teachers in the IEP were worried for me when I mentioned the study and were fairly certain that it would be nearly impossible to find multilingual participants for my study. Many of the participants said that their teachers knew about the first language or mother tongue but did not know about their other languages and this explains why the teachers did not believe that I would find multilingual participants. When the participants were asked about their translanguaging practices, it was seen that they did engage in translanguaging, but they believed that translanguaging was not beneficial to them and did not aid their process of acquiring a new language (English). During the interview also, I often had to prompt them to think about the other languages in their repertoire and to share their thoughts about those languages. The participants' focus was English, because they are in the United States and pursuing higher education in English. Their mother tongues are an integral part of their identities, so they were thinking about those
languages. However, it is possible that because multilingualism is not valued enough or, on the contrary, is often seen as a deficit, that is, knowing more languages takes away from the notion of purity of knowledge of any one language (English), they tend not to think of it, or perhaps even block it out of their minds.

When we look at the metaphors used for English, it can be seen that most metaphors (nine) for English are 'LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT / SUBSTANCE'. The objects or substance that English was compared to included fishnet, rubber band, water, mountain, tree. Without mentioning the object, one participant described English the way one would describe an object, as 'plain, normal, without many colors or even a scratch'. The objects that the participants compared it were generic, none that held any personal meaning to the participants. Their explanations for those metaphors were about the global spread and hegemony of English, the various varieties of English world over, the ability of English to grow in different directions and how it is a language of opportunity and the intellect that allows people from all over the world to communicate with each other. The participants' metaphors did not reveal any emotional connection with English, or that in English they find joy and poetic or creative fun. Seven metaphors in the 'LANGUAGE IS A PERSON' category were about English. Even though this is only two less than the total number of metaphors in the OBJECT/SUBSTANCE category, it is important to consider what the metaphors were and what they revealed about participants' conceptualizations about English. When the participants talked about English and compared it with a person, they said that English is like a head, because if you want to talk to someone's brain, you should use English. One participant said that English is popular, referring to the spread of English, but not necessarily the that it is a well-liked
language. Another participant said that English sounds like weeping, which is indicative of the pain and difficulty that the participant associates with the language. So, while there were many metaphorical instances of English being equated with a person, not many of these represented a deep, intimate, or personal connection with the language. With regard to the 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' (only two metaphors used for English), those were also about food items that were generic, and none that held any personal meaning to the participants.

As for the mother tongues of the participants, it is interesting to note that there were only five metaphors in the 'LANGUAGE AS AN OBJECT/ SUBSTANCE' category. The participants overwhelmingly spoke about their first languages or their mother tongues in terms of A PERSON or A FOOD. Eleven of the twenty-four total metaphors were about the participants' mother tongues. Most of these metaphors about their mother tongues referred to the beauty of the language, the way it sounds, how it is a difficult or complicated language, and how it is a more expressive language, especially when compared to English. When negative adjectives were used for a mother tongue, it was usually the participants adopting an outsider view of their language, that is, how they believe others who do not speak those languages perceive those languages. In this case, once again, the participants were being complicit with the dominant ideologies, even if it meant that those ideologies were harmful to them (Bourdieu, 1984). Analysis revealed that the participants feel a deep, personal connection with their mother tongues. Even when they hint at something negative, such as Leon and Marie did by saying that 'German sounds strict and aggressive', there was an element of pride, because Leon spoke about how it is a complicated language to pronounce, and he did not know any
'foreigner' who was able to pronounce it authentically. When the participants compared it with an object, it was an object that had more personal significance, than the objects that were used for comparison with English. For example, Cantonese is like a Rubik's Cube and Hindi is like a wooden table. While, arguably, these are also generic objects, the adjectives used for them were positive and also something that the participants either admire or have a personal connection with. The wooden table was described as 'elegant' and Hindi was described as beautiful. Similarly, the Rubik's cube is seen as a challenge, a puzzle, which upon being solved results in a feeling of joy and pride. With regard to the 'LANGUAGE IS A FOOD' metaphors, all the participants compared their mother tongues to delicious food that they loved and enjoyed or found interesting. Interesting ideas are appetizing foods (Metaphor, n.d.).

There is yet another common conceptualization that was revealed through the analysis of metaphors used by many of the participants for their mother tongues across all three target domains (PERSON, OBJECT/SUBSTANCE, and FOOD). Most participants believe that their mother tongues are more complicated and harder to learn and master than English. Many believed that their mother tongues are harder to pronounce, have many sounds that learners cannot get right unless they speak that language since birth, or have more complex grammar, are classic and rigid. Comparatively, fewer participants spoke about English in terms of level of difficulty. Many believe it is easy and the language is more accessible. This may be because of the spread and omnipresence of English, and the high demand for English and the abundance of classes and means, world over, to learn it. Additionally, there are also varieties of English that are popular in different countries, such as Indian English, South African English, Japanese English etc.

So, while, native speakerism is still a dominant ideology, the various varieties of English, perhaps one for each country, make English seem more accessible than their languages. As opposed to that, their mother tongues are not as highly coveted as English. Fewer people attempt to learn these languages, there is not as much pride and prestige associated with knowing these languages, whereas with English, it is often a matter of pride, and can be seen as a sign of greater intellectual ability (see Chapter 4). It is also possible they were thinking about Americans who try to learn their languages. For Thanh, who is Vietnamese, learning Thai was not perceived as being particularly difficult. So, in referring to their own languages as difficult or complex, they are taking on the perspective of what English speakers or other foreigners tell them about their languages. However, the participants personally view their languages with a great sense of pride and love and hold these languages dear to their hearts. These languages are not as widespread as English and there are not as many well-known regional varieties as there are with English. As a result, there is not as much of an abundance of learning opportunities or classes or teaching resources for these languages. It is possible that this leads to the belief that these languages truly belong only to native speakers or those who have been speaking it since birth. Relatively fewer possibilities and options to learn these languages, and the lower demand for these languages may also make it seem that these languages are inherently more difficult and complex, and therefore not easy to learn.

By and large, this critical metaphor analysis reveals that the participants think about English more prominently in terms of an 'OBJECT or SUBSTANCE', a resource that one can possess and use for various purposes in life. They also view English as a dominant, worldwide language of communication that makes better professional
opportunities (and, as a result, a better life) available to them. On the other hand, the participants conceptualize their mother tongues in more intimate ways as 'A PERSON or A FOOD', rather than as an 'OBJECT'. Food is an important part of life. Not only is it necessary for survival and existence, but it also gives joy (or bad food can really take joy away) and is not really separable from life. Similarly, human beings need personal connection to thrive. When people use adjectives and verbs that are typically used for a person when talking about a language, they think about these languages in human terms, and therefore, in personal terms. When Abbas calls his language 'attractive' and 'picky', or when Kaito said Japanese is 'polite' and there is a 'lot of respect in Japanese', they reveal the nature of the personal and emotional connection they have for their mother tongues. It is worth evaluating what might the effects of these differing conceptualizations be on their acquisition of English. In the following, final chapter, I will present a discussion on how the findings from chapters 4 and 5 merge to give us an overall picture of the language ideologies of the participants, their implications for teaching, limitations of the study, and directions for future research.

## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation study explored the language ideologies of multilingual learners in an Intensive English Program. In this final chapter, I return to my original research questions, summarize the key findings that emerged from the thematic analysis and the critical metaphor analysis, which includes an examination of the points of convergence between the two sets of findings. Next, I discuss the implications of the study, the study's limitations, my suggestions for future research in this area, and lastly, my final thoughts about the study.

The key research question of this study is: What are the language ideologies of multilingual learners enrolled in the Intensive English Program, as they learn English as an additional language?

Below are the sub-questions that were stated at the beginning of this research:
a. How do multilingual students use their multilingual resources while they learn English as an additional language?
iii. How can multilingual learners' language ideologies about their whole linguistic repertoire influence their acquisition of English as an additional language?
iv. What does a critical metaphor/metonymy analysis contribute to understanding how they perceive of other languages at play in their acquisition of English?
b. How can perceptions of multilingual students' use of their linguistic repertoire in the process of learning English inform teaching practice?

Keeping these research questions in mind, below, I present a summary of the key findings from this study, and how the findings from the thematic and critical metaphor analyses converge.

## Summary of Key Findings and Discussion

Chapter 4 presented a thematic analysis of the language ideologies of the multilingual participants learning English as an additional language in the Intensive English Program in this study. The thematic analysis allowed me to identify recurrent themes that came up in the participants' responses during the focus group interview. The key ideologies that emerged included the participants' ideologies about English and about multilingualism, ideologies about language and race, ideologies about language teaching and learning, and ideologies about translanguaging.

## Ideologies about Multilingualism and English

Most of the participants in this study shared that they enjoyed learning new languages and being multilingual. They enjoyed being multilingual because they believed that knowing those languages allowed them to connect and communicate with more people. Buthaina enthusiastically shared how much she loved it when one of her IEP teachers, Tara, assigned a new language to each week of classes, and all the students greeted each other in the language that was pre-decided for that week. For some, they were drawn to their additional languages because of the love for television, film, and
music content in those languages. Love and appreciation for multilingualism was a popular ideology that emerged from the thematic analysis of this data.

As for English, the participants distinguished English from the other languages, by describing the power and hegemony of English. They shared that English was seen as a sign of intellectual ability or intelligence in their home countries, or that people in their home countries who were proficient in English had a superiority complex and believed they were better than others who did know speak English. Some participants rebelled against this, while others did not seem as agitated by it and seemed to have accepted this imperialist, colonial ideology about the hegemony of English. Many participants mentioned that English was a required subject in their schools from a very young age, and that knowing English was important for getting better job opportunities, not only within the United States, but also in their home countries, in fact, all over the world. Almost all participants had experienced and were, to varying degrees, complicit with the colonial, imperialist, ideologies and the neoliberal ideologies pertaining to knowledge of English and its association with personal status, and professional success.

This finding was further strengthened by the critical metaphor analysis presented in Chapter 5. The Critical Metaphor Analysis revealed that, by and large, the participants conceptualized LANGUAGE as A PERSON (dominant metaphor), AN OBJECT / SUBSTANCE (dominant metaphor), and as A FOOD (secondary metaphor). Upon more detailed and nuanced examination of the metaphors, it was revealed that the participants predominantly conceptualized English as AN OBJECT or SUBSTANCE, something that can be possessed, but is separate from oneself. The objects that English was compared to were generic, having no special significance in the lives of the participants, as were the

SUBSTANCES (mountain, water, tree etc.) The explanations provided by the participants, along with an analysis of the metaphors and their taking into consideration, the popular conceptualizations associated with those metaphors, revealed similar ideologies about the hegemony, and the worldwide spread of English, and English as coveted the global language of communication or global lingua franca that ensured better opportunities in life.

While English was conceptualized predominantly as an OBJECT/ SUBSTANCE, and therefore, viewed by the participants as something outside of them, and from a distance, the participants spoke largely about their mother tongues in terms of A PERSON or A FOOD. As mentioned in chapter 5, this conceptualization and a deeper analysis of the explanations provided by the participants, sheds light on the closeness, the love, the pride, and the deep personal love that the participants feel for their varied mother tongues. The participants also believed that their mother tongues were more difficult, highly nuanced, and more complicated for others (that is, those not born with those languages) to learn, compared to English, which was, according to most participants, a relatively easier language to learn.

Interestingly, the utterances of the participants did not include too many metaphors pertaining to the additional languages that the participants spoke or knew. Only six instances were found, and in all of those utterances, their other languages were conceptualized as A PERSON. Languages that allowed them to communicate with people or were perceived as having currency in the job market such as Spanish, were described as a nice or kind person. Latin, which was perceived as irrelevant and not suitable for communication, was spoken about in terms of death. More important than the nature of
their conceptualizations of their other languages, is the fact that there were significantly fewer instances of the participants speaking about their other languages. I had to ask probing questions and remind them about their other languages throughout all three focus group interviews, because they primarily tended to think more about English and their mother tongues. The deep personal connection with their mother tongues, and the impersonal distance from English were, arguably, two of the most important, major findings in this study.

## Ideologies about Language and Race

Most of the participants in this study reported that they had had experiences in their life inside and outside of the classroom in the United States in which raciolinguistic ideologies were present. The participants spoke about being in situations where they were expected to speak in a certain language or in a certain manner because of how they looked. The two White students from Germany were often thought to be Americans and encountered surprise from their peers in the classroom when they were heard speaking English in a non-American accent. Similarly, a participant from Kuwait ended up disappointing his Black American classmate when he did not understand the word 'ask' (pronounced 'aks' in African American Vernacular English). The friend was certain that the participants' skin tone and appearance implied that he would understand the word. These experiences and encounters are based on ideas of how authority and expertise of certain languages are tied to certain appearances and contribute to the native speaker ideology of the concept of native speakerism, which many of the participants subscribed to.

## Ideologies about Language Teaching and Learning

One of the important findings of this study was that the participants did not appreciate it when teachers were harsh or used unkind methods to embarrass students for using other languages for communicating with each other or for meaning making purposes during class time as they believed that it only creates fear in the minds of learners and does not help them understand or learn the language. Also, despite being from various countries such as Japan, China, Oman, and Vietnam, most participants shared that their English learning experiences in their home countries did not help them become adequately proficient in English. Some participants felt that they were able to speak but did not feel confident about their listening or reading skills. Others felt that, in their home countries, they had been taught English in their mother tongues or that there was far too much emphasis on grammar and minimal exposure to other aspects of English teaching. Overall, the participants felt inadequately proficient in English for multiple reasons and believed that equal focus on speaking, grammar, listening, reading, and writing was far more beneficial to them. The participants also believed that learning English in the United States or in other countries where English is the dominant language (such as Australia or Canada) had made a significant contribution to their learning and that they had become more proficient in a relatively much shorter time period. Deficit ideologies about the knowledge of English they brought with themselves from their own countries, the native speakerism ideology, and the discourse about study abroad resulted in the participants belief or ideology that one can attain increased proficiency through contact with native speakers.

## Ideologies about Translanguaging

The analysis also revealed that there was a dissonance in the translanguaging practices and the ideologies about translanguaging that the participants held. It was revealed that, in practice, most of the participants engaged in translanguaging, as it frequently occurs naturally among multilinguals, and drew from their prior linguistic knowledge either because it was a natural process for them, or because they found it to be a resource. However, when asked whether their teachers encouraged them to use their prior linguistic knowledge to help with the process of acquiring English, the participants, almost unanimously, said that that did not happen, in fact their teachers wanted them to speak only in English. This was true about their English teachers in the IEP in the United States, as also their English teachers in their home countries. This may be explained by the deep-rooted monolingual bias whereby speakers of two or more languages are seen as two or more monolinguals in one and as not being native like proficient in any of their languages. Another explanation for the teachers' reluctance to encourage translanguaging or for their disapproval of it is that they may be looking to protect the space and time in the classroom as an opportunity for the learners to practice their English skills. Interestingly, the participants also said that they did not think their teachers should encourage them to make use of their entire linguistic repertoire to learn English, because they believed that a target language is best learned in that language itself.

Having revisited and further discussed the findings that emerged through the multilayered analysis in this study, in the next section, I outline some practical implications that teachers in the IEP at Big R1 University, or more broadly, in other IEPs or adult ESL classes or programs may find useful.

## Practical Implications

In this section, I present three practical implications for teaching practice to better serve multilingual learners in Intensive English Programs and, more broadly, in similar adult ESL education classes or programs.

## Multilingualism Matters

Based on the participants' responses and my own experience when I started making attempts to find multilingual learners to be the participants in my study, it was evident that the students in the IEP were thought of as bilingual, and multilingualism tended not to be factored in by the instructors. However, like I have mentioned elsewhere, it was very easy to find participants who qualified for my study because many of the international students in the IEP were multilingual. It is important for instructors to recognize this aspect of their students' linguistic knowledge because it matters. It matters on an emotional, affective level. The participants' love for multilingualism was evident in the thematic analysis. The critical metaphor analysis revealed that they conceptualized their mother tongues and their other languages as a PERSON, revealing the emotional and intimate connection, and the pride and affection that they felt toward those languages. This analysis also revealed that almost all the participants perceived that their languages are much more complex and nuanced than English and, therefore, they are harder to learn than English, which they found comparatively much easier. Teachers may tap into this pride. It is evident that the participants viewed their multilingualism as something that gives them joy and requires high intellectual ability. If teachers ask them about their students' entire linguistic repertoire, express interest in the various languages
they know, and have a positive approach and attitude towards multilingualism, that is likely to fortify the students' self-perception

Buthaina spoke highly of one of her IEP teachers who took into consideration her students' mother tongues and each week, chose one of those languages and had the students in the classroom who spoke that language teach 'greetings' in that language to others who did not speak it. For the rest of that week, everyone in class greeted each other in that language. A relatively simple gesture like this one, which did not require a lot of class time made such a lasting impact on Buthaina's mind and she was disappointed when the mode of instruction changed due to the pandemic and this practice had to abruptly stop. Buthaina, and possibly other students in the class, felt that their languages were valued and respected and also gave them an opportunity to learn a few new words in new languages, which was also a source of joy for these students. Another way of explicitly valuing, i.e., verbally and through actions, the languages and cultures of all students can include holding discussions about different languages and cultures in the classroom. This positions students as experts with knowledge to be valued and shared, assigning readings from diverse and/ or bilingual or multilingual literature. (Rowe, 2019). Honoring multilingualism and creating a space for it in the classroom (while still using the target language) will lead to a shift, even if gradual, from a monoglossic perspective where not knowing English is viewed as a deficit, to a heteroglossic orientation, where learners' prior linguistic knowledge is seen as a resource or an asset. This shift in orientation is likely to also allow teachers to encourage their students to use translanguaging as a resource in their process of acquiring English, which is the next practical implication discussed in the subsequent subsection below.

## Translanguaging is worth a try

An emergent multilingual learner is not equal in every way to an emergent bilingual learner. Ulrike Jessner (2014) notes that one of the key factors of language learning, more specifically, third or additional language learning is metalinguistic awareness. Multilingual learners develop certain skills and abilities that a monolingual speaker does not possess. Metalinguistic awareness can be described as the ability to focus on linguistic form and to switch focus between form and meaning (Jessner, 2014). Individuals who have metalinguistic awareness are able to categorize words into parts of speech, switch focus between form, function, and meaning, and explain why a word has a particular function. All the participants in the study shared that they drew from their prior linguistic knowledge to learn English and were translanguaging. Even those students who found no great value in knowing their additional language could not deny that the knowledge of that language helped them learn a new language. For instance, Leon was not a fan of Latin, a "dead" language that "you should study if you are not getting sleep, you will get bored and fall asleep quickly" (Leon, November 3, 2020) He also compared it to a funeral because it is not as useful as other languages such as Spanish, because it cannot be used for communicational purposes in today's world. In spite of that, he did concede that knowing Latin grammar and German grammar was helpful for him to learn English. Similarly, Buthaina reminds herself that English is not like Swahili (and more like Arabic) because English grammar has genders, which Swahili does not. Or, Marie noticed that there were words in German and Dutch, that had similar spellings, but did not have the same meaning. She gave the example of the world 'schlim', which means 'smart' in Dutch, 'worse', in German, and slim (which is also somewhat similar) has a
third meaning in English! Even though the multilingual learners were already using their linguistic resources for learning for becoming more proficient in English, being encouraged by their teachers would allow them to deliberately tap into their metalinguistic awareness and use their prior linguistic knowledge as a resource to help their process of learning English.

It is natural for any two (or more) people who share the same mother tongue to communicate with each other in that language; it is bound to happen (Aghai et al, 2020). Using students' native language has psychological benefits and also serves as a practical pedagogical tool for providing access to academic content, allowing more effective interaction, and providing greater access to prior knowledge (Lucas \& Katz, 1994). Plenty of research cited in the literature review of this study (Chapter 2) points to how natural, and beneficial translanguaging is for multilingual language learners.

However, teachers do explicitly tell their students to not use any other language besides English in the classroom. At times this is done in harsh and unkind ways that are deeply embarrassing and shaming to learners. The participants spoke with displeasure about the experiences they had witnessed when teachers put learners on the spot and shamed them for asking their friends for help in their mother tongues. Even though they shared their teachers monoglossic perspectives, they said that teachers must control this harmful pedagogical approach because it is counterproductive, and it creates fear and shame in the minds of the learners and does not help them learn what is being taught in the classroom. So, even though it is understandable that teachers want their students to learn English and know that using the target language will be beneficial to them, and hence this comes from the desire to do what is best for students, it would be productive
and helpful for educators to reflect before using harsh techniques to prevent translanguaging in the classroom.

Even when instructors discourage or disapprove of translanguaging in the classroom in gentler ways, learners, who naturally use it or rely on their metalinguistic awareness, may feel that they are inadequate and not competent enough because ideally, according to the ideology surrounding them, they should be learning English only in English, without even thinking of any other language. Garcia (2009) notes, that too often, bilingual (or multilingual) students who translanguage suffer linguistic shame because they have been burdened with monoglossic ideologies that value only monolingualism. Guilt, fear, and shame are not productive emotions. I discussed in Chapter 4 how, when I taught French as a foreign language, I used to have to occasionally rely on translanguaging, which I did in a clandestine manner, trying to hide it from myself and felt like I was not smart enough because I had to rely on it help make my students make meaning of what I was trying to teach them in French. Given the well proven benefits of translanguaging and the fact that it happens spontaneously in a multilingual mind, teachers in ESL programs may practice, without hesitation, letting go of monoglossic ideologies that are so deep rooted and prevalent in the field, and allowing or, even better, encouraging their students to translanguage and draw from their prior linguistic knowledge. Teachers may encourage translanguaging by modeling it themselves, by using multiple languages and sharing bilingual texts that they have written with students. This can be done even when teachers themselves are not very proficient in the languages represented in the classroom. Monolingual teachers can explicitly value student models of translanguaging by highlighting students' use of multiple languages when speaking or
writing (Rowe, 2019), or by encouraging students who share the same mother tongue or have other languages (besides English) in common to help each other with meaning making.

## Refuting Raciolinguistic, (Non) Native Speakering, and Deficit Ideologies

(Non) Native speakering and deficit ideologies, which usually go hand in hand, and justify and fortify each other, were distinctly evident in the participants' responses to the questions they were asked in this study. Often the source of these ideologies was the language policies regarding English language education in their home countries, which have their roots in the larger imperialist and colonial ideologies that our world is gripped by. As mentioned in the introductory chapters, international students from countries where English is not the primary language, applying to universities in the United States are required to submit a IELTS or TOEFL score to gain admission. Boonsuk and Karakas (2020) conducted a multimodal, qualitative study wherein they examined various websites, language policy documents of the major international tests of English boards, and publicly available documents such as skill-band-descriptors, handbooks for test takers etc. Their aim was to find out whether these tests reflect the current realities of language users. The analysis of the data and the findings revealed that IELTS and TOEFL promote themselves as welcoming international test takers, but in practice most of the content in their examinations still draw on Native English speaker norms based on what is considered standard English. So, none of these tests take Global or World Englishes into consideration in their practice and content, even though they are marketed as being inclusive and multicultural. This is also a potential source of native speakerism ideologies that were evident in the participants' utterances.

The critical metaphor analysis revealed that the participants conceptualized English predominantly as an OBJECT/ SUBSTANCE, something that can be seen, possessed, or owned, in an impersonal, distant way. The explanations that they gave for the OBJECT or SUBSTANCE that they compared it to had to do with the global spread and hegemony of English, its role as a language that is used for communication by people from different parts of the world, who may otherwise have little else in common. They also said that they viewed proficiency in English as important skill to have in order to have better job opportunities, and thereby greater success in life, which was indicative of their neoliberal ideologies pertaining to the knowledge of English.

Overwhelmingly, many participants also described English as being simple, and relatively easier to learn for non-speakers than it was for others to learn their more complex and nuanced mother tongues. Yet, curiously, despite finding it easy, necessary, and beneficial, and even with a history of several years of having learned English as a language in their home countries, so many participants reported that they felt inadequately proficient in the language. They added that just a few months of being in the United States (where English is the dominant language), being surrounded by the language, and learning from native speakers in formal and informal situations had contributed, in their self-perception, to an increased proficiency in a relatively shorter time span. Thus, evidently, they viewed their knowledge of English from their home countries, one of the World Englishes, as being less than or lacking or inadequate compared to English in the United States.

Something that the participants experienced (more) after coming to the United States was raciolinguicism, where people they encountered expressed surprise and
wonder because they expected them to speak a certain way or a certain language because of how they looked. For example, the White participants from Germany were often assumed to be proficient in English and Americans because of their racial identity.

Similarly, the participants often sensed that if they were overheard talking in their mother tongues in public places, especially languages that are not European (European languages are often thought of as exotic), then they experienced subtle microaggressions, where Americans seemed to be holding themselves back from explicitly asking them to stop using their languages, but conveyed their displeasure and questioned their integrity and intentions in nonverbal, implicit ways. Some of the participants spoke about the discomfort and displeasure that they felt because of these experiences. These raciolinguistic experiences, besides leaving the participants with a feeling of being treated and perceived in a negative way, also reinforced the association of the authentic ownership and authority of certain languages with certain racial identities and may have led to the further strengthening of the participants' native speakerism ideologies.

Some inferences can be drawn from the discussion above, which will lead us to some of the practical implications for educators. Firstly, the most obvious inference is that these multilingual participants recognize the global hegemony of English. They believe in native speakerism, i.e., true or real English exists in countries where English is the primary language. They want access to this native-like proficiency in English, which they believe they will have in the United States. In short, due to all of these reasons, these learners are highly motivated and interested in meeting the requirements of the IEP, so that they can smoothly transition into their academic majors and mainstream programs. In effect, in this regard, the educators' job is simplified. They are spared the task of making
their students interested, involved, and motivated in their task at hand and their broader goals.

Secondly, there is a strong presence of native speakerism ideologies in the participants' minds. The tests and the policies in place (for acceptance into higher education programs in the US) which value certain Englishes over others, i.e. American English over Kuwaiti English or Japanese English, are partly responsible to emphasizing and underlining these ideologies. The raciolinguistic experiences of the participants (and potentially other international students) reinforce these native speakerism and the affiliated deficit ideologies in the minds of the participants. One of the problems associated with native speakerism, especially in combination with neoliberal ideologies, is that it has the potential to gradually work toward displacing the students' languages and cultures through the process of Othering and inferiorization. More specifically, the combined sociocultural and material impact of neoliberalism and native speakerism can result in students rejecting participation in and affiliation to their cultural groups, repositioning their languages as deterrents to the development of their English language proficiencies, and adopting behaviors that could linguistically and socially approximate them to an imagined native speaker of 'standard' English (Tavares, 2022). This brings me back to the opening vignette in Chapter 1 of this study, wherein I reflect on my own experience with imperialist and colonial ideologies about English, and how chasing the dream of knowing good English and being very fluent in English has undeniably cost me, to a certain extent, my knowledge and ease with my mother tongue. I cannot help but wonder if the outcome would have been different, had the school principal and teachers been aware of the potential language loss they were causing in the lives of their students.

This leads me to the practical implications for educators with regard to these ideologies. Arguably, one might suggest that the broader policies need to change for there to be any real, significant, sustainable change. However, even as we wait for those larger, top-level changes, teachers do have some power and can make smaller, yet impactful differences to their personal philosophies and practice, and thereby, to the lives of their students.

Teachers need to be aware of these ideologies and the explanations for them, their source, and the massive and damaging consequences they can have on the lives of students. Feeling disconnected and deliberately trying to dissociate themselves from their home languages, especially when they are so deeply, personally invested in them would be devastating for any person. It is like losing home, losing aspects of one's core identity. Teachers may reflect on their own philosophies and practices and try to identify whether their beliefs and what they do in the classroom further perpetuates these ideologies. If they find that they do, teachers can modify their comportment and beliefs with intentionality and work toward combatting these ideologies. This can be done by having critical discussions in the classroom about the global hegemony of English, the idea of native speakerism and the existence and authenticity of World Englishes. Teachers may include examples of different Englishes spoken in different parts of the world in their class work, legitimizing them, and thereby refuting notions of standard English. The participants in this study, and therefore, potentially other learners in the IEP, are possibly already aware of some of these problems. As I was finalizing the findings of the critical metaphor analysis, I wrote to Huang (one of the participants) to ask her some questions about the fishnet metaphor she used for English. I asked her if she had the following Biblical parable about the fishing net in mind when she compared English to a fishnet:

Jesus says, "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was thrown into the sea and caught fish of every kind; when it was full, they drew it ashore, sat down, and put the good into baskets but threw out the bad. So it will be at the end of the age. The angels will come out and separate the evil from the righteous and throw them into the furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth." (Matthew 13:47-50).

In her response to me, Huang wrote,
"For your question, I would say, the connections I found between both fishnets would be they all tied everything together. English is one of the most popular languages in the world, different people from different places are learning English. I started learning English from a very young age. I would say there's less connections between "good and bad", but "every kind" is important. Just like a fishnet that caught fish of every kind, English put people around the world together. We live in an environment that (with) people from different countries and we all speak English. (Huang, personal communication, March 15, 2023).

It is clear that Huang recognizes that there are different Englishes in the world and that each of those varieties, which are dissimilar, yet similar enough, allow people from different countries to communicate with each other and understand each other. She makes it a point to emphasize that "every kind" (I bolded the words, but the quotation marks were in her email) of English is equally important, and there's none that is better or worse than the other.

For students in the IEP, hearing about World Englishes and the damaging effects of native speakerism, raciolinguicism, and deficit ideologies from their teachers, and to witness efforts to question and counter these ideologies in the course work and in how the classroom proceedings occur, would be a powerful experience, one that could potentially lead to a shift in the ideological views held by students, and consequently, contribute toward social justice, and changing the lives of their students.

## Limitations

This multilayered qualitative analysis allowed for the examination of the more explicitly evident language ideologies of multilingual learners in an Intensive English Program through a thematic analysis. Similarly, a critical metaphor analysis of the data also made it possible to discover and analyze their conceptualizations (or the implicit ideologies) of the participants about their linguistic repertoire. Having explained the findings of the analyses and discussed the practical implications of those findings, it is now time to examine some limitations of this study.

## Participants' Countries of Origin

The participants in this study were from Germany, Vietnam, Oman, China, India, Japan, and Kuwait. Of these countries, only two have a colonial past; India was a colonized by the British, and Vietnam was a colony of the French empire. It is highly probable that the findings might have been slightly different if more of the participants came from other countries with an English colonial past such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, or the West Indies etc. While this is true, however, it is also important to note that English today, world over (i.e., including countries without a colonial past such as

Kuwait, Japan, China, Oman, Germany) has neocolonial dimensions (Motha, 2006). ESOL classrooms and indeed the pedagogical discipline of TESOL (Teaching ESOL) frequently serve as a breeding ground for epistemologies and constructs that support colonial-like relationships (Kumraravadivelu, 2006; May, 2001; Pennycook, 1998; Lin, 1999; Amin \& Kubota, 2004). These include the deep-rooted divide between native and nonnative English speaker identities and a reification of the English language, and consequently, its speakers (Motha, 2006). Additionally, linguistic and racial hierarchies are intertwined, with accents associated with white speakers assigned a higher degree of prestige than those generally connected to racial minorities (Lindemann, 2003). In the words of Motha (2006), "Blatant examples of neocolonialism within educational contexts across the globe include colonial patterns of school administration, distribution of foreign textbooks in former colonies, preferential treatment for immigrant ("expatriate") teachers, and repression of indigenous knowledge within school walls" (p.77). There are colonial echoes reverberating everywhere, including schools that are in the imperial powers themselves. That said, there is no denying the fact that a greater number of participants within the dataset, who come from countries with a direct colonial past such as India would have probably led to different and possibly richer findings about the language ideologies of these multilingual learners learning English.

## Language

Undoubtedly, the most evident limitation of this study is that this is a monolingual study of multilingual learners. The participants in this study were asked to reflect on and share their experiences of being multilingual and English learning in English, rather than their mother tongues or in another language or other languages of their choice. The
participants' metalinguistic reflections on their language learning and the nouns and adjectives they picked as metaphors to represent and describe the languages that they spoke was proof of their high proficiency in English. However, there is no denying the possibility of getting richer data if it had been possible to conduct these interviews in a language of the participants' choice, one(s) in which they felt most comfortable. As can be seen in the participants' quotes shared in the previous two chapters, there were a few instances where it seemed that the participants felt that English was not able to adequately convey what they precisely wanted to say. For example, when Buthaina was thinking of a noun to represent English, at first, she said "honeybee", but later, she reconsidered her choice and changed it to beehive, and eventually to 'honey'. As I revisit that conversation in my mind, I remember the expression on Buthaina's face - it lasted less than a handful of seconds - but that wistful look suggesting that she wished she could have just explained it in Arabic or that she and I shared another language besides English in common. This was an instance that I noticed, and it left a mark on me, especially because, in that moment, I too shared that feeling of helplessness with Buthaina. However, it is possible that other participants felt the same way, without me realizing it, or held themselves back, and did not share all of their reflections or thoughts because they were not able to express themselves in English in the manner that they would have been able to in other languages of their choice.

## Mode of interviews

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I conducted all three focus group interviews and one single-person interview on Zoom. These interviews were conducted in October and November 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic was relatively new, none of the vaccines
had been commissioned into use yet, and Big R1 University (like most educational institutions in the United States and probably worldwide) was practicing social distancing. When I made my plans pre-pandemic, I had envisioned in-person interviews. However, in those circumstances, online, physically distanced interviews on the videoconferencing platform Zoom was the obvious, and perhaps the only sensible choice to ensure that everyone, including me, felt safe in terms of exposure to COVID-19. Additionally, there were a few instances when the participants were not able to understand my pronunciation or my accent, and vice versa. The online platform allowed us to spell the words out for each other, which facilitated comprehension, and thereby, better communication. Besides this, online interviews made the process of finding a common time for all the participants in each focus group much easier. For example, I had participants who scheduled this interview when they had just the right amount of time between two classes. This might have been more complicated to arrange for in-person interviews. There is no doubt, that in many ways, video conferencing resembles in-person interviews more closely than email-interviews, online forums, or instant messaging (Tuttas, 2015).

Nonetheless, just like there were advantages, there are also potential drawbacks or disadvantages. Elliane Irani (2019) notes that despite the numerous opportunities associated with the use of videoconferencing, this mode of qualitative interviewing is not suitable for all research topics. While it is possible for interviewers to provide support and express compassion through nonverbal facial expression or tone of voice over a voice call, physical proximity is sometimes needed to comfort the participant, especially if the study is focused on a highly sensitive topic. Similarly, researchers are not able to observe
a full range of body language and nonverbal communication because the participants' image is often displayed waist up. (Irani, 2019). This study was not about a highly sensitive topic, however, there were a few questions, especially those asking the candidates to reflect on whether their teachers encouraged them to use their prior linguistic knowledge in the classroom to learn English, where I knew the participants were more guarded in their responses. I reassured them that this was going to be completely confidential, their names would be pseudonyms, and the names of any instructors (if they were to name any) would also be modified. However, I wondered if they would have felt more comfortable and less hesitant in person. Or, even if they were worried, perhaps, it might have been easier to reassure them in person, than it was on Zoom. Certainly, as the researcher, the looks they would have exchanged with each other during in-person interviews would have also made the data richer. The awareness of your video and voice being recorded on Zoom must, arguably, have an effect on how comfortable the participants feel about sharing their most honest reflections. Another challenge or drawback with using Zoom or videoconferencing for interviews is that researchers may face technical or Internet connection problems that could potentially affect the clarity of the voice and image, as well as the quality of the interview and audio recorded file (Irani, 2019). This also happened in one of the focus group interviews. Thanh was originally part of the second focus group interview and joined the call. However, that day she had problems with her Internet connection, and could not stay for longer than the first twenty minutes and exited the call. She was very thoughtful and kind and wrote to me to reschedule the interview with just her because she really wanted to help me with my research. That individual interview, fortunately, went smoothly.

However, there is bound to be a difference in her reflections in an individual interview versus those she might have shared in a focus group interview. Similarly, at the beginning of the very first focus group interview, I had issues with my Internet and was genuinely worried that the interview was not being recorded. However, the problem did not last for too long and everything worked out, but there was always this huge risk.

## Dynamics between researcher and participants

Power dynamics between the researcher and the participants were also a limitation of this study. I believe earnestly that the participants felt comfortable in my presence during the interviews. As mentioned in the section on my positionality in Chapter 3, I let them know that while I had not experienced an Intensive English Program, I, like them, (a) am multilingual and (b) had experienced being an adult language learner. I do honestly believe that through all of the focus group interviews, all of the participants were very comfortable and participated with an open mind. However, I was, to them, an outsider, someone that they did not know beyond the one time they saw me in person in their classrooms when I went to recruit participants for the study, and therefore they may not have been sure about my trustworthiness. As mentioned in the previous section, in each focus group, when I asked them questions about their instructors, I sensed their momentary or prolonged (depending on the participant's nature or past experiences) hesitation as they decided how to answer those questions. One explanation for the pause might be that they were wondering, despite my reassurances, if critiquing their teachers in the presence of a relatively unknown interviewer (researcher) would create some problems for them. It is also possible that they paused because they
were reflecting on their answers or because they were trying to compose the answer in English, a language that they were in the process of acquiring greater proficiency in.

## Scope

Finally, even though there are significant findings about the language ideologies of multilingual learners in the Intensive English Program at Big R1 University, we cannot generalize these findings to all universities in the United States. The total number of participants in this study were ten and there were seven countries of origin (namely China, Germany, India, Japan, Kuwait, Oman, and Vietnam). Expanding the scope of this study to include more participants from more countries, enrolled in other universities in different parts of the United States of America would provide a picture that is more representative of the reality and those findings are likely to be more suitable for generalization.

## Future Research

This study explored and examined the language ideologies of multilingual learners in an Intensive English Program at a university in the Midwestern region of the United States. The emphasis in this study was on learners and how their ideologies were reflected in the responses of the participants during interviews. In the future, it may be interesting to conduct a similar study, but the interviews should be conducted through translanguaging mode, allowing participants to use another language of their choice besides English, or a combination of languages of their choice. It would be interesting to see if this leads to more complex data that allows us to uncover more nuanced learner conceptualizations and ideologies. However, I know that given the multilingual nature of
the population, this could make the study more complicated and labor-intensive because it would involve multiple interpreters/translators.

An interesting area of future research would be to compare and contrast the ideologies of multilingual learners with those of their teachers in the Intensive English Program and the ideologies of the institution reflected in their mission statement, documents, course material, and other relevant sources of information. This would shed more light on how similar and different the three sets of ideologies are and in what ways they influence the English learning experiences of multilingual international students in the IEP.

An ethnographic study in the IEP would be another idea for potential further research, where the research goes into the IEP classroom to observe interactions between students, between teachers, and between students and teachers, examines course materials, interviews the learners and teachers, and any relevant participants, to understand more deeply, through observation and interviews, the languages ideologies at play in IEPs or adult ESL classes.

The findings of this study highlight the importance and benefits of encouraging translanguaging in a classroom that has multilingual learners, and also offers some other practical implications. If teachers in an IEP are convinced about the benefits of implementing these suggestions, and jump on board, a fourth idea for future research would be to design a participatory action research, where teachers make efforts to model, demonstrate, and encourage learners' translanguaging practices in the classroom and the teachers and learners can be interviewed to unpack and understand the experience and the outcomes of this experiment.

## Final Thoughts

Where there is language and language education, there are language ideologies. The participants in this study were from various countries, and also from different continents. Some came from countries with a colonial history, while others did not. They all have the dream of pursuing undergraduate education in the United States. For most of them, the medium of instruction from kindergarten through grade 12 was a language other than English. Despite so many geographic, historical, sociopolitical, cultural, and linguistic differences, it is remarkable that there were enough similarities in their responses that lead us to the strong findings of this study. It is evident that language learners bring to the English classroom strong ideological views about their own languages, their hierarchy, and specifically the global power of English. Multilingual learners' ideologies do not only impact their additional language acquisition, but they also have the ability to have a deep and lasting effect on their lives, and happiness, and how they view themselves. Arguably, changes in national and international policies and more awareness and opposition of the systemic racism, power dynamics and colonial hangover in the world would result in wider and more impactful changes. Nonetheless, English as a Second Language teachers can, at their level, also make a considerable impact by encouraging critical thinking in the classroom, enabling students to question the existing power structure and whom it seems to benefit and disadvantage the most, and also modifying their own thinking/ philosophies and their pedagogies and practice to better serve their students, keeping their ideologies in mind.

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## APPENDIX A: IRB Approval Letter

## Nebiäska <br> Lincoln

Official Approval Letter for IRB project \#17887 - New Project Form
December 21, 2017
Madhur Shende
reaching, Learning and Teacher Education
6241 Windhaven Drive Lincoln, NE 68512
Theresa Catalano
Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education
Teaching, Learning and Tea
HENZ 27. UNL, 685880355
RB Number: 20171217887 EX
Project ID: 17887
Project Titie: Exploring the interplay of the embodied experiences of multilingual students and the knowledge of their previously learned languages in their acquisition of English in the Intensive English Program
Dear Madhur:
This letter is to officially notify you of the certification of exemption of your project. Your proposal is in compliance with this institution's Federal Wide Assurance 00002258 and the DHHS Regulations for the Protection of Hurnan Subjects (45 CFR 46) and has been classified as exempt.

You are authorized to implement this study as of the Date of Final Exemption: 12/21/2017
Review conducted using Exempt category 2 at 45 CFR 46.101
o Funding: N/A

1. Your stamped and approwed informed consent form has been uploaded to NUgrant. Please use this document to distribute to participants. If you need to make changes to the document, please submit the revised document to the IRB for review and approval prior to using it.
We wish to remind you that the principal investigator is responsible for reporting to this Board any of the following events within 48 hours of the event
Any serious event (including on-site and off-site adverse events, injuries, side effects, deaths, or other problems) which in the local investigator was unanticipated, involved risk to subjects or others, and was possibly related to the research

Any serious accidental or unintentional change to the IRB-approwed protocol that involves risk or has the potential to recur

* Any publication in the literature, safety monitoring report, interim result or other finding that indicates an unexpected change to the risk/benefit ratio of the research:
- Any breach in contidentiality or compromise in data prlivacy related to the subject or others; or
- Any complaint of a subject that indicates an unanticipated risk or that cannot be resolved by the research staft.

This project should be conducted in full accordance with all applicable sections of the IRB Guidelines and you should notify the IRB immediately of any proposed changes that may affect the exempt status of your research project. You should report any unanticipated problems involving risks to the participants or others to the Board. For projects which continue beyond one year continuing review as indicated abowe. The investigator must also advise the Board when this study is finished or discontinued by completing the enclosed Protocol Final Report form and returning it to the Institutional Review Board.
If you have any questions, please contact the IRB office at 402-472-6965
Sincerely.
for the IRB


## APPENDIX B: Verbal Script

## OPENING:

Hi. My name is Madhur Shende. I am a doctoral candidate from the Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education department at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. For my PhD dissertation, I am conducting a research study on the experience of multilingual learners learning English in the Intensive English Program. Participation would involve you telling me about your experience as a multilingual of learning English as an additional language and will take about 30 to 90 minutes. A gift card of $\$ 20$ will be offered as compensation for participation in this study. There are no known risks involved and participation is voluntary.

Would you be interested in participating?

## CLOSING:

Do you have any questions you would like answered now?

You may contact me, the researcher, at Madhur Shende, 402-975-7151 or madhur.shende@ gmail.com. If you prefer to speak with someone else, call the UNL Research Compliance Services Office at 402-472-6929

## APPENDIX C: Flyer

Participate in a research study that will study the experience of multilingual learners.

You will be asked to tell your story about being a multilingual and your experience of knowing and learning different languages. Any student who is learning English as an additional language is invited to participate! This will involve 30 to 90 minutes. Participation will take place online through Zoom meetings. There are no risks involved in this project and you will be identified only by a pseudonym.

To participate, contact Madhur Shende at 402-975-7151 and email madhur.shende@huskers.unl.edu or madhur.shende@gmail.com or Dr. Theresa Catalano at 402-472-2229 and email tcatalano2@unl.edu


## APPENDIX D: Recruitment Email Script

Hello,

Hi. My name is Madhur Shende. I am a doctoral candidate from the Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education department at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. For my PhD dissertation, I am conducting a research study on the experience of multilingual learners learning English in the Intensive English Program. Participation would involve you telling me about your experience as a multilingual of learning English as an additional language and will take about 30 to 90 minutes. These interviews will be completely online on Zoom. A gift card of $\$ 20$ will be offered as compensation for participation in this study. There are no known risks involved and participation is voluntary.

Would you be interested in participating? Please let me know.

Do you have any questions you would like answered now?

You may contact me, the researcher, at Madhur Shende, 402-975-7151 or madhur.shende@gmail.com or my advisor, at Dr. Theresa Catalano 402-472-2229 or tcatalano2@unl.edu

If you prefer to speak with someone else, call the UNL Research Compliance Services Office at 402-472-6929

## APPENDIX E: Snowball Sampling Email

Hello,
Thank you very much for your participation in my study 'Multilingual Learners Project' which investigates the experiences of multilingual learners learning English as an additional language in the Intensive English Program at UNL.

Do you happen to know students like yourself in the IEP who might be interested in participating in this study? As you know, participants will be asked to tell their story about being multilingual and their experience of knowing and learning different languages. Participation will take place on the UNL campus or at a location of the participant's choice. A gift card of $\$ 20$ will be offered as compensation for participation in this study. There are no risks involved in this project, participation is voluntary and participants will be identified only by a pseudonym.

If you do happen to know someone who might potentially be interested in participating in this study, I request you to pass on the following contact information: Madhur Shende, 402-975-7151 or madhur.shende@gmail.com or mshende2 @unl.edu or Dr. Theresa Catalano, 402-472-2229 or tcatalano2@unl.edu

They may also contact the UNL Research Compliance Services Office at 402-472-6929.
Thank you very much for your participation and for your help.
Best,
Madhur Shende

## APPENDIX F: Informed Consent Form

## Nebraskia Lincoln

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher

118 Henzlik Hall / P.O. 880355 / Lincoln, NE 68588-0355 (402) 472-2231 / FAX (402) 472-2837

## Informed Consent Document

## Title of Research:

Multilingual Learners Project

## Purpose of Research:

This study will investigate the experience of multilingual learners learning English as an additional language. You must be 19 years of age or older and be multilingual (i.e. know at least 2 languages besides English) in order to participate in this research.

## Procedures:

Participation in this study will require approximately $30-90$ minutes. You will be asked to tell the story about being a multilingual and your experience of learning English. Participation will take place on the UNL campus or another preferred location. The interview will be audio-recorded on an Android device.

## Risks and/or Discomforts:

There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

## Benefits:

The results of this study will be used to increase understanding about the multilingual learner's perspectives on using their linguistic repertoire in learning an additional language.

## Compensation:

A $\$ 20$ gift card to the store 'Target' will be offered as compensation for your participation in this study.

## Confidentiality:

Your responses to this survey will be kept confidential. Only linguistic background will be taken. Your responses will be used to analyze for a dissertation about the experiences and perspectives of multilingual learners in learning an additional language

## Opportunity to Ask Questions:

You may ask any questions concerning this research at any time by contacting Theresa Catalano (402-975-7151), email: madhur.shende@gmail.com or madhur.shende @ huskers.unl.edu. If you would like to speak to someone else, please call the Research Compliance Services Office at 402-472-6926 or irb@unl.edu.

## Freedom to Withdraw:

Participation in this study is voluntary. You can refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without harming your relationship with the researchers or the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, or in any other way receive a penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

## Consent, Right to Receive a Copy:

You are voluntarily making a decision whether or not to participate in this research study. Your participation in the interview certifies that you have decided to participate having read and understood the information presented. You will be given a copy of this informed consent form to keep.

## Name and Phone number of investigator(s)

Madhur Shende, 402-975-7151
Dr. Theresa Catalano, 402-472-2229

The University of Nebraska-Lincoln wants to know about your research experience. This 14 question, multiple-choice survey is anonymous. This survey should be completed after your participation in the research. Please complete this optional online survey at http://bit.ly/UNLresearchfeedback.

## APPENDIX G: Basic Information Survey

## Participant Name:

Course:

1. What is your place of birth?
2. Where did you grow up?
3. What is the location of all the schools that you attended in the past?
4. Why did you move to the United States for higher education?
5. What is your past/current/future occupation/ studies?
6. What are the languages known (spoken/read/written) to you?
7. What languages do you understand?
8. Which languages did you learn formally (in a classroom setting)?
9. Which ones did you learn informally (at home / from friends... not in a classroom setting)?
10. Are there languages that you learned formally AND informally? Which ones?

## APPENDIX H: Interview Questions

1. Which languages did you learn formally (in a classroom setting)?
2. Which ones did you learn informally (at home or not in a classroom setting)?
3. Are there languages that you learned formally AND informally? Which ones?
4. Tell me about your experiences of learning languages informally.
5. Tell me about your experiences of learning languages in formal settings.
6. Tell me about your experiences of acquiring/learning English?
7. Do you use any of the other languages you know to help you understand / learn English? Tell me more about that.
8. Do you think your teachers know about the other languages you speak?
9. Do you think they should?
10. What would you say the attitude of your teachers is in regard to using your other languages in class?
11. Do your teachers ask you to draw on your other languages while you are learning English? If so, how?
12. Do you think they should ask you to draw on your other languages while you are learning English? Why or why not?
13. Pick a noun that describes each of your languages and share with us. For example, English- river, because it flows and keeps improving.
14. Pick an adjective to describe each of your languages and share with us. Tell us why you chose those adjectives.

[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ As per the convention in cognitive linguistics, metaphors analyzed for this dissertation will be denoted using small caps.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ All metaphorical utterances will be in bold

