Chinese International Students' Academic Writing:

The Role of Social Networks in Shaping Language Ideologies on a US University Campus

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines how the transmission of language ideologies on a US campus shapes Chinese international students' experiences regarding English academic writing. The study is motivated by past research that demonstrates the challenges of mastering English academic writing, particularly for people who did not speak English early in life. Given that socially shared conceptions of what constitutes "good" academic writing are institutional and societal, I apply the theoretical framework of language ideologies, which stresses that language-related attitudes mediate social action, reify preexisting social hierarchies, and obtain at different levels of social organization. Operationalizing language ideologies into three main strands—aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism—I track individuals' language-ideological alignments in addition to larger institutional language-ideological alignments; I apply a novel methodology combining social-network mapping with writing-focused ethnographic interviews.

Based on interviews with 14 Chinese international students and 17 campus community members with whom they discussed English academic writing, I show, first, that all of these individuals experienced the pull of multiple competing and conflicting language ideologies, and they could shift their language-ideological alignments dynamically in different contexts, in line with what past language-ideological scholarship has argued (e.g. Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2007). Building on language-ideological theory, I demonstrate that language ideologies are cumulative: when multiple language ideologies (e.g. valuing so-called "nativelike" English first as an end in itself [aggressive monolingualism] and second as a means to achieving career success [economic pragmatism]) overlap, they become more powerful. I demonstrate that explicit language-evaluative talk among instructors, especially in officially sanctioned contexts

like staff meetings, is a particularly potent influencer of people's language ideologies. Further, I identify that language-ideological silence—when individuals, especially instructors, leave their language-evaluative criteria unspoken—leaves the door open for aggressively monolingual language ideologies to take root as the tacit norm of US universities.

Based on these findings, I argue for further language-ideological research to apply a social-network-focused approach within a wider range of communities, developing a clearer picture of how language ideologies shape multilingual people's experiences with English academic writing. Additionally, I offer recommendations for stakeholders in educational contexts, especially advocating for all university stakeholders who interact with multilingual students to develop explicit and justified language-evaluative criteria to share with their students. Overall, this dissertation argues for a deeper awareness of how university stakeholders'—especially instructors'—attitudes toward multilingual people's Englishes can shape their experiences in college.

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members I interviewed, all of them instructors in different disciplines, revealed such depth of thought and empathy in their teaching, and my research is better for their participation. I especially want to thank the fourteen Chinese students who were so unbelievably generous in sharing their time and lives with me. If nothing else, I hope my research is a testament to them and their intelligence, ingenuity, eloquence, and dedication. Writing is hard for everyone, but harder still in a language that doesn't feel like home. This dissertation is dedicated to them, with the sincerest wishes for their future wellbeing and success. Thank you!

Chapter 1

Introduction: A Theoretical and Methodological Framework for Researching Chinese International Students' Experiences with English Academic Writing

1. Introduction

Chinese students are the largest group of international college students in the US, constituting 37.7% of undergraduate international students and 42.5% of graduate international students for the 2021-2022 academic year (Open Doors, 2023). Supporting their academic development, especially their English academic writing, is a frequent concern for university stakeholders. Often research on this topic tests classroom interventions to improve multilingual international students' writing (e.g. X. Xu & Li, 2018), interventions which are developed, in part, because many Chinese international students are perceived to have a deficit in their English academic writing abilities (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2012). While the knee-jerk reaction of many instructors is to extensively mark up a Chinese student's essay, indicating perceived grammatical or lexical issues, it is debatable to what extent such feedback actually helps a student improve on those writing features (Crosthwaite, 2018). Thus, though I acknowledge that improving any student's English academic writing is a laudable goal, teachers and language scholars must ask: what motivates the assessment of students' writing- and language-based performance—and what assumptions, or even biases, underlie that assessment?

With relation to Chinese international students, this question is pressing given the high rate of race-based hate crimes on US campuses (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021), especially in light of a surge in anti-Asian bias incidents since the COVID-19 pandemic began (Strauss, 2022). This surge was driven in part by racializing tv coverage of Chinese people during the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to an observable increase in Americans', especially

conservatives', bias against Asians, viewing them as non-American and as perpetual foreigners (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020). In this national and international context, attention to the needs of Chinese international students, among other minoritized community members, is called for.

What I will argue here is that, among the many contexts in which university stakeholders must address bias, discussions about academic English and expectations for multilingual students' language are especially concerning. For scholars in composition studies, linguistics, and TESL/TEFL—and, indeed, for any member of a US campus community who regularly interacts with multilingual students—critical attention must be paid to how and why we are evaluating multilingual students' writing, how they receive and interpret those evaluations, and the underlying ideological baggage of such language-evaluative discourse. To address this topic, this dissertation focuses specifically on the experiences of Chinese international students on one US university campus, but with an eye toward theorizing about all multilingual students' experiences of academic English in English-monolingual educational contexts. In this and the coming chapters, I will demonstrate that language ideologies are ubiquitous in students' and instructors' lives, shaping people's experience of writing and, in fact, all language. In particular, I will show that explicit language-evaluative talk, and, in key contexts, the lack thereof (what I will term *language-ideological silence*), activate networks of societally extensive language-ideological strands, which converge and diverge, powerfully affecting the lives of multilingual students in the US and all over the world.

2. Background

2.1. Defining Terms

Before diving into this topic, some clarification is in order. Any scholar studying second-language acquisition must choose a term with which to refer to people acquiring a new language. In the context of this study, the United States, commonly used terms in educational contexts include English-language learner (ELL), limited English proficient (LEP), English as a second language (ESL), second-language (L2), or nonnative. In seeking to encapsulate the breadth of languaging that occurs globally, each one of these terms falls short in its own way. For example, exploring how different terms pass into and out of popular usage in language research and teaching, Kibler and Valdés (2016) examined the "socioinstitutional" creation of the term "long-term English learner" within the California educational system, a new classification that the authors argue does harm by essentializing people in terms of their deficits. They showed that such classifications "are not neutral" and "often have life-impacting consequences for individuals" (p. 96). Likewise, García (2009) argues against using terms like ELL and LEP, in that, again, they frame people in terms of their deficits rather than acknowledging their preexisting linguistic strengths—after all, a student studying English has usually already mastered at least one other language. Moreover, the classification of students into "native" or "nonnative" speakers of English vastly oversimplifies the complexity of multilingual people's language repertoires and problematically assumes that "nativelike" English is someone's goal (Canagarajah, 2015). Deciding if someone is a "native" or "nonnative" English speaker is not an objective distinction (Aneja, 2016), and those terms tie a person's language to their country of birth—another assumption that is problematic, given language's capacity to justify nationalistic bias (Canagarajah, 2013b).[1]

[1] Given that the terms "native" and "nonnative" are imprecise, I will write them in quotation marks to indicate that these categorizations are social constructs and not empirical facts. So, too, will I place in quotation marks the terms "standard," "nonstandard," "correct," "incorrect," and other terms that place languages within flawed, socially constructed hierarchies of what is or is not acceptable in a certain community. Readers should understand that, in

Is there a better alternative to refer to people who did not grow up speaking English, but who speak it now? García (2009) recommends using the term "emergent bilingual," which characterizes such individuals in terms of their strengths rather than their weaknesses. Martínez (2018), similarly, acknowledges that "emergent bilingual" is a better term than ELL or LEP, but he recommends the term "bilingual" or "multilingual," as these terms emphasize the language repertoires students *already* have rather than their supposed need to "emerge," or learn additional language. In particular, he notes that the term "bilingual" is often incorrect, as many students are tri- or even quadlingual.

Fully acknowledging that no term can be completely accurate, in this dissertation I will refer to these people as "multilingual," a usefully broad and generic, though imprecise, term that sidesteps many of these issues. Given that Chinese international students and their experiences are the primary focus of this dissertation, the reader can assume that when I use the term "multilingual student," it most often refers to Chinese students whose home language is English, whose primary exposure to English was in the classroom setting, and whose pre-high-school years were mostly spent in China. The term "multilingual student" does not assume nebulous ideas like "fluency" or "nativeness" of language competence. Rather, it emphasizes a plurality of languages, cultures, and experiences. It also stands in useful contrast to the assumed English-monolingual norm of the US. And while my data collection centered Chinese international college students, my hope is that this research will shed light on the experiences of students of a wide variety of language backgrounds.

Next, given that this dissertation focuses on the evaluation of "English academic writing," it is necessary to clarify what that term entails. Its features include but are not limited

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using these quotation marks, I question the legitimacy of such evaluations of acceptability, but I acknowledge their societal power in shaping multilingual people's lives.

to: a specific set of often long and complex vocabulary words, usually of Greco-Roman origin; long, complicated sentences; and the presence of specific commonly used phrases or collocations (e.g. *the fact that*) (Coxhead & Byrd, 2007). Certain cohesive elements like transitional phrases are also of particular importance for English academic writing (He, 2020). An academic writer also has to construct their language for a specific audience's understanding (Paltridge, 2004), to use specific moves to indicate their rhetorical stance towards both audience and to sources cited (Crosthwaite & Jiang, 2017), to participate as a member of a community they likely do not feel to be full or authentic members of (Bartholomae, 1986), to conceptualize themself as creating knowledge or filling a gap in our knowledge (Kuteeva & Negretti, 2016), and to structure their arguments in a specific way (Arnbjörnsdóttir & Prinz, 2017). Learning English academic writing is further complexified by the fact that different academic disciplines (e.g. computer science vs. history) have different expectations in terms of language and what constitutes legitimate knowledge-creation (Hynninen & Kuteeva, 2017; Kuteeva & Negretti, 2016). In other words, there can be no single definition of academic writing; rather, it can be conceptualized as a loose collection of common qualities, different ones of which are emphasized in different contexts, for different purposes, and for different readers. For university students, this variability matters especially with relation to evaluation: they submit assignments to their instructors, all of whom might have varying ideas of what makes "good" academic writing. Given this variability, my interview protocol and analysis does not assume one definition of English academic writing, but rather probes participants' understanding of what constitutes "good" academic writing.

Another term that is important to define early is Chinese English, which refers to English that has qualities inflected by Chinese. Chinese people who learn English later in childhood or in adulthood will likely have at least some features of Chinese English in their speech and writing.

Albrecht (2021), summarizing current strands of research on Chinese English, explains that it "is characterized by the transfer of Chinese linguistic and cultural norms in discourse, syntax, pragmatics, lexis, and phonology" (p. 3). Most relevant for my purposes, Albrecht describes a variety of common grammatical features of Chinese English, including mismatched tense marking (e.g. "Last year, I write a letter"), missing subjects ("Sometimes, just play basketball"), and the double-marking of conjunctions (e.g. "Though we need money, but freedom is maybe the first priority"[2]) (p. 9). Notably, in Albrecht's summary, the features of Chinese English vary depending on the dialect that a Chinese person spoke while growing up. The features of Chinese English are also explored by Kirkpatrick and Xu (2012), who show that Chinese speakers' preference to state a context or explanation before a main proposition (e.g. "Because the wind was too strong, the competition was therefore postponed") differs from what an American English speaker would likely say ("The competition was postponed because the wind was too strong") (p. 114). The authors argue that this preference for foregrounding explanations or contexts before making a claim or proposition is not just a syntactic feature of Chinese and Chinese English—it also exists at larger rhetorical levels, e.g. in the overall structure of an essay. This structure is also a product of Chinese history, culture, and especially composition practices stemming back to Ancient China and Confucian rhetoric: the authors show that this rhetorical structure denotes deference, which is appropriate when a student is writing for an authority figure like a college instructor. The authors argue that US university instructors frequently criticize Chinese students for "indirect" language and writing, chalking perceived issues in their writing up to perceived grammatical "errors," but those instructors miss the historical, sociopolitical, and pragmatic significance of Chinese student-writers' compositional moves. In

[2] The underlining in these sentences is Albrecht's (2021).

short, Chinese English is a multifaceted, well-developed, and systematic linguistic system—but it is one that is often devalued or simply considered "wrong" in the US college context.

These three issues—the complexity of English academic writing, negative perceptions of the linguistic features of Chinese English, and the linguistic deficit that Chinese and other multilingual students are assumed to have in US colleges—are three of the central motivators of this dissertation. With this terminology established, I will turn in the next section to language ideologies, the core theoretical underpinning of my research.

2.2. Background: Language Ideologies

A useful starting point in introducing language ideologies and their relationship to academic writing is to discuss a significant trend within sociolinguistic research: the concept that people ascribe meaning to the languages we use, and the assumptions and biases that accompany this ascription. Through the mid-nineteenth century, linguists had generally failed to examine their own linguistic biases, assuming the superiority of their own language (usually English) and a naturalized connection between specific languages, places, and nations (Canagarajah, 2013b; McElhinny & Heller, 2017; Silverstein, 1992). For example, an American would assume that the physical space of the US is inherently and naturally American, and that English is inherently and naturally the language of the US—with little thought to the fact that the delineations between nations and languages are largely social constructs (Gal, 2006).

Language scholars have since refuted the assumption that some languages are better than others. Lippi-Green (2011) describes the construction of "the standard language myth": how a conjunction of social, economic, and educational influences (e.g. through lexicographers' designation of "standard" vs. "nonstandard" or "regional" English) created the idea of "standard

English": a supposed commonly shared, clearly delineated, easy-to-understand, and logical variety of English. However, as she demonstrates, this variety of English is, indeed, mythical. Drawing on extensive linguistic scholarship—e.g. Labov's (1973) now-classic study "The Logic of Non-Standard English"—Lippi-Green shows that "standard English" is an overly simplifying designation that misses the breadth of language variation within the US, that fails to account for the role that social class and wealth play in language use, and that wrongly assumes white English to be better for clear, logical communication than other languages. As she shows, rather than demonstrating a person's intelligence, speaking "standard" American English simply indexes preexisting hierarchies within the US. In this vein, in the past decades, linguists have shown exhaustively how language predicates group membership (e.g. Eckert, 2000, 2002; Ervin-Tripp, 2002; Finegan & Biber, 2002; Labov, 2002; Rickford, 1997). In other words, in any social context, language ties closely into group belonging: If you speak the right language, then you're in—if you don't, you're out.

How does the issue of language discrimination and group belonging relate to Chinese international students and their English academic writing? The connection between group belonging and language use is highly relevant to writing assessment in the university context. As I outlined above, students are expected to follow certain conventions in their academic writing, and significant departure from these expectations can elicit strong negative reactions from instructors—especially towards multilingual students' writing. Matsuda (2012) illustrates this phenomenon: talking to a first-year composition instructor at a university, he learned that the teacher had a multilingual international student whom she described as having "great ideas and interesting details," but whom she was giving a failing grade due to the student's persistent grammar "errors" (p. 12). Matsuda questions this assessment by the teacher, and notes that this

situation is common in composition classes: teachers rigorously criticize local, language-based concerns in students' writing, but their courses do not provide sufficient language-based instruction for multilingual students to overcome these issues. This is another context where having the "right" language permits students more comfortable inhabitation of college classrooms, and having the "wrong" language brings censure and rejection.

Why is this situation so ubiquitous? Why do instructors uphold this rigid adherence to academic writing norms, regardless of the legitimacy of student's ideas, or the stated goals of their courses? And, more broadly, why do societies at large engage in these language-evaluative processes?

The framework of language ideologies offers a theoretical basis from which to understand language evaluation. Linguistic anthropologist Michael Silverstein (1992) was a pioneering theorist of language ideologies. Applying enlightenment thinker Destutt de Tracy's (1827) concept of "ideologies," Silverstein argues that people's understanding of the world around them is constructed of signs, which are organized into ideologies, or schemata, that assign values to different phenomena, including aspects of identity like age, ethnicity, class, and—critically for me—language. In this sense, the features of Chinese (or any) students' English academic writing could be seen as signs representing different qualities, like intelligence. This can become problematic because, as Silverstein (1998a) describes, social action creates social realities, forming a kind of give-and-take relationship with broader cultural understandings: "Language seems potentially to bear an inherently double relationship to larger cultural processes of which it is both emblematic and enabling" (p. 401). Therefore, ideologies are "naturalizing" (p. 316) in the sense that we use them to understand phenomena, including language, and at the same time our understanding is reinforced in a kind of feedback loop by our

ideologies. This can be problematic in educational contexts because teachers' beliefs about students can become self-fulfilling prophecies (Lucas et al., 2015). Through language ideologies, then, bias and stereotypes can become solidified. Negative evaluations of students' languages can become negative evaluations of the students themselves, which is especially salient in the university context, which is so focused on evaluation in many different forms.

Silverstein's (1992, 1998a) research into language ideologies helps us understand how teachers might negatively evaluate a multilingual student's language—but how have these evaluations become pervasive within academic culture? Along with Silverstein, scholars in fields including anthropology, ethnic studies, history, and linguistics have taken up the term "language ideologies" to explore intersections of language evaluation, language variation, power, education, identity, and nationalism (e.g. Schieffelin et al., 1998). Kroskrity (2007) illustrates how language ideologies germinate in and propagate through a society. He categorizes language-ideological operation into five separate "levels." First, language ideologies represent the values or interests of a specific group. Second, given the multiplicity of social divisions (in class, gender, race, etc.), language ideologies are always multiple within a society. Third, people may have more or less metapragmatic awareness of language ideologies—i.e. they might rigidly uphold a certain language ideology without ever being aware of it. Fourth, social structures and speech are mediated by language ideologies. And, fifth, people in a community use language ideologies to create and represent identities like ethnicity or nationality. The extent of this problem, both in terms of theorizing it, but also studying it and addressing it in educational contexts, becomes clear: based on this theory, language ideologies saturate society, often unobserved, shaping human interactions, reifying intergroup divisions.

Irvine and Gal (2000) similarly theorize the process through which language ideologies arise and are used to reinforce social divisions. First, through "iconization," speech features are taken to represent some assumed quality of a group of people. Next, through "fractal recursivity," perceived divisions between groups (e.g. ethnicity) are perceived to be reproduced at other levels (e.g. language) "fractally," or analogously at different scales or in different contexts. Finally, through "erasure," one ignores any exceptions to these perceived categories and differences, reinforcing one's own beliefs. Irvine and Gal provide historical and anthropological data describing this process. For example, they explain that during the mid- and late-eighteenth century, amidst aggressive European colonization of Africa, linguists, missionaries, and other commentators on African languages formed their understanding of those languages and their qualities based on preconceived notions and bias. They often took linguistic features of different languages to denote certain fundamental qualities of their speakers. For example, describing the click consonants of the Nguni languages of south Africa, Zulu and Xhosa, these commentators described them like the sounds of animals or like "stones hitting one another" (p. 40) a perspective that took language to represent the perceived inhumanity of Zulu and Xhosa speakers (*iconization*). Next, these commentators recreated and reified preexisting language-ideological dynamics at smaller scales. For example, European linguistic commentators attempting to map regional differences of the languages used in west Africa assigned some languages higher status through the assumed influence of European language and ancestry, while derogating other languages—replicating on a smaller scale the broader racist and nationalistic ideologies that held sway over European thinkers at the time (*fractal recursivity*). When drawing up linguistic maps of these regions, these linguists often completely ignored or explained away linguistic complexities that did not fit into their simplistic frameworks (*erasure*).

These three language-ideological processes—iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure—explore from a different angle the same process as Kroskrity's five levels of language ideologies. Both theoretical frameworks usefully explain how individuals and social groups come to hold strict and discriminatory language-evaluative attitudes, with clear applicability to understanding language evaluations of English academic writing in the US college context.

Although they do not use the term "language ideologies" explicitly, Horner and Trimbur (2002) similarly describe how languages come to be systematically evaluated throughout a society. Focusing on academic English and the English Only movement in the US, they describe "a chain of reification of languages and social identity" (p. 594), a process by which preexisting conceptions about social groups and their valuations are connected to language. In Horner and Trimbur's model, first comes territorialization, or the association of one language with a specific region. After that, through a process of standardization, the "right" and "wrong" languages are demarcated. Finally, people learning that language are placed "on a sequence of development fixed in its order, direction, and sociopolitical significance" (p. 596). This process can be seen within many countries, and arguably anywhere where language is used. In the US, and in Horner and Trimbur's analysis, standard English has come to be associated with some kind of fundamental Americanness. From there, anyone who does not speak that language form properly can be disparaged and excluded. Taken along with Irvine and Gal (2000) and Kroskrity (2007), this scholarship demonstrates how language ideologies bear directly on English education in the US.

A commonality among the aforementioned theoretical frameworks is the emphasis that language ideologies function on different scales, from one-to-one interactions to broader institutional norms all the way up to national discourses. They are not alone in stressing the

multi-scalar valence of language ideologies. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005), responding to the need to analyze an increasingly interconnected multilingual world, foreground both the "macro-conditions and micro-processes" of language evaluations. They discuss how, although past language scholars have usefully addressed the importance of social context for language use (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991; Goffman, 1981, 1986), those frameworks (e.g. Goffman's frame and footing) fail to go beyond "co-presence in the here-and-now flux of social activities" (p. 208). These earlier theoretical frameworks, although analytically useful in their own rights, focus only on intra-state, monoglot contexts, failing to account for globalization and the concomitant increase in interlanguage contact. As an alternative, Blommaert et al. argue for a multi-scalar approach to analyzing language evaluations that includes not just local contextual factors but international scales. In other words, to understand why and how language-evaluative attitudes are expressed by and to and individual, it is necessary to take the larger sociopolitical context into account. For my purposes, this scholarship drives home the fact that, to understand how and why a multilingual student's English academic writing is subject to language-ideological evaluation, it is not just one-to-one, instructor-to-student evaluations that matter, but larger societal trends. Language evaluations and language ideologies have been implicated in such broad issues as race, racism, and schools (Rosa, 2016), the English Only movement in the US (González, 2000; Schmid, 2000), and international migration and citizenship (Blackledge, 2005; Blommaert, 2009).

Similarly demonstrating that a national or international scale is necessary for fully understanding language ideologies, Phillipson (2009) describes the valuation of language in the EU and in other countries, where English is valued over other languages. Pushing back against neutral framing of English as the *lingua franca* of the world—neutral in the sense that the term

fails to unpack what English represents and does worldwide—Phillipson deems English the *lingua economica*, *lingua emotiva*, *lingua academica*, *lingua cultura*, and *lingua bellica*: the language of economics, emotions (in terms of "the imaginary of Hollywood, popular music, advertising, consumerism and hedonism," p. 92), academics, culture, and war. Putting English in these terms emphasizes the force it exerts worldwide, as economically and culturally powerful Anglophone countries exert pressure on other countries worldwide to adopt English for all manner of purposes, often, Phillipson points out, with the effect of supplanting local languages. Phillipson breaks this process into three steps—project, process, and product:

- The project of Englishification is how English is imagined to be an international entity.
- The process of Englishification is how English is actually used in communities, the creation of norms for usage, and the eventual construction of the idea that English is normative.
- The product is English's eventual dominance worldwide "in political, economic, military, media, academic and educational discourses" (p. 99).

This project-process-product framework dovetails neatly with the concept of language ideologies. English has no inherent value in and of itself, but is ascribed value. Phillipson's framework adds an additional way to understand that valuation: perception of English as a commodity is a powerful driver of people's actions internationally. The economics of language learning and especially of literacy has been researched elsewhere by scholars who describe how English learning and/or literacy is a desirable economic resource (Heller & Duchêne, 2012; A. Luke et al., 2007; Prendergast, 2008; Urla, 2012). However, although learning English is assumed and promised to provide economic benefits, those benefits can be extremely limited and

contingent on other factors of a person's background and context (Prendergast, 2008). Phillipson's framework is also useful because it shows that language ideologies do not function simply at the local level, but internationally. The analysis also emphasizes how Anglophone countries use English as a means of establishing and maintaining an international hierarchy. For me, notably, this valuation of language is also ideological: a global look at English's high value and other languages' respective lower value demonstrates the power of language ideologies at the highest scale possible, driving whole economies and countries' national-level educational and economic policy.

While language ideologies are powerful, societally ubiquitous, and far-reaching in scope, they are not all-powerful: individual agency must also be taken into account. Rosa and Burdick (2017) point out that using stigmatized linguistic forms does not necessarily result in a person being stigmatized. For example, they explain, George Bush's use of "nonstandard" Southern English structures could be argued to be a strategic move, indexing authenticity. Barack Obama's use of Black English could also be seen as a similarly strategic move. In both of these instances, powerful individuals mobilized linguistic resources which may have drawn criticism in some contexts, but which could be argued to enhance their power by garnering approval from their constituents. Emphasizing this flexibility of language and language ideologies, the authors write that there are ways of "engaging with—and potentially reconfiguring—existing power dynamics rather than simply reproducing them" (p. 107). Spanish, too, is a good example of how context vastly alters the language ideologies operative on an individual's language. Codeswitching between English and Spanish might be seen negatively in some contexts but positively in others (Leeman, 2012). For example, a Latin@ student codeswitching in school might be seen as a sign of academic deficiency, whereas a white middle-class adult doing the

same at a dinner party might signal prestige and a high degree of education and culture. In this sense, language ideologies are highly context dependent.

Further demonstrating that language ideologies are not all-powerful, individual agency is apparent in individuals' decisions to engage in or reject language ideologies dynamically. Pachler et al. (2008) track how the behavior, beliefs, and pedagogical approaches of two teachers—one in the UK, one in South Africa—were imbued with both large- and small-scale ideologies. Notably, the authors found that at times these ideologies were in conflict with each other even within a single person. They show that a teacher's professional training on the one hand, with all of the ideological baggage that might come with it, might differ from the teacher's experiences and personal beliefs on the other, and that a teacher would have to negotiate between these differences. The picture thus becomes more complex: not only do personal, institutional, or state-level language ideologies all exist, but they may clash within an individual. A teacher might have one attitude on languages in their professional role and a totally different attitude as a private individual. Pachler et al. describe how individuals are caught between potentially conflicting ideologies at different levels of social organization or in different contexts:

> […] teachers move through different aspects of their jobs using very different ideological tools and orientating—often simultaneously—towards different ideological 'centres': themselves, their colleagues, their groups of learners, the head teacher, the school as an institution with a tradition, the education system, the curriculum, the government, society-at-large, and so on. (p. 440)

In other words, within the complex and multi-scalar web of language ideologies, exerting enormous sociolinguistic and institutional pressure on a person, there is still individual choice.

Further driving home the flexibility and dynamicity of language ideologies, it is worth noting that language ideologies are not implicitly negative or exclusionary. Blommaert and Horner (2017), in the disciplines of linguistics and composition studies respectively, set up a dichotomy between monolingual language ideologies (i.e. valuing one form of language over all others) on the one hand and plurilingual or multilingual language ideologies (i.e. accepting variety in language) on the other, demonstrating that their respective disciplines have been caught in a push and pull between these two extremes. The authors argue that conceptions of academic literacy have traditionally assumed that "standard English" is monolithic, unchanging, and "territorially bound" (p. 9)—but, as they show, academic writing comprises a variety of unstable context-dependent language forms, even within the supposedly English-monolingual context. They argue that literacy should always be seen as in transition, as translated, as mobile, and as always subject to change. This flexible framing of languages and literacies resists the traditional, and arguably harmful, considerations of languages as static, monolithic, or unchanging. Other scholars have also explored this tension, demonstrating how both multilingual students (Ayash, 2016) and language teachers (Martínez et al., 2015; Pachler et al., 2008) are forced to negotiate between monolingual and multilingual language ideologies. In this sense, Blommaert and Horner contribute to a larger conversation within language scholarship that seeks to problematize the concept of languages as monolithic (Canagarajah, 2013a; Valdés, 2015). In short, the full repertoire of language ideologies a person is exposed to and may engage with or resist is complex, extensive, and often contradictory.

One especially noteworthy language-ideological trend within language scholarship is the theoretical framework of translanguaging, or translingualism, which rejects culturally or politically defined categories created by named languages, arguing instead that all languages

constitute a single cognitive and linguistic system (García & Kleyn, 2016). In other words, within this framework, the divisions between standard English, academic English, Chinese English, Chinese, etc. are all socially constructed rather than *a priori* separate entities. Within this framework, a person combining, for example, Mandarin and English in one utterance is not switching between distinct linguistic or cognitive systems, but rather drawing on a common, shared linguistic repertoire which has been subdivided into those two named languages by society. While language teachers have traditionally balked at any mixture of nonstandard or non-English languages in their classrooms, translanguaging—mixing languages, drawing one's linguistic resources from multiple named languages—has the potential to benefit multilingual students enormously, including in academic writing (Canagarajah, 2011; Espinosa et al., 2016; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Kaufhold, 2018; Kiramba, 2017; Kleyn & García, 2019). Taken together, this body of translanguaging/translingualism research offers a potentially positive alternative ideology for students and teachers, standing in stark opposition to aggressive monolingualism and its strict standards of language purity.[3]

Given that this wide base of research on language evaluation generally and language ideologies specifically uses a variety of different terminology for sometimes overlapping or similar concepts, it is useful to pull together the main concepts within this body of research under several common terminological umbrellas. Based on the scholarship I have summarized thus far, then, I define language ideologies as evaluative perspectives of language that are

[3] Translanguaging as a theoretical framework is not without its critics, with some arguing that the overall project of translanguaging, while nominally supportive of students, ultimately works to uphold a neoliberal agenda, making multilingual people into more efficient and linguistically proficient—and thus economically profitable—source of labor (Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2016b). My purpose here is not to assess the legitimacy of translanguaging as a theoretical framework or pedagogical approach, but to note its existence as a language ideology unto itself.

1. **Plural**, in that any person, social unit, or society has multiple, often conflicting language ideologies.
2. **Plastic**, in that the judgments entailed in language ideologies are context-dependent, subject to an individual's choice to reproduce or reject them, and able to change over time.
3. **Implicit**, in that people often hold language ideologies without ever becoming conscious of them.
4. **Emblematic**,[4] in that they shape and are shaped by identity markers of group belonging, reinforcing preexisting social hierarchies.
5. **Self-naturalizing**, in that, once a language form is taken to represent an implicit quality of its speakers, one's language ideologies and perceptions of those speakers' qualities are mutually reinforcing.
6. **Multi-scalar**, in that they act at multiple levels of social organization, from intrapersonal attitudes all the way up to national and international discourses.

This definition, for me, is both useful and motivating. It encapsulates the complexity, flexibility, and multi-scalar nature of language ideologies as outlined above. Additionally, it emphasizes how pervasive and potentially insidious language ideologies can be, in that they enforce preexisting biases and inequalities, often without an individual even being aware of their language ideologies at work. Furthermore, this definition embraces people's resourcefulness to push back against language ideologies' potential harm, to creatively work with language and leverage it to achieve their own ends. By foregrounding language ideologies, their broad functionality on different levels of social organization, and their potential to harm or help, I am

[4] I borrowed this specific descriptor from Silverstein (1998a, p. 401).

working towards what Kroskrity (2007) calls "sensitizing definitions of linguistic/language ideologies" (p. 497): understandings of language that expose systems of oppression and orient language scholars, in our research, teaching, and lives, to create environments that intentionally minimize such harm.

With language ideologies defined and with their global significance clarified, I will move next to exploring how Chinese international students' own language ideologies play a significant role in their experiences in a US university.

2.3. Background: Chinese Students' Language Ideologies

We cannot expect an individual or society to have singular or monolithic ideologies, but rather mixtures of potentially competing ones. This plurality is borne out by looking at China's recent history. Throughout the 20th century, Chinese rhetoric has changed dramatically in response to political shifts. Gunn (1991) explains: while Chinese scholars were initially open to foreign influences and language, during the Cultural Revolution, all foreign, intellectual, and academic influences (including English) were purged from public writings as China underwent a dramatic, and often violent, period of political upheaval. Gradually, as China opened again to the west towards the turn of the century, Chinese writers came again to accept foreign influences and even, in some cases, to experiment with radical western postmodern writing styles. The earliest Chinese international students who learned English and were sent to the US in the 1860s had the explicit goal of increasing China's military strength through access to military technology—but many of those same students, despite their explicitly nationalistic goals, were shunned as overly westernized, even as traitors, upon their return to China (Bieler, 2015). You (2010) describes how, at times in China's history, English education has been sought as a means for China to

seize power in opposition to western countries' imperialistic oppression, and at others it was shunned as a corrupting foreign influence. You describes how, as China became more of a player on the world stage, as its economy grew through the late 20th century, English was seen by many Chinese people as a means for China's economic and political advancement.

Starting in the 1970s, after China's reform and opening to the west, a new wave of international students began to arrive in the US. Lisong Liu (2015), documenting their lives and beliefs, reveals another language-ideological vein among Chinese international students. To a large extent, he highlights the autonomy of Chinese students in their migration practices, as they negotiate American and Chinese cultural, legal, immigration, and educational systems to pursue their goals and their careers. Some of them gathered in Chinese or Chinese/American cultural enclaves in the US, maintaining strong ties to Chinese culture and language. They came to identify with different national/ethnic identities (e.g. as Chinese, as Chinese American) and in some cases came to identify more with the broader racial and/or national identity of Asian or Asian-American. As Liu shows, the students had complex and varied perspectives about what citizenship meant; for some of Liu's participants, Chinese citizenship was an important aspect of identity and sense of self. For others, however, citizenship was a purely pragmatic concern, and their identities depended on their preferences, lifestyle, and personal choices.

While Liu does not explicitly address language ideologies, the language-ideological significance of citizenship, belonging, and group membership cannot be overstated. For example, to identify as American is, to a large extent, to identify with the English language, for better or for worse. In aligning themselves with a certain national/ethnic/racial identity, the students in Liu's study aligned themselves with certain language-ideological stances, e.g. with English as essentially American, with Chinese as essentially Chinese, or, in the case of the many students

who maintained international ties in both countries, with a mixture of both as legitimate and even desirable. Liu's findings echo Li and Zhu's (2013) research on ethnically Chinese international students studying in the UK, who showed a similar flexibility in their sense of belonging to their home countries, to their host country, or to newly created transnational communities, where citizens of mainland China, of Taiwan, of Hong Kong, and of Singapore might find a sense of shared identity as broadly Chinese while still embracing their own particular linguistic and cultural heritage.

This language-ideological variety is visible also in Pan's (2019) research on Chinese students' perspectives of Chinese English. In interviews with Chinese students in mainland China, Pan found that the students showed some degree of ambivalence toward CE. On the one hand, they felt a great deal of pride about China's growing strength in the world, and saw the features of CE as acceptable or even inevitable; some saw any non-standard linguistic features as totally unproblematic, since using English, for them, can align with the growing strength of China as a country. For example, one participant in Pan's study said, "As we have more say in global economy and politics, who would still care whether our use of English is standard or not?" (p. 8) This positive perspective toward Chinese English constitutes a language ideology on its own, standing in stark contrast to aforementioned negative evaluations of any kind of "nonstandard" English. But Pan's interviews also revealed some of the students had some level of embarrassment about Chinese English not being "native," and they felt the pressure to speak English "perfectly." The language-ideological positions of the Chinese students in Pan's study suggest that Chinese international students in the US might have a similarly complex and even conflicted perspective about their language. Ideologically, this research suggests that Chinese international students might hold a mixture of nationalistic pride about their own language and

culture, unemotional and pragmatic acceptance of their own English abilities, embarrassment about their own English abilities, and/or ambition for achieving more "nativelike" English.

Looking at this research into Chinese perspectives on language, nationality, and belonging over the past two centuries, the language-ideological overtones are clear: throughout recent history, a Chinese person's use of language—be it Chinese stripped of all outside influences, Chinese laden with westernized terminology, English laden with Maoist Chinese propaganda, or purely Americanized English—broadcasts political and social alignments. The Chinese language ideologies thus revealed range from the intensely exclusionary and purist, rejecting all outside influences, to a much more pragmatic and open stance, accepting English language and western influences, all the way to embracing American culture and attempting to assimilate. Layered over the network of competing language ideologies that already exist in American universities, then, Chinese international students can bring their own combination of language ideologies: about the value or legitimacy of their own English skills, about their belonging in US culture, about their alignment to American culture, or to Chinese culture, or to some transnational mixture thereof, and about the importance of having "correct" grammar. Obviously, given the inherent plurality of language ideologies, these possible ideologies do not constitute the complete range of possible language ideologies—rather, they are a jumping-off point in my research into what language ideologies Chinese international students themselves have.

Tying these ideas together, in the next section I will propose a language-ideological heuristic by which different strands of language ideologies can be classified.

2.4. Background: Proposing a Language-Ideological Heuristic

I found it useful, in designing this dissertation, to operationalize language ideologies and to clarify what I was looking for. Surveying the preexisting body of research on language evaluation generally and language ideologies specifically, I noted three common trends: strict language ideologies that do not accept variation (e.g. the English Only movement); permissive language ideologies that accept or embrace variation (e.g. translanguaging scholarship and pedagogy); language ideologies that evaluate language in terms of its market value (e.g. Pan's [2019] participant, for whom "standard" English is unimportant as long as China's economy and global political influence is strong). This three-way categorization, I will show in the coming chapters, is a helpful heuristic for analyzing and understanding language ideologies. I propose that language ideologies broadly fall into three strands:

- **Aggressive monolingualism**[5]**:** A set of language ideologies which associate "nativelike" language competency with national belonging, which exclude people from countries, jobs, or other institutions on the basis of their language; which seek to supplant nondominant languages with the dominant one; and/or which have strict demands on what grammar/accent/varieties/lexica are legitimate.
- **Progressive multilingualism:** A set of permissive language ideologies which accept language-mixing and different Englishes; which do not see "nativelike" language use as important or necessarily significant in citizenship, professional employment, academic writing, or other institutional contexts; and/or which respect, accept, or even embrace variation within language.

[5] Note: The term "aggressive monolingualism" has been used before to describe sociolinguistic contexts where a single language is emphasized as the most desirable or necessary for professional/academic/civic belonging (Baranova & Fedorova, 2020).

- **Economic pragmatism:** A set of language ideologies which evaluate language forms not necessarily in terms of their implicit qualities, but in terms of their future marketability—i.e. whether or not a form of language can provide academic and/or professional success, and which do not necessarily stress "right" or "wrong" language as important for group belonging.

It is important to note that all three of these language-ideological strands, as I have defined them, are articulated in terms of a person's language-evaluative criteria. In other words, I see language ideologies in how people describe particular language forms as "good" or "bad." When people express and justify those criteria, they reveal their language-ideological orientations. In the context of English academic writing, those language-evaluative criteria determine what form of writing is considered successful (i.e. worthy of a high grade) in one's coursework. If a student, instructor, or other campus stakeholder's overriding focus is on specific language forms—verb conjugation, pluralization, clause structure, article usage, etc.—then I would characterize that person as aligning themself with aggressive monolingualism, in that they value adherence to "standard" English as an end in itself. In that sense, aggressive monolingualism is often expressed by an emphasis on what I term perceived grammaticality, i.e. adherence to a perceived "standard" set of grammatical rules. If a person's focus, instead, is not grounded in the rules of a perceived "standard" English—i.e. if they seek refinement in a piece of writing's overall argument, use of evidence, rhetorical effectiveness, depth of analysis, or other ideational (as opposed to formal) feature of writing—then I would characterize them as having a progressively multilingual orientation. Thus, progressive multilingualism, within this categorization system, can be seen in a majority focus on features like perceived clarity, organization, or effective argumentation. There is some gray area between these two strands—

for example, one might focus on perceived grammatical issues as a means of clarifying one's argument. This gray area, it turns out, has language-ideological significance that I will detail in the coming chapters.

It should also be noted that this categorization by no means comprises every possible language ideology a person could hold, but it usefully differentiates the different language-ideological trends in the research I outlined above. Each strand can contain a wide variety of distinct but potentially overlapping language ideologies. For example, within the strand of aggressive monolingualism, a person might variously believe that "native" English is required for American citizenship; that a person's English should be totally free from perceived grammatical "errors"; that English from a certain region is superior to other languages; and/or that highly educated English is superior to other forms of English. Likewise, within the strand of progressive multilingualism, a person might believe that any language is acceptable as long as it effectively communicates ideas; that combining different languages is not problematic and may even provide communicative benefits; that a multilingual society is desirable; and/or that countries/communities should not have strict linguistic requirements for belonging. Within economic pragmatism, a person might believe that "nativelike" English is not important because they are returning to another country, e.g. China, for their future workplace; that any form of language is acceptable as long as it secures a job in the US; or that "nativelike" English is necessary, not as an end in itself, but simply to secure a job. Given the plurality of language ideologies in society, an individual will experience the pull from these various competing language-ideological strands at different times. As Pachler et al. (2008) note, people can hold multiple, potentially conflicting language ideologies and orient themselves toward various ones in different contexts.

To recap, I define language ideologies as conceptions of language that are evaluative, emblematic, self-naturalizing, implicit, plural, plastic, and multi-scalar. Additionally, I have determined that I will operationalize language ideologies by applying my language-ideological heuristic, categorizing language ideologies within aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism. Having established the theoretical framework and operationalization that will undergird this study, in the next section I will articulate my research questions.

3. Research Questions

As I have shown, the language-ideological landscape that a Chinese international student must navigate at a US university is a complex one. At the individual level, students can experience ideologically loaded writing-related interactions, where feedback, comments, and grades from instructors can be directed positively or negatively at the student's language abilities. Instructors' or other campus community members' evaluative comments about language can align with or oppose different language ideologies, accepting or rejecting variation in language, powerfully affecting a student's experiences on campus. Chinese international students themselves might hold varying language ideologies, seeing grammatically "correct" English as very important for belonging in the US, as important for strengthening China, as important for pursuing their own personal/career goals, as simply unimportant, or some combination, even contradictory, of these different options. Any of these language-ideologically loaded attitudes can be expressed, shared, altered, or rejected in individuals' interactions or attitudes. Thus, in researching language ideologies as they affect Chinese international students on US campuses, especially regarding academic writing, it is reasonable to ask questions about

both Chinese international students' own language ideologies and the language ideologies of people with whom they discuss academic writing, including instructors, friends, and classmates. With that in mind, the research questions I will answer are:

- **RQ1**: How do Chinese international students articulate their own language ideologies, especially regarding what constitutes "good" or "bad" English academic writing?
- **RQ2**: How do writing-adjacent campus community members—namely people on campus with whom Chinese international students discuss academic writing—articulate their own language ideologies, especially regarding what constitutes "good" or "bad" English academic writing?
- **RQ3**: How do these various campus stakeholders—Chinese international students and the campus community members with whom they discuss academic writing—articulate language ideologies to each other, and how do these conversations play out, on interpersonal and institutional levels? In agreement, open conflict, unspoken disagreement, or shifting attitudes?

The goal of these three research questions is to track not just how language ideologies affect Chinese international students' experiences on a US college campus, but also how language ideologies are transmitted within this context. In particular, I will answer these questions by applying the definition of language ideologies I presented in 2.2 and the heuristic of language ideologies I proposed in 2.4, tracking to what extent the three language-ideological strands can be seen to exhibit influence on the different participants. Additionally, given individuals' ability to resist, subvert, or alter language ideologies in their interactions, or to use language ideologies to different effects in different contexts, the questions also hope to target moments of individual autonomy: when Chinese international students make moves to resist

hegemonic and discriminatory linguistic influences—though my focus will not be on extolling student grit, but rather arguing for institutional changes to decrease such discrimination (Bullock, 2020). Finally, these research questions are designed to lay bare how toxic language ideologies are articulated and perpetuated, with the long-term goal of making university spaces and English academic writing more welcoming for people of all language backgrounds.

These research questions have clear import for expanding on the theoretical framework of language ideologies. On the most basic level, this research is called for because, as Lawton and de Kleine (2020) note, while language ideologies have been researched in depth, there is a dearth of research on language ideologies as they function within universities. And as Dunstan et al. (2015) argue, as scholars and teachers, we need to be aware of harmful language ideologies in our own back yard, the work to fight language-ideological bias must be ongoing, and it must involve all members of the campus community. My research will work toward that goal.

Next, I hope to build on prior theories about language ideologies, especially on Silverstein's (1992, 1998b), Kroskrity's (2007), and Irvine and Gal's (2000) frameworks. Based on my findings, these frameworks accurately reflect how language ideologies work, especially in depicting the evaluative, emblematic, self-naturalizing, implicit, plural, plastic, and multi-scalar nature of language ideologies. However, as I will show, these frameworks lack fine-grained analytical methods for exploring when, why, and how language ideologies are transmitted within communities, and how conflicting strands of language ideologies interact. By introducing the concepts of language-ideological convergence, divergence, uptake, and silence in the coming chapters, I will offer a new theoretical toolbox with which to analyze language ideologies and how they are transmitted and exert pressure on individuals within specific contexts. Finally I will add to this working of definition by showing how, in addition to the aforementioned qualities,

language ideologies are also cumulative, in that multiple language ideologies, when working in concert, become more powerful, especially when economic valuations of language overlap with other language ideologies.

4. Methodology: Social-Network Literacy Interviews

My research questions above posed some methodological challenges. I needed a way to elicit Chinese international students' own language ideologies (RQ1); to identify campus community members with whom they discuss academic writing and, where possible, to elicit those people's language ideologies (RQ2); and to identify moments of language-ideological import among the Chinese international students and the campus community members with whom they discuss academic writing (RQ3). To meet these different criteria, I developed a research methodology that combines Social Network Analysis (SNA), ethnographic interviews generally, and text-based interview techniques specifically.

4.1. Methodology: Phase 1 – Recruiting Chinese International Students

My study took place at a large public university in the US's Midwest. I began recruitment by contacting instructors in the university's English as a Second Language (ESL) program and asking them to forward my recruitment email to Chinese students currently or previously enrolled in their classes. I also sent recruitment emails to students publicly listed as leaders in university student organizations related to Chinese language, culture, and community, and invited them to participate in interviews. No monetary or other incentive was offered for the interviews.

A note on socioeconomic class: as I will describe more extensively in Chapter 2, I did not collect information about socioeconomic class from the Chinese students, but I was able to infer from their parents' professions that they are likely all of middle- or upper-class backgrounds. This inference is borne out by the high cost of attending a US university, especially for international students (Sanchez-Serra & Marconi, 2018). A clear limitation in this study, then, should be foregrounded: the Chinese students I was able to recruit are by no means a representative sample in terms of social class, for Chinese students or for any other nationality.

4.2. Methodology: Phase 1 – Mapping Chinese International Students' Social Networks

In one-on-one meetings with the Chinese international students I had recruited, I applied a methodology that utilizes the concepts of SNA. SNA offers a number of affordances that make it well-suited to my goals. On the most practical level, SNA suggests that sampling within a friend or acquaintance group is a legitimate and useful way to recruit participants (D. Xu et al., 2008). For example, Li and Zhu (2013) used a social network sampling method to identify a community of multilingual international students, leveraging the students' social connections to find participants who were relevant to the study's theoretical concerns. SNA can consider an entire social network as a whole; alternatively, ego network mapping focuses on a single individual's relationship and position within a social network of other people, or "alters." For example, applying ego network analysis to study the coding literacy and support networks of African American programmers, Byrd (2019) asked the study participants to map out in a drawing the material conditions and relationships that helped them as they took part in a programming bootcamp. Byrd's research identified how members of a coder's social network could assist them by providing physical space to work or emotional support. This focus on how

an individual's social network affects them mirrors mine, indicating that SNA is relevant to my study.

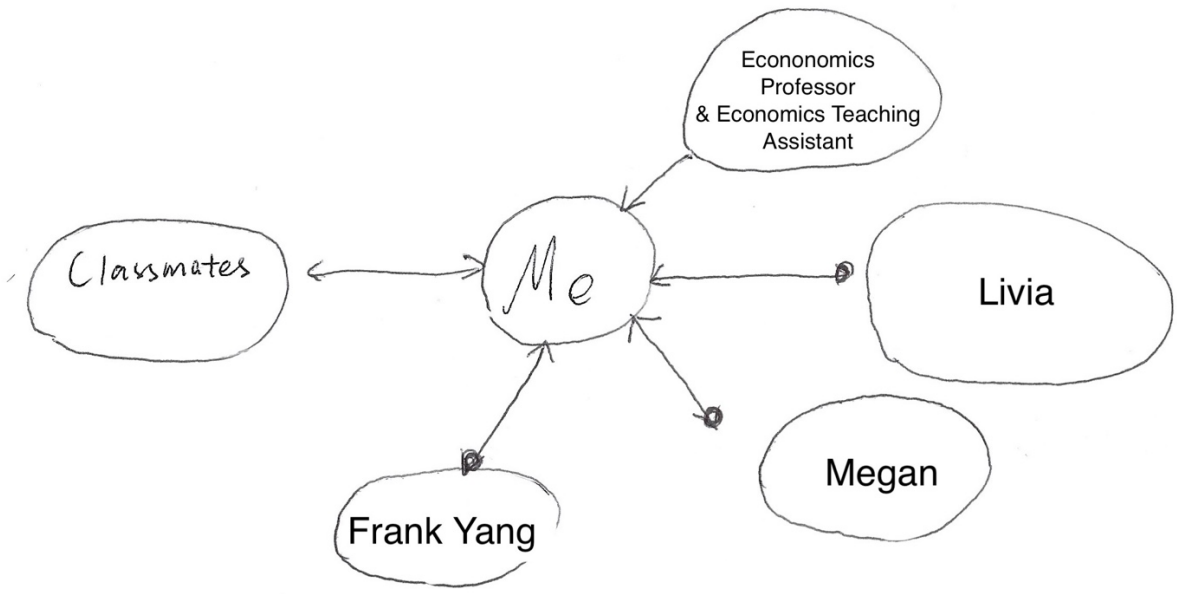
Similarly, another useful concept within SNA is the exchange network, or a group of "people with whom the probability of [a participant having] rewarding exchanges is high" (Milardo, 1988, p. 26). According to Milardo, exchange network research has two main steps. First, participants are asked to talk about the people with whom they discuss a particular topic, or with whom they have an exchange-based relationship within a certain sphere (e.g. from whom they can ask for favors or advice). Second, participants are interviewed about the nature of their interactions with each person identified. Given the central role that advice-seeking plays for people in many different communities—e.g. multilingual student-writers (Kibler, 2014) and teachers in training (Wilhelm et al., 2020)—this approach is relevant to unpacking various influences within a student's life and how language ideologies are communicated or addressed in that context.

Additionally, SNA, usefully for me, breaks the analytical gaze outside of organizations as strictly defined, looking instead at how informally defined and more fluid social organization affects human activity (Little, 2010). Little notes that in the past, research of social structures was limited to ethnography, but SNA offers more systematic ways of measuring and analyzing the structures and features of social networks. It also can be useful for tracking the flows of information within a community (D. Xu et al., 2008). Much SNA focuses on quantitative analysis, calculating the number and strength of connections within a social network (Daly, 2010). As a researcher grounded in the qualitative tradition, though, I hesitate to attempt to quantify such a fluid concept as language ideologies. To paraphrase Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2000), the number of instances of a phenomenon does not necessarily reflect the

impact it has on a person (p. 158). Thus, I chose to adopt SNA broadly and ego-mapping in particular in order to elicit and track how Chinese international students gave or received advice related to academic writing. Inspired by how Byrd (2019) enriched his data collection and analysis with a drawing activity, I constructed a map-drawing protocol that adapted Buzan's (1974) Mind Maps system, in which a central concept is written in a circle, with other, related ideas written in additional circles around it, with radiating lines drawn to indicate connections or relationships (as cited in Wheeldon, 2011). I included this visual/spatial, diagrammatic element of data collection first because mind maps have been shown to be relatively easy to use and lend themselves to quickly generating and representing ideas (Eppler, 2006). Furthermore, mind maps have been shown to increase the detail and length of participants' responses in qualitative research (Wheeldon, 2011).

To initiate the social-network-mapping activity, I asked the Chinese participants to draw circle with "Me" written in the center. From there, I asked the participants to add people to whom they give or from whom they receive advice about academic writing on campus. For each new person added to the map, I asked the participants to (A) add and label an additional circle, (B) draw a line connecting it to themselves with an arrow indicating the directionality of advice (or a double-ended arrow for reciprocal advice-giving), and (C) describe the nature of their relationship and interactions. When I interviewed people in person, I had them draw their social-network maps on paper; when I interviewed them via Zoom, I had them draw their social-network maps using Zoom's whiteboard feature. For example, one participant produced the following social network map:

Figure 1. Ava Chen's Social Network Map



In Figure 1, a central circle labeled "Me" is surrounded by five other circles. Four of the circles (labeled "Economics Professor & Economics Teaching Assistant," "Livia," "Megan," and "Frank Yang") all have arrows directed at the central circle, indicating that all of those different campus community members gave Ava advice about academic writing. The last circle, labeled "Classmates," has a two-way arrow, pointing both at the "Classmates" circle and at the "Me" circle, indicating that Ava gave her classmates advice and that they gave her advice. Wherever the map-drawer wrote a person's name, I erased it and entered a pseudonym (see below for my conventions for assigning pseudonyms).

4.3. Methodology: Phase 1 – Text-Focused Ethnographic Interviews with Chinese International Students

In order to gather rich data about the Chinese international students' lives, experiences, and perspectives on academic writing—all of which have bearing on their language ideologies—I accompanied the map-drawing activity with semi-structured ethnographic interviews (Cohen et

al., 2000) in English. As participants drew their social network maps, I asked them questions about themselves, their lives, their interactions with the various people included on the map, and other events or memories relevant to their academic writing. I frequently focused these questions on specific texts, e.g., "Can you tell me a story about writing a paper for [instructor]'s class?" or "After you talked to [person], how did you revise your paper?" Additionally, adapting Hynninen and Kuteeva's (2017) approach which targets people's evaluations of academic writing, I asked questions like "What is 'good' academic writing for you?" and "Based on your experiences, what does [campus community member] think good academic writing is?" In these text-focused semi-structured ethnographic interviews, I followed Prior (2004), seeking to "elicit writers' accounts of their goals, their contexts, their processes, their feelings, the meaning they see in their texts, the influences they are aware of or can reflectively construct for what they've written and done" (p. 179-180). I asked students to reflect on specific papers that they had written for classes since, as Prior notes, "Many researchers have found that an interviewee's responses become richer when the person interviewed has some external stimulus, some object that can trigger and support memory as well as serving as a source for new reflection" (p. 188-9). While I did not ask the students to physically produce their essays or open them on their computers, I did ask them to reflect on those essays, in hopes that the specificity of those text-based questions would elicit more detailed responses. In addition, I asked the students about their attitudes regarding Chinese English and how and when grammar or style matter in academic writing, seeking to understand how they ascribe value to different types of language and to what extent they accept/reject variation in language and, ultimately, to identify with which language-ideological strands they align themselves. Through this approach, I elicited detailed descriptions

not only of how the Chinese international students themselves approach academic writing, but also how people in their social network on campus talked to them about academic writing.

4.4. Methodology: Phase 2 – Recruiting and Interviewing Campus Community Members

Phase 1 of my recruitment focused on Chinese international students themselves. Once they had completed the map-drawing activity, I attempted to contact all of the campus community members they included on their maps with whom they discussed academic writing, including classmates, instructors, and friends. If the Phase 1 students were willing to share contact information, and if the campus community members themselves were willing, I invited them to participate in one-on-one semi-structured interviews. I asked them similar questions about their approach to academic writing, experiences that shaped their perspectives, what they considered "good" academic writing, and, for instructors, how they approached grading and feedback. If those campus community members were also Chinese, I categorized those individuals as Phase 1 participants, and completed the social-network mapping activity with them.

(Note: Phase 1 and Phase 2 interviews were not scheduled sequentially, but rather based on logistical necessity. The two terms simply help differentiate the two different types of interviews I performed.)

4.5. Methodology: Participant Pseudonyms and Demographics

Ultimately, I completed the map-drawing activity and semi-structured interviews with 14 Chinese international students (Phase 1), and I completed semi-structured ethnographic interviews with 17 campus community members whom the Phase 1 students identified (Phase 2).

In Table 1, below, information about the Chinese international students is listed (Phase 1). In Table 2, information about the campus community members is listed (Phase 2). All names are pseudonyms. All pronouns are self-reported by the participants. For traditionally American names, I used a random-name generator web page to create pseudonyms. Where Chinese students introduced themselves with English names, I sought to respect that choice (Zhang & Noels, 2022), to the extent that I could while maintaining anonymity, by assigning them English pseudonyms using the same random-name generator in addition to randomly selected Chinese surnames. For participants who introduced themselves with Chinese names, I asked a Mandarin speaker to invent natural-sounding Chinese names for them. For participants with nontraditional or non-American names, I contacted them directly and asked them to choose pseudonyms. In order to emphasize the centrality of the Phase 1 Chinese international students to my study, I assigned them both given names and family names; for the other participants, the campus community members, or Chinese students with whom I was unable to secure interviews, I only assigned them given names, not surnames.

For a master list of all people involved in the study (including the Chinese international students I interviewed and every campus community member they included on their social-network maps, whether I interviewed them or not), see Appendix A. To see the Phase 1 Participants' social network maps, see Appendix B.

Table 1. Phase 1: Chinese International Students Interviewed

Pseudonym	**Nationality**	**Age**	**Pronouns**	**Major**
Ava Chen	Chinese	20	She/her	Undeclared
Corey Zhao	Chinese	21	He/him	Computer science

David Luo	Chinese	20	He/him	Economics
Frank Yang	Chinese	22	He/him	Electrical engineering
Holly Ma	Chinese	19	She/her	Biochemistry
Jinglei Zheng	Chinese	23	She/her	Double major: biochemistry and psychology
Jodie Huang	Chinese	18	She/her	Undeclared
Kai Li	Chinese	21	He/him	Triple major: computer science, consumer behavior, and philosophy
Peter Wang	Chinese	19	He/him	Mathematics
Scarlett Li	Chinese	20	She/her	Double major: journalism and international studies
Sofia Liu	Chinese	21	She/her	Economics
Vivian Wu	Chinese	19	She/her	Economics
Yifeng Yang	Chinese	22	He/him	Actuarial science and risk management
Yiying Sun	Chinese	22	She/her	Elementary education

Table 2. Phase 2: Campus Community Members Interviewed

Pseudonym	**Nationality**	**Age***	**Pronouns**	**Role/Position****	**Highest Academic Degree Completed****

Abigail	Canadian	60's	She/her	ESL instructor (senior lecturer)	Master's degree in applied linguistics
Aiden	American	35	He/him	Writing Center instructor (graduate teaching assistant)	Master's degree in English; Master's degree in theology
Audrey	American	60	She/her	Business English instructor (teaching faculty)	Doctorate in English
Cal	American	30	They/them	Writing Center instructor (graduate teaching assistant)	Master's degree in social work
Charles	American	60's	He/him	ESL instructor (teaching faculty)	Master's degree in applied linguistics
Daisy	Indian	25	She/her	Writing Center Tutor (graduate teaching assistant)	Bachelor's degree in English
Elias	Swiss	50	He/him	Economics instructor (faculty associate)	Doctorate in economics

Evan	American	31	He/him	Writing Center instructor (graduate teaching assistant)	Master's degree in English
Hossein	Iranian	30's	He/him	ESL instructor (graduate teaching assistant)	Master's degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language
Liam	American	38	He/him	Literature instructor (teaching specialist)	Doctorate in English
Livia	American	30's	She/her	ESL instructor (teaching faculty)	Master's degree in applied linguistics
Maala	Sri Lankan	33	She/her	Writing Center instructor (graduate teaching assistant)	Master's degree in English
Megan	American	60's	She/her	ESL instructor (senior lecturer)	Master's degree in science in curriculum and instruction
Molly	American	60's	She/her	ESL Instructor (teaching faculty)	Master's degree in ESL

Naomi	American	50's	She/her	ESL instructor (lecturer)	Master's degree in ESL
Tom	Polish	35	He/him	Art history instructor (graduate teaching assistant)	Master's degree in art history
Tony	American	31	He/him	Writing Center instructor (graduate teaching assistant)	Master's degree in English

***Note**: In order to provide some additional protection to the ESL instructors' anonymity, given that some of them have asked to read this dissertation and that they would likely be identifiable to each other, I have only included approximations of their ages, e.g. I listed Abigail's age as "60's," indicating that she is between 60 and 69.

****Note:** The role/position and highest degree columns are based on when the participant was employed by the university and came into contact with one of the Phase 1 participants, rather than at time of interview.

4.6. Methodology: A Note About Transcriptions

The interviews were performed entirely in English, and I audio-recorded them. I then used the subscription-based audio-transcription software Otter Audio to transcribe recordings of the interviews. In the transcripts, I excluded my own non-pertinent back-channel responses (e.g. "Mhmm," "Yeah," or "I see") unless they were necessary for the reader's understanding. As it was irrelevant for my analysis, I did not indicate length of pauses, prosody, or other suprasegmental features in the transcripts. I made no effort to "correct" my participants'

grammar, regardless of their language background, out of respect for their extremely impressive communicative repertoires and in the belief that they made themselves understood perfectly well without my tampering.

5. Ethics and Positionality

This dissertation presented multiple challenges in terms of ethics and positionality. In many ways, I chose my research site and participants out of convenience. As I write, I am enrolled as a graduate student at the same university where I am doing my research. I have been a teaching assistant here for years, first in the ESL program, then in the Writing Center, in addition to holding several other positions. While my study's IRB-approved consent form assured students that their grades would not be affected in any way and I would take every reasonable precaution to ensure their anonymity, this positionality still denotes some level of power, and the threat of assessment. To quote Brandt (2001), I risked casting "the long shadow of the teacher ready to uncover shameful inadequacies of expression" (p. 13).

Another ethical concern regards my identity: as a white, normatively abled, cishet male American citizen who grew up speaking white English in an upper-middle-class, highly educated family, I am in a position of power, both societally and institutionally. This identity is inherently privileged, especially in the US university context (Dolmage, 2017; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Schick, 2000). Exploring multilingual students' language practices and the educational systems that evaluate them, I risk further solidifying racial and linguistic bias as well as the policies and practices that enact that bias. This problem was intensified by the fact that the interviews were in English, which most of the participants did not grow up speaking, creating space for discomfort

and misunderstanding on both sides of the conversation. How, then, to approach this research ethically and thoughtfully, putting the wellbeing of my participants foremost?

There is no straightforward answer to this question, and other researchers before me have grappled with it. Chadderton (2012) notes that, while many researchers consider directly quoting their research participants as a way of raising those people's voices, the interview itself is flawed: inevitably the researcher, despite their best intentions, will impose their own lens and interpretation on the data, especially in a highly racialized context. By foregrounding the fact that identity features like race are both social realities but also performances, enacted in the moment, Chadderton emphasizes that people's identities and narratives are "shifting and plural." She goes on to write, "This avoids essentialising participants' voices, but also, potentially allows white researchers to attempt to destabilise the supremacy of whiteness by situating the knowledge we produce in ethnographic research as located, partial and subjective" (p. 376). Voicing similar concerns, Henderson and Esposito (2019) narrate ways in which they have struggled with their own privileged identities with relation to their research subjects in different studies. They are concerned particularly with the dynamic in which they stand to benefit from publishing their research, whereas their study participants usually do not. They argue that researchers should have an "ethic of humility" as they approach their research, assuming that they will get it wrong more than they get it right, and that "We don't know it all. In fact, we don't know that much" (p. 886). And McCarty et al. (2014), doing participatory action research with indigenous youths, urge researchers doing similar work to listen with "ears to hear," challenging one's own assumptions of what the participants think and care about, and to actually work *with* the community in question rather than imposing one's own perceived goals on the community.

For me, these suggestions ring true, but are difficult to apply to appreciable effect. Yes, I can easily acknowledge that people's experiences are "shifting and plural," especially since scholarship on language ideologies emphasizes their plasticity and plurality—but I could not realistically claim that I am destabilizing white supremacy by any stretch of the imagination. And I believe that I do bring an ethic of humility to my research, frequently feeling totally lost in a sea of uninterpretable qualitative data—I definitely "don't know that much," and I am the first to admit it. But where does that admission get me? I can offer to assist my participants however I can. After every interview, I offered all of the Chinese international students the service that I believed would be most useful to them: my feedback on any piece of writing I could help them with. So far, none of them have taking me up on the offer, and seem disinclined to ask for my help.

Beyond the concerns of researching as an outsider, there are yet more ethical and positional challenges for my dissertation. While Phase 1 of my data collection had me working with Chinese international students, which brought with it one set of ethical and positional challenges, Phase 2 brought with it an entirely different set, requiring me to shift from the role of an outsider with potentially problematic institutional and societal power to an insider. Given my experience as a teaching assistant at the university, especially in the ESL program and the Writing Center, when I interviewed campus community members (many of them members of those two institutions), I found myself interviewing many friends and colleagues: people with whom I had attended meetings, shared an office, commiserated, or at least shared an extensive set of experiences with. Arguably, in these Phase 2 interviews, my positionality had completely changed from outsider to some kind of insider.

Previous scholarship has addressed the challenges of performing qualitative research as a so-called insider within a community. Anthropologists, for example, were wrestling with the issue in the 1990's. Goldschmidt (1995) argued that the researcher engaged in research in their "native" community must "find the unfamiliar in the familiar, to make it clear that things are not what they seem, to reach behind the façade of ordinary behavior and belief to the deeper implications of social action" (p. 18)—a task that is surely easier said than done. Narayan (1993) engaged with the supposed theoretical challenges of "native anthropology"—but argues that, in fact, the "native"-"nonnative" dichotomy is overly simplistic: "Factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race, or sheer duration of contacts may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider status" (p. 672), seeming to sidestep the issue of cultural perspective and how it creates blinders for the researcher. Contrarily, yet another anthropologist, Cerroni-Long (1995), critiques a postmodernist trend to "de-reify culture," or to deemphasize culture as an analytical focus in favor of how context or individual performance creates culture contextually—foregrounding a debate that creates a knotty problem for a researcher: Does culture problematize a researcher's positionality or not? Can I research within my own culture? If I do, is my "insider" status a boon or a barrier?

I offer these examples to demonstrate the complexity of positionality within qualitative research: group belonging, culture, and "native"/"nonnative" status, and the extent to which these factors affect research or even exist at all are debatable. Underscoring this debate, Brannick and Coghlan (2007), scholars in organizational and action research, demonstrate how "insider" status in a researched organization comes with a slew of benefits and drawbacks: easier access to participants but potential entanglements with organizational politics; the ease of already having access to jargon and concepts but the potential blinkering effect of presupposition; the possibility

that being an "insider" makes the researcher seem more trustworthy on the one hand, but the obtrusiveness or discomfort created through the investigative process on the other. In their assessment, critics of "insider" research miss many of its affordances; ultimately the authors argue that, with appropriate sensitivity to potential drawbacks, "insider" research is, indeed, a legitimate and potentially fruitful form of qualitative research.

In assessing my positionality and ethical concerns, and by reviewing past research on this topic, I am left with unresolved questions. Ultimately, my core research focus is my guiding light: having lived and taught English in China in the past, and having worked extensively with Chinese students both applying to and enrolled in US universities, I was motivated by my empathy for them. I wanted to understand their experiences better, to improve my own approach as a teacher, and to inform pedagogical and administrative practices within universities to better support them and other multilingual students. Constantly sensitive to the way my positionality limited or problematized how I could approach this research, I gravitated towards my current research questions. Knowing that I was bringing my privileged identity into conversations with students of color in a racializing and hierarchical context, I decided to look not just at Chinese international students, but also at the (often white) instructors they work with, at the predominantly white institution itself, and to the spaces in between these different stakeholders where linguistic-evaluative information is conveyed. I began graduate school asking, "How can we improve multilingual students' writing?" but over time I have shifted to a more foundational question that problematizes my earlier one: "What does it even mean to 'improve' someone's writing, and who decides?" In that way, my research can be understood to be centralizing race and hierarchy, seeking to make the invisible bias of this place more visible to everyone. I make no claim to objectivity or to "authentically" using my participants' voices and narratives to

reflect some kind of objective truth. Rather than using narratives to argue that students of color must be extraordinary and overcome difficulties to succeed, I hope to identify places within educational institutions that must be more responsive to student needs (Bullock, 2020). Thus, in my research, subjective and limited though it is, I hope to deepen my own and other university stakeholders'—students and instructors alike—understanding of how we talk about language, and how it matters. In this way, I hope that readers of this dissertation can at the same time keep the limiting factors of my positionality in mind while still finding my analysis illuminating.

6. Chapter Outline

In this introductory chapter, I have laid out my study's motivation, theoretical underpinnings, research questions, and methodology. Based on this background information, in Chapter 2, I will discuss the language ideologies of the core Chinese international students in my study, showing how their primary language-ideological alignment is toward aggressive monolingualism and economic pragmatism, but with minor moments of tightly constrained progressive multilingualism. In this chapter, I will discuss how the core characteristics of language ideologies I laid out in 2.2 are clearly visible, especially plasticity and plurality in how the Chinese international students could variably engage with opposing language ideologies in different contexts.

In Chapter 3, I will build on these ideas by expanding my analysis to include the campus community members with whom the Chinese international students said they discussed English academic writing. Similar to Chapter 2, in Chapter 3 I will show that these participants also experienced and articulated the conflicting pull of all three strands of language ideologies. Observing commonalities among all of the participants thus far, I will propose a model of

language-ideological alignment to model how all of these participants, to some extent, experience the pull of all three language-ideological strands, usually with two of the strands converging.

Next, taking a broader scope in Chapter 4, I will apply social-network mapping to identify when and how individuals transmit language ideologies to each other, and under which contexts *language-ideological alignment* and *misalignment*—when people have similar or differing language ideologies—can occur. In particular, I will show how language-ideological convergence (i.e. when multiple language-ideological strands pull in the same direction) is a particularly strong driver of language-ideological alignment between individuals and within institutions. I will also demonstrate that *language-ideological silence*—when language-evaluative criteria are left implicit—leaves the door open for aggressively monolingual language ideologies, the unfortunate default of many English-monolingual contexts.

Finally, in the conclusion, Chapter 5, I will summarize my findings so far and discuss their significance. I will argue that every campus stakeholder, instructor and student alike, should be able to understand and articulate an explicit language-ideological positioning, justifying their language-evaluative attitudes with an understanding that evaluations about language are never just about language, but about social class, identity, race, nationality, and power. Building on my previous definition of language ideologies, I will discuss how my findings about the cumulative nature of language ideologies expand on previous research and open doors for future research. Finally, I will discuss limitations on this study and give some closing remarks.

Chapter 2

Chinese International Students' Language Ideologies Regarding English Academic Writing

1. Introduction:

In Chapter 1, I laid out my goals for this dissertation, the first of which was to have Chinese international students discuss their perspectives and experiences regarding academic writing, seeking to ascertain their language-ideological orientations, especially with relation to how they evaluate academic writing as "good" or "bad." In this chapter, I will report on the findings for that segment of my research.

First, I will introduce the fourteen Chinese international students whom I interviewed for Phase 1 of my research, providing relevant information about their backgrounds. From there, I will apply the three-part language-ideological heuristic that I proposed in the previous chapter, demonstrating that the heuristic accurately and productively identifies significant patterns in the students' language ideologies. Applying this heuristic, I found that the students articulated (whether from their own perspective or through reiterating other community members' language-evaluative positions) all three of the language-ideological strands:

- **Aggressive monolingualism** was present in how the students described the importance of striving for "nativelike" or "standard" grammar in writing and speech, in their valuation of US English over other Englishes, and in their perceptions that instructors would not accept or approve of Chinese English.
- **Progressive multilingualism** was present in how some of the students described their stance on Chinese English: in general, the participants thought it was acceptable to use

Chinese English in contexts where they were communicating with other Chinese people, but not when talking to or writing for "native" speakers.

- **Economic pragmatism** was present in how the students talked about academic writing and perceived grammaticality: first in terms of standardized testing, which, I will show, is a fundamentally economic mode of understanding language, and second in terms of "professionalism" or achieving their career goals.

From there, I will discuss how this chapter's findings contribute to language-ideological theory. It can be seen, first, that the students' language ideologies are, indeed, evaluative, as suggested in my literature review in Chapter 1: the students revealed close attention to their language and whether or not it adhered to the expected standards of the university. Their language ideologies, too, were both plural and plastic: depending on context (e.g. whether talking to an American or Chinese interlocutor), the students demonstrated different language-ideological alignments in what language they deemed acceptable, and they were able to shift dynamically between these alignments as necessary. The emblematic and self-naturalizing qualities of language ideologies were also apparent: several of the students, in discussing their language-evaluative attitudes, linked US or academic English to concepts like "nativeness" or "standardness," associations which I will argue are self-reinforcing, and which the students did not overtly question, demonstrating too that language ideologies are often implicit. Finally, in paralleling large sociolinguistic trends of evaluation, inclusion, and rejection within US language attitudes and (e.g. by echoing the English Only movement; Schmid, 2000), the students' language-ideological alignments demonstrate the multi-scalar aspect of language ideologies, i.e. the fact that language ideologies recur at different scales, from the individual to the societal, a structural aspect of language ideologies that renders them powerful in reproducing social

hierarchies, to great harm. At each turn, then, in the shifting multiplicity of their language ideologies, the students showed that they are resourceful and resilient, able to conceptualize complex interpersonal language dynamics—but also that they are at the receiving end of a harsh and judgmental international language-evaluative regime. In this sense, I will show that US universities, especially in the context of academic writing, are language-ideologically loaded spaces, where these powerful language-evaluative social constructs permit tacit, unconscious, and high-stakes criticisms on students and their languages.

Taking these ideas a step further, I will demonstrate that the three language-ideological strands, with their multiple valences and societal import, are inextricably tangled together, creating a complex set of sociolinguistic demands that students must accommodate as they negotiate (and write) their way through life at a US college. Revealing this language-ideological entanglement is my first step in constructing a set of new theoretical tools for fine-grained analysis of language-ideological transmission in social contexts—a project I will pursue throughout the coming chapters.

2. Meet the Participants (Phase 1: Chinese International Students)

The fourteen Chinese international students I interviewed for this study, though not a statistically significant representation, are in many ways typical of the thousands of Chinese students enrolling in and matriculating from US universities every year. (For a table with the Chinese international students' demographic information, see Chapter 1.)

To begin with, they come from a wide range of cities across China. Both Sophia Liu and Kai Li, for example, were born in China's capital, Beijing. Peter Wang was born in Hangzhou, another large population center near Shanghai, in Zhejiang province. Other students came from

smaller cities. Ava Chen, for example, is from Xuchang, which she called a "very small city" in Henan Province. Jodie Huang described her hometown, Xiamen, as "a big city," but "it is not as good as Shanghai or Beijing," and in that city "we nearly never see any foreigners on the street." While most of the students originate from China's more affluent and internationalized east coast, that is not the rule: Scarlett Li was born in Ürümqi, the capital city of Xinjiang Province, China's far northwestern province. Many of them, even before studying in the US, had relocated during their lives: Sophia Liu moved from Wenzhou, which she describes as "peaceful, quiet, like, a little town," to the massive, international metropolis Shanghai for high school. Kai Li moved from Beijing to New Jersey for high school, and Scarlett Li moved from Ürümqi to Arizona and then New York State for high school. Even before they enrolled in a US university, their lives and academic trajectories had led many of them through wildly diverse living conditions.

While I did not collect data directly about economic status, the students' descriptions of their parents' careers suggested middle- to upper-class socioeconomic status. Many of their parents held high-level roles in Chinese businesses, many in international trade or manufacturing. Jodie Huang, for example, said of her parents: "my mother is a manager in a international business, in an international company, and my father, he works for a national company […] He's, like, the director." Frank Yang's parents owned a business selling baby supplies internationally. Corey Zhao's mother, on the other hand, worked for a neighborhood government committee,[6] and his father worked for a nationally owned electrical plant, and had only completed his high school degree—not a lower-class background, necessarily, but likely lower-income than people working in international commerce. As might be assumed from the high cost of enrolling in a US university as an international student, these presumable middle-

[6] 居委会 - jūwěihuì

and upper-class family backgrounds are a significant part of students' ability to study internationally, given the high cost of entry and cost of life in the US.

Many of the participants' parents did not speak any English. Corey Zhao, for instance, said of his parents: "my mother barely know any English, but my father, like, I would say, like, if we just measured the vocabulary, I think he was he is, he's around like, 2000 [vocabulary words], I guess." Others of their parents had little or no English abilities themselves, but had high aspirations for their children to learn English. For example, David Luo said of his parents: "My parents […] ran a manufacturing company. So, and, like, my parents, they didn't, like, receive a lot of education, especially in English […] So that's why my parents really want me to, like, get a lot, lot of, want me to be educated, especially English part, to communicate with, like, customers." Many of the participants' parents used English as part of their work. Sofia Liu's mother, for example, worked in human resources and communicated with "foreigners," which required her to use English. As will become clear, this economic focus of English-learning was a prevalent one in the Chinese international students' goals and perspectives.

At the time of interview, the students' majors leaned heavily toward science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). Three of them—David Luo, Sofia Liu, and Vivian Wu—were Economics majors. Corey Zhao was majoring in Computer Science, and Kai Li was triple-majoring in computer science, consumer behavior, and philosophy. Two of the students—Ava Chen and Jodie Huang—had not yet declared their majors at the time of interview, and only two of the students—Scarlett Li and Yiying Sun—were not STEM majors, the former double-majoring in journalism and international studies and the latter majoring in elementary education. From there, the remaining students' majors ran the gamut of STEM majors: Actuarial Science and Risk Management (Yifeng Yang), Biochemistry (Holly Ma), Biochemistry and Psychology

(Jinglei Zheng), Electrical Engineering (Frank Yang), and Mathematics (Peter Wang). This preference for STEM majors is in line with a well-established trend of Asian students disproportionately majoring in STEM fields (American Council on Education, 2022).

What can be seen, taking a broad view of the students' backgrounds, families, and pre-college lives, is a group of highly driven students embarking on challenging educational and career arcs. For all their differences in personality and goals, they share many commonalities in background, family, life path, and education. In the next section, I will show another, less easily seen commonality among their lives: the way that all of them experience the continuous pull of the three language-ideological strands.

3. A Tangled Web: Chinese International Students' Intertwined and Conflicting Language-Ideological Strands

3.1. Aggressive Monolingualism: Stress, Assessment, and the White Listener

One of the questions I used in an effort to identify Chinese international students' language ideologies regarded perceived grammaticality. To frame this issue in my interviews, I introduced the term Chinese English.[7] I introduced a well-known feature of Chinese English: the double-marking of *because* and *so* in an English sentence, e.g. "<u>because</u> my car broke down, <u>so</u> I have to walk to work today" (Albrecht, 2021; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2012; example sentence adapted from Lu, 2021). I asked if such features of Chinese English are ever acceptable in English academic writing. The students' responses provided a wealth of language-ideologically significant content, the most common of which was the strand of aggressive monolingualism: the pressure that the students felt—based on their own beliefs, their past experiences, or their

[7] I intentionally avoided using the more commonly known but pejorative term "Chinglish" (Vittachi, 2000).

perceptions of how others would judge their writing—to "fix" their grammar, to adhere to strict perceived grammar norms, and to write and speak as closely to US-born "native" English speakers as possible. In this section, I will describe the different ways the students articulated aggressive monolingualism during the interviews, the first piece of the puzzle in understanding how language ideologies are articulated to and by Chinese international students in this context.

One of the clearest signifiers of aggressive monolingualism in this community was that all of the students were aware on some level of the pressure within US academia to strive for "nativelike" English grammar. When I asked Vivian Wu if it was acceptable to use Chinese English in her academic writing, she described the efforts she exerted to write "correctly," and she described how Chinese students were primed by the Chinese education system to focus on practicing extensively to "get higher grades in the exams." Rather than working to "develop their skills such as, like, communicational, or organizational skills," the strictly grammatical focus of the Chinese education system meant that "[Chinese students'] writing skills or speaking skills and listening skills might not so good. So the grammar mistakes happens a lot." As we talked about how instructors might respond to those "grammar mistakes," she said,

> […] I do feel like […] my instructors will point out some, like, Chinese English grammarly mistake and, yeah. And I also, I am finding ways to improve my grammar as well […] So I feel like it's kind of one of the most challenging things for Chinese students or international students to, like, become grammarly correct.

Vivian described the conflicting pressures that Chinese international students face: the pressure to achieve in testing on the one hand, which requires one set of skills, but then the skills to write and speak in a grammatically "correct" way, which she implies are a different set of skills, all of which a university student will be judged and evaluated upon over the course of their academic

career. Among all the many struggles and successes that any student must have to arrive at a top university like Vivian, for her, the grammatical aspect is still "one of the most challenging things" a Chinese student might experience. In all of these descriptions, aggressive monolingualism is clear in the pressure toward linguistic conformity, in addition to the evaluative nature of language ideologies, assessing some language forms as "correct" and others as "incorrect."

Similarly emphasizing the strand of aggressive monolingualism, Jodie Huang also described a strict focus on "correct" grammar, saying "you have to be strict about your grammar" and that "you have to follow the American grammar or English grammar." Ultimately, she concluded, "I don't think Chinese grammar is a good choice for English writing." Interestingly, both Vivian and Jodie framed their pursuit of perceived grammaticality in terms of their personal actions. Vivian spoke about "finding ways to improve my grammar," and Jodie said it was not "a good choice" to use Chinese English. In both of these descriptions, the participants implied that the achievement of "nativelike" grammaticality was a realistic goal, perhaps achievable if only one put in enough time practicing or proofreading. Already, this framing and conception of grammaticality in writing is a high-stress one, foregrounding the individual's abilities and industriousness, with no thought for the institutional or societal norms that privilege "nativelike" English grammar, and with little space for nonstandard English varieties. In this sense, again, the evaluative nature of language ideologies is apparent, but also their implicitness, as the students did not comment on the larger sociolinguistic evaluative processes at work in their own language-evaluative attitudes.

Based on the participants' comments, it was not just "correct" grammar that a student should strictly monitor and correct, when evaluating academic writing, but other, higher-order

concerns. Corey Zhao explained that in "good academic writing" the "structure of the essay must [be] logically structured. And the vocabulary that used in the essay are like, are not the easy ones." Regarding vocabulary, according to Corey, an academic writer should be "as close as [possible] to the native speakers' level." For Corey, the requirements of academic writing include everything from local decisions (grammar, vocabulary) up through the global (organization, logic), and all of these compositional elements are important. The learning task for a Chinese student grows more and more complicated, again reflecting the language-evaluative strictness characteristic of the aggressive monolingualism in language ideologies.

Often the students characterized language evaluations in terms of "native," "American," or "standard" English, a characterization with deep language-ideological significance. For example, when I asked Yifeng Yang if his instructors would disapprove of using Chinese English in his academic writing or lower his grade for it, he replied, "Yeah, they will." This negative evaluation, he said, was based off of "a standard list of rules." He went on to say that Chinese English is "the wrong way to use this [i.e. academic writing]," and he said, "If we're going to […] just communicate with Chinese [people] […] then why don't we just use Chinese?" Yifeng's assertion suggested that, when addressing an American interlocutor, the only acceptable, natural, or appropriate language to use is American English. Similarly, we saw earlier how Corey described good academic writing as working towards "native speakers' level," with the term "native" raising troubling implications of citizenship, nativism, and belonging. And Yifeng framed language use as an either/or choice: either "just use Chinese" or use the "standard list of rules," recalling the demands of the English Only movement (Schmid, 2000)—with no middle ground, and seemingly no flexibility for language variety. Jodie, too, described the grammar she was working towards specifically as "American," and she passed an

aggressively monolingual judgment on Chinese English: it should be avoided. The presumption that other languages are only appropriate for talking to a Chinese person is aggressively monolingual to its core, as it assumes one's interlocutor could not possibly understand, speak, or accept anything other than American English. Thus the emblematic, multi-scalar, and self-naturalizing nature of language ideologies comes to the fore: language is not seen as neutral or *a priori* having value, but rather is subject to evaluation because it ties into, reifies, and reinforces larger sociopolitical classifications like "American" or "Chinese," "native" or "nonnative," "standard" or "nonstandard."

Ava Chen also touched on this nativistic flavor of aggressively monolingual grammatical evaluation when I asked her about using Chinese English in her English academic writing. She said that "it's fine if you use Chinese English," but that "professors would prefer to read some really native [English]." As I asked follow-up questions to understand why she was concerned about instructors' language-based evaluations, she indicated that she was worried that, if students have many language-based concerns in their writing, "[instructors] will think these international students might need more help." Ava's description of how and why a Chinese international student might seek to avoid Chinese English in their academic writing was a thoughtful and nuanced one. She acknowledged and understood the fact that instructors might react negatively to Chinese English writing. She did not frame it as bias (perhaps hedging because she was speaking to me, a white English-speaking American, or perhaps truly seeing instructors' motivations as benevolent), but her description of instructors' attitudes was still concerning: from her characterization, an instructor might see a Chinese student as not up to the same academic or communicative standard as "native" students, and thus in need of remedial instruction or other extra support—a concern that mirrors scholarly conversations about deficit

discourses in English education (MacSwan, 2020). Simply to receive equal treatment as her domestic American classmates, in Ava's eyes, she needed to have the same linguistic skills as them—a language-evaluative pressure that, though perhaps externally benevolent, still upheld aggressive monolingualism and the implicit, self-naturalizing, multi-scalar connection between large-scale American language discrimination and smaller-scale university language assessment.

In a similar vein, Peter Wang described campus language expectations not only in aggressively monolingual terms of a national standard, but also in terms of race. I asked him, "[…] do you feel like people [on campus] are welcoming to Chinese students or to other international students who speak languages other than English?" Peter replied by telling a story about his Chinese friends speaking Chinese around "white people who speak English," who would "feel they got excluded" by non-English speech in their presence. Peter went on to say, "English is official language here." A number of points are salient in Peter's response. First is a tie-in to the aforementioned nativist or nationalist vein in the aggressively monolingual strand: the description of English as the "official language" of the US, again repeating the anti-immigrant, aggressively monolingual discourse of the English Only movement. Also interestingly, he talked explicitly about contact with "white people who speak English," a naturalizing association between race and language that scholars in raciolinguistics have shown to be an especially toxic subset of language discrimination (Rosa, 2016, 2019), including in US universities specifically (Flores & Rosa, 2015). In this description of the pressure toward English monolingualism, Peter's response tied together race, language, and nationality, a trifecta of identity markers that each individually permits an extreme degree of discrimination of the US, and that collectively constitute the broad thrust of anti-immigrant and racist discourse nationally and internationally. In other words, when Peter referred to white people as interlocutors who

must be accommodated in speech, and when he referred to an "official language," he was rearticulating racist and exclusionary discourses that occur at a much larger scale. I do not mean to cast Peter as a racist or nationalist—far from it. Rather, Peter's emphasis on how he and other Chinese students must accommodate the white listener in their languaging reinforces how language ideologies are evaluative and multi-scalar. Again, the problematic language-evaluative sociopolitical trends of the US at large are replicated in one individual's language-ideological alignment.

What can be seen throughout this section is the clear evaluative quality of aggressively monolingual language ideologies: students experienced the pressure to conform to "native" or "standard" English norms. They articulated this pressure both in terms of what their instructors hoped for, but also in terms of their own goals. Clearly all of the participants were aware to some extent that their language was being evaluated by instructors within the US university context. For some of the participants, they perceived this pressure in terms of "nativeness," "Americanness," or "standardness"; Peter was unique in articulating the pressure to linguistic conformity in terms of race, and the need for a Chinese person to curate their language for the white listener. On the whole, the pressure of aggressive monolingualism on campus is clear, as was the language-ideological linkage between national-level language discrimination and local-level negative language evaluation, a linkage that naturalizes race, language, and nationality in a way that fundamentally alienates many multilingual international students.

This was not the only language-ideological positioning revealed by the students, however—in the next section, I will explain how the opposing language-ideological strand of progressive multilingualism also frequently appeared in the interviews, emphasizing the plasticity and plurality of language ideologies.

3.2. Progressive Multilingualism: The Conflicted Acknowledgement of Other Englishes

When discussing Chinese English—in conversations in which the Chinese international students often articulated aggressive monolingual language ideologies that they or other campus community members held—the students often explained that, for them, Chinese English was acceptable in some contexts. For example, Jodie Huang emphasized the need for "American grammar" when writing "academic papers," "because your readers are not Chinese anymore." However, when "writing for Chinese readers, maybe, like, they prefer Chinglish. So you can use, like, Chinese grammar." Jodie demonstrated linguistic flexibility and contextual social awareness, here: while she would bow to the linguistic preferences of American English speakers on the one hand (a context likely constituting much of her college experience to date), if she were to write in the Chinese context, Chinese English would be acceptable in her eyes. Jodie's position on Chinese English mirrors arguments language scholars have made for English as a lingua franca (ELF), arguments contending that English is held and owned by more than just "native" speakers of it, and that multilingual people's varied Englishes are just as legitimate as monolingual English speakers' for use in any context, including academic ones (Hou, 2020; Hynninen & Kuteeva, 2017; You, 2010). In this sense, Jodie's language ideologies demonstrated the plasticity and plurality of language ideologies: No language ideology is all-powerful. Rather, individuals can take up or put down language ideologies, and use them differently, depending on context. For the educator or scholar concerned with student wellbeing, this plasticity and plurality seems positive, suggesting that an individual can make moves to avoid the potential harm of discriminatory language evaluations.

However, where more progressive arguments about ELF suggest that "native" speakers should accept world Englishes in professional and academic contexts, several of the other Chinese international students did not go so far. For Jodie Huang, Chinese English is only acceptable for a Chinese audience. Similarly, David Luo offered limited contexts in which Chinese English would be admissible, explaining that, for him, Chinese English is "acceptable, like, in some […] professional or not really serious, like, content. Like, just when people are talking to each other or, like, have some knowledge exchanges." He contrasts these informal communicative contexts that are "not really serious," wherein Chinese English is acceptable, with another context, when Chinese English would not be acceptable: "[…] sometimes when we are, like, writing articles, like, if you are publishing some articles, […] there's a time you need to, like, be really serious." Where Jodie saw Chinese English as acceptable in academic writing for a Chinese audience, David was even less permissive: for him, it was only acceptable in informal contexts, contexts that were not "professional" or "serious," and strictly "nativelike" grammar was preferable for fear of being "misleading to others." This last point directly contradicted the broad thrust of much ELF scholarship, which holds that a "nonnative" writer, even when not using "standard" English, can be perfectly intelligible. Holly Ma similarly constrained the contexts in which she thought Chinese English was acceptable, emphasizing the importance of writing in a way that "suits American style kind of writing." She told me that "for casual style," a person could use different grammars, but that "the incorrect kind of styles writing can convey, like, the wrong kind of meaning." She likened grammar to mathematical "principles" or to a "theorem," explaining, "So you better follow that because, but if you don't follow that, you may, like, go wrong. Yeah. Like, the possibility of your incorrectness will go up […]" In short, one must adhere to specific grammatical rules or risk being "incorrect" or unclear.

In their rejection of other Englishes, David's, Jodie's, and Holly's language-ideological alignments are aggressively monolingual, with just tiny concessions towards progressive multilingualism. So while language ideologies are plural and plastic, suggesting that individuals have agency to escape their influence, that plurality and plasticity is tightly constrained, at least in this context: institutional or national language ideologies, largely upholding aggressive monolingualism, dominate.

Sofia Liu's language-ideological alignments also spoke to the tight constraints placed on plurality and plasticity in language. She explained that, in her estimation, Chinese English is neither "positive" nor "negative," but rather "in the middle ground." She went on to say,

> […] we are the Chinese, and if we abandon the Chinese English is kind of hard for us. And sometimes the Chinese English not so bad. But I think, but it's also not the positive thing, 'cause it's really sometimes hurt us from writing a good essay without grammar error or other like this error.

Sofia's account of language requirements in academic writing was conflicted. On the one hand, she expressed self-empathy, and empathy for other Chinese students trying to write in English; she acknowledged the difficulty, that it is "kind of hard for us." And, like David, she made a tiny concession to progressive multilingualism, saying that Chinese English is "sometimes […] not so bad," a vague, hedged, and restricted concession that soon collapsed under the exigencies of the US college environment: immediately after that, she transitioned into talking about the process of acquiring "better" English, emphasizing the need to practice and improve, saying, "the more [Chinese students] write, the more comments [from instructors] they get, the more revisions they made, the better the writing, the writings, the academic writing they will have." So while empathetic and in some ways permissive of other Englishes, falling somewhat within the

progressive multilingualism strand of language ideologies, Sofia fell almost entirely within the aggressive monolingualism strand. For her, while one's current status as a user of Chinese English was acceptable, one must work to eliminate features of Chinese English from their writing.

Scholarship in composition studies and education shows that this assumption—that "nativelike" English is a natural, achievable, and desirable endpoint for an English learner—is firmly rooted in aggressive monolingualism. Working within the field of composition studies, Horner and Trimbur (2002) showed how multilingual English learners are placed "on a sequence of development fixed in its order, direction, and sociopolitical significance"—in other words, a person learning English must proceed in a single, preestablished path, and any departure from that path places them at a disadvantage. Researching in educational studies, Paris (2012) demonstrates that much education whitewashes non-white cultures and languages, with the goal of replacing them with the dominant white culture and language. She argues that educators should expand upon students' existing languages and cultures rather than seeking to supplant them. Also within educational studies, Rojas et al. (2016) problematize the idea of the "native speaker," arguing that there is no one single target for language acquisition, given the variety even within white English, and they argue that educators over-stressing "native-speaker" status as a goal is detrimental to students' learning. Taken together, it is clear that assuming "nativelike" English competence as a single, logical endpoint falls in line with the aggressive monolingualism strand of language ideologies, and all the nationalistic, nativistic, and discriminatory baggage it carries with it. Again, we can see that language ideologies are plastic and plural in limited ways. Speakers have access to a variety of language ideologies with which they can align themselves in some contexts. However, Jodie, David, and Sofia's ability to take

up a more multilingually friendly language ideology is extremely restricted. Based on these participants' experiences, within an intensely language-evaluative context like English academic writing, top-down, large-scale, strictly evaluative, aggressively monolingual language ideologies supersede an individuals' progressively multilingual language ideologies.

Frank Yang's perspective on language evaluation revealed perhaps the most unequivocal acceptance of progressive multilingualism of all of these participants, with almost all of his attention going towards communicating clearly. He stated, "I don't think grammar matters that much, as long as the word choice is correct." Some aspects of perceived grammaticality did matter to Frank, however: "[…] there are things like, sometimes there are tenses that you, one simply cannot mess up. And sometimes one word, if it's used in a wrong way, it'll have a different meaning." In this sense, emphasizing meaning first and linguistic factors like grammar and word choice simply as contributors to meaning, Frank appeared unique among the participants in not obviously paralleling "good" language with concepts like nativism, nationality, or race. "As long as it's readable," he told me, "you should be fine." So, in Frank's case, I argue that the more destructive facets of language ideologies like emblematicity—taking an individual's language to represent some core aspect of their being—do not have the same potential to harm. Because of his apparent alignment with progressive multilingualism, and because the plasticity and plurality of language ideologies allow him to orient toward different language ideologies in different contexts, Frank's risk for language-ideological harm is lessened.

Among the aforementioned participants, whether they were orienting themselves toward aggressive monolingualism or progressive multilingualism, they consistently did so without metapragmatic commentary—in other words, they did not articulate their attitudes in terms of theory or explicit linguistic/pedagogical analytical terminology. Yiying Sun was a noteworthy

exception in that she described her varying language-evaluative perspective in terms of scholarly theory with clear language-ideological significance: culturally sustaining pedagogy. When I asked her if Chinese English was acceptable in English academic writing, she explained that it was, in certain contexts. In her teaching, she said, "it's, like, we should respect all the, all the students. Yes, we should do, like, culture relative teaching, culture responsive teaching, culture, like, sustaining teaching." I took this comment to refer to the theoretical concepts of culturally sustaining pedagogy. Educational studies researcher Paris (2012), coining the lattermost term, defines it as

> […] seek[ing] to perpetuate and foster—to sustain—linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling. In the face of current policies and practices that have the explicit goal of creating a monocultural and monolingual society, research and practice need equally explicit resistances that embrace cultural pluralism and cultural equality. (p. 93)

Paris's definition overtly references multiple core aspects of language ideologies. It references not only the problematically evaluative valence of languages—i.e. the assessment of people as "native" or "nonnative." It also explicitly references the concept that languages are plural and plastic, that people can orient themselves to different language ideologies. Not only that—by touching on concepts like democracy and policy, this definition touches on the multi-scalarity of language ideologies: the idea that language-evaluative attitudes exist at multiple scales, both locally in student-teacher interactions and more globally in national policy and political processes like democracy. Thus, by pointing to the concept of culturally sustaining pedagogy as informing her language-evaluative attitudes, Yiying directly positions herself against aggressive monolingualism, embracing the progressive multilingual strand of language ideologies.

Contrasting this quite explicit orientation toward progressive multilingualism, however, Yiying almost immediately shifted her stance and her language-ideological orientation to the opposing strand of aggressive monolingualism. After talking about culturally sustaining pedagogy, she went on to say, "for me, like, if I am an ESL instructor I will, like, hella strict." Explaining this hypothetical strictness, she said,

> 'Cause you [as a student] are here, and we would, like, tell you, is, like, standard or academic language you should use. I think that academic passage or academic writing is preparing you for future research. So that's very important for you, if you want to do research in the future, it's important to be professional.

In this abrupt about-face, Yiying went from a progressively monolingual language-ideological alignment to an aggressively monolingual one, emphasizing a strict evaluative mindset. Noticeably, too, it is not the writing that Yiying stressed should be "professional." She said, "It's important to be professional," suggesting that it is the person, not just the writing, that becomes professional through the use of "standard or academic language." By suggesting that a person themself acquires or takes on certain inherent qualities, Yiying provided an example of the emblematicity of language ideologies: the ascription of certain qualities to an individual based on their language. And in her sudden 180-degree turn from one language-ideological strand to another between two different contexts, she demonstrated the plurality and plasticity of language ideologies, in that people can varyingly engage with them at different times.

Overall, the participants of this study who did touch on the strand of progressive multilingualism—describing contexts in which Chinese English is acceptable—did so with ambivalence. That ambivalence toward Chinese English has been shown before in language research. Hou (2020), for example, explores Chinese ELF and its fraught road to hypothetical

future legitimacy. Hou writes that Chinese ELF "is an unstable non-system activity that facilitates linguistic communication rather than a concrete product, since what it focuses on is constantly altering and adjusted according to the context" (p. 356), and that both mainstream white monolingual society and Chinese people themselves create barriers to its widespread acceptance. Similarly, Pan (2019), researching Chinese university students' acceptance of Chinese English, found that the participants had both positive attitudes towards Chinese English, including pride in China's growing economic and political power and a desire for Chinese English's worldwide acceptance, but also hesitance to use Chinese English personally due to fear of judgment and their awareness that American and British English have higher status in most communities globally. What I have shown here adds to that conversation, revealing that, despite the plurality and plasticity of language ideologies, the dominant language ideology of aggressive monolingualism is the overriding one. There were few but meaningful deviations from this trend: Frank described evaluating language solely on its communicative potential, and Yiying described an overt progressively monolingual orientation, at least in her teaching. What accounts for this divergence? If aggressive monolingualism is such a powerful sociolinguistic force in the US, how can someone take a more or less overt stand against it?

In the next section, I will discuss the third language-ideological strand, economic pragmatism, and how it mediates between the first two strands. Throughout all of these conversations, as students articulated varying levels of acceptance of Chinese English as well as, usually, a strong drive to work towards more "nativelike" grammar, the demands of academia and the global labor market loomed. For many of the students, those demands were a primary catalyst in their goals and perspectives regarding English learning and also their language-ideological alignments. I will connect these ideas to propose that the three language-ideological

strands—aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism—exert a three-way pull on individuals, and I will propose the concepts of language-ideological convergence and divergence to explain differing dynamics between them.

3.3. Economic Pragmatism: Standardized Tests, Professionalism, and Career Goals

In assessing Chinese international students' language ideologies, it was helpful to identify when and how they became aware of English academic writing as a unique form of language. To strike at this information, preliminary questions in my interviews targeted their early educational experiences—namely, when and how each participant first was taught, learned about, or became familiar with English academic writing. These conversations consistently revolved around standardized testing—a language-evaluative practice that, I will show, quantifies and commodifies language-learning in economic terms. This early emphasis on language-based testing, along with students' conceptions of professionalization and career goals, make economic pragmatism a particularly potent language-ideological strand in that it drives much language evaluation, and it interfaces meaningfully with the other two strands of aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism.

To address the language-ideological significance of standardized testing, it is necessary first to discuss the various educational tracks a Chinese international student might take. Whether studying in China or the US, each of the students fell into one of three educational tracks, each with distinct emphases on standardized testing and language education.

First, the standard Chinese high school track aims at taking the *Gaokao*,[8] a grueling standardized test that determines students' college placement and major. Peter Wang, Ava Chen,

[8] 高考 - gāokǎo

Corey Zhao, Sofia Liu, and Yifeng Yang all fell into this category. All of them attended what is commonly referred to as "normal" high schools in China, and most of them decided to apply for US colleges (as opposed to sitting for the intense and stressful *Gaokao*) relatively late in their high school careers. These students attended English-language classes, but their content classes were typically taught in Chinese. When I asked students in this group how they had studied English academic writing before college, they almost exclusively talked about preparatory courses for standardized tests, which typically only provided surface-level, local instruction on grammar and lexicon. For example, when I asked Peter Wang how he first studied English academic writing, he said that it was in a *Gaokao*-preparatory class which mainly focused on memorizing "advanced vocabularies." When I asked Ava Chen the same question, she discussed her enrollment in a private test-preparatory company that focused on American examinations like the TOEFL[9] and the SAT,[10] which, she said, focused on "grammar and some of the sentence and give tons of the models, samples, questions to practice." Early on in these students' careers as academic writers, therefore, standardized testing took priority, often with rather local-level foci on grammar and lexicon.

The next group of students were on the study-abroad track in China, often in academic programs or international schools geared specifically for students who seek to study abroad rather than sit for the *Gaokao*. These schools or programs specifically prepared them for the international college-application process, an English-speaking environment, and western-style academics. They were Jodie Huang, David Luo, Vivian Wu, Jinglei Zheng, and Yiying Sun, all of whom enrolled in international schools with foreign English-speaking instructors and western-

[9] TOEFL – Test of English as a Foreign Language, an English-language test commonly required when international students apply for US colleges.
[10] SAT – The Scholastic Aptitude Test, an exam commonly required to apply for undergraduate programs in the US.

style courses (often using testing systems like the British A-Level exams). Just like the *Gaokao*-bound schools, these international programs also emphasized standardized testing. For example, I asked Jodie Huang, "When you were in your high school, did they teach you academic writing skills?" She replied, "Yeah, I have to take TOEFL test." Beyond that, her academic writing instruction was mainly literary analysis, of which she says, "the most readings that I've read, it's novels, like *The Kite Runner* and *The Hummingbird*, that kind of stuff. So not a lot about academic writings or research papers." I asked David Luo the same question about his international school in China, and he responded, "Yeah, 'cause, like, I remember at first I was taking IGCSE.[11]" Thus, for students at international high schools in China, similar to the students in normal Chinese high schools, a strong focus is on standardized testing, though the tests themselves are different.

The third educational track the participants enrolled in was the international high school track, i.e. going to the US for high school (or earlier) to enroll in school with a goal of eventually enrolling in a US college. Students on this track were Kai Li, Frank Yang, and Scarlett Li. When I asked these students what their initial instruction in English academic writing was like, they described more in-depth preparation for college-level academic writing in English than their China-based peers. Kai Li, for example, learned about MLA formatting, citations, and the five-paragraph essay. While his English instruction did touch on these core mechanics, he said, the "majority of the things are focused on the more content wise. You know, the teacher wants you to understand literature side of it, instead of the more technical side of it." So while the China-based students often described a rather skeletal curriculum for academic writing, based almost entirely on responding to perceived grammatical and lexical concerns in short-form standardized

[11] International General Certificate of Secondary Education – a UK-based college-preparatory testing system.

testing questions, Kai and the other US-based Chinese students did have more in-depth academic writing instruction. Interestingly, though, after that comment, Kai, too, transitioned into discussing standardized testing, saying,

> […] the real first chance I've got to read, like, learn about grammatical structure was when I was prepping for my SAT. […] And that was kind of the first time I got introduced to some of them more, like, how a comma's used, how a, you know, colon's used, whatever.

It struck me that for all of these students, whether they were based in the US or in China, a common go-to response when asked about studying English academic writing for the first time was to foreground standardized testing. The immediacy of this type of response suggested to me that, for them and their teachers, the primary goal for English academic writing was achieving a test score.

How does this emphasis on standardized testing matter for our understanding of Chinese international students' language ideologies? Heller and Duchêne's (2012) research into the intersecting discourses of nationalism, language learning, and profitability answers this question. They explore the concept that languages are tied inherently to conceptions of national identity. Heller and Duchêne argue that through two "tropes" within society, pride and profit, people have come to identify their own languages and cultures as something to be proud of, cementing ideas of nationalism, and often reifying hierarchies in those cultures. Next, there has been a subsequent global push to associate languages with profit—to see language learning as profitable, as a potentially saleable resource, and as a potentially valuable commodity on the international market.

The idea that language, and especially academic writing, is not just a linguistic or cognitive skill but also an economic commodity can be seen by many of them explicitly describing English academic writing and perceived grammaticality in terms of professionalism. As mentioned before, David Luo said that Chinese English is acceptable only in "not *professional*[12] or not really serious, like, content." Vivian Wu described her education at a Chinese international school in professional terms: "we [did] have, like, academic writing courses. […] but it's not so formal and *professional*[...]" Later, when I asked her what makes good academic writing, she said, "I feel like the most important factor is, will be the selection of the *professional* words." Jodie Huang, when I asked her to describe her academic writing ability, emphasized that "if I want to do some research […] I am not, like, I am not a *professional*." Scarlett Li, explaining the importance of having friends check over her writing, said that having grammatical "errors" in academic writing "would just show that you are *unprofessional*." And, as mentioned before, when Yiying Sun described the importance of avoiding perceived grammar errors in academic writing, she said, "it's important to be *professional*." Why this consistent repetition of the idea of professionalism in academic writing? This emphasis directly correlates with students' positioning within the economic pragmatism strand of language ideologies. In short, good academic writing is *professional*, almost certainly because the students are enrolled in college with future professional goals.

Standardized tests fit into the picture because they are a powerful means of language commodification, especially by allowing the quantification and regulation of language acquisition. Au (2011) argues that, in the US, language education was deeply influenced by scientific management techniques, which seek to apply data-driven, highly regulated, and

[12] All italicization in this paragraph is mine.

efficiency-focused techniques to any mode of production. These techniques, originally geared toward optimizing industrial processes, were pioneered by American engineer Frederick Taylor. Au shows how "Taylorism" has spilled over into education, and language education specifically. Most relevant, for me, is Au's argument that standardized testing in language teaching is a direct offspring of the "New Taylorism" in modern language teaching, an approach that treats students and teachers as data points, that seeks to regulate and control language teaching, that legitimizes and empowers those who succeed in standardized tests, and that excludes those who do not take the test.

Though focusing on the US educational system, Au's description of the effects of standardized testing is directly relevant to international college students and their experience of standardized tests. Just as Au argued, standardized testing is a way to regulate and quantify international students' language acquisition. On that topic, Heller and Duchêne (2012) argue that "Taylorizing talk […] allows us to think of language as something measurable, so that standardized benchmarks can be used in teaching and in the evaluation of communicative competence. We see such forms of measurement used in the standardized tests used for employee recruitment or assessment of job performance, or for immigration gatekeeping." Scientific management techniques can be seen as shaping language education elsewhere, too: in how universities now function like businesses, focused on optimization, revenue, marketing, and productivity (C. Luke, 2006), and in how language-teaching programs market themselves (Urla, 2012). In facilitating large-scale evaluation of language, then, standardized testing is also a language-ideological phenomenon. In this light, other language-ideological facets of standardized testing become clear: though standardized tests measure intelligence imperfectly (Walton & Spencer, 2009), they are still popularly assumed to indicate intelligence, reflecting the

emblematicity of language ideologies. In other words, one's linguistic abilities contribute to one's standardized test scores, which in turn contribute to the socially perceived qualities of intelligence or academic aptitude. Once again, one's language is taken as demonstrating their inherent qualities. The multi-scalar nature of language ideologies is also visible in standardized testing, as seen in Heller and Duchêne's (2012) reference to "immigration gatekeeping," i.e. standardized testing plays a role in nationalistic discourses of inclusion or inclusion, a concerning association between language testing, language discrimination, and citizenship that has been observed in other scholarship (e.g. Blackledge, 2005). Simply put, standardized testing acts as a tool in a larger language-ideological power structure, in which people's language is evaluated and commodified in high-stakes educational and professional contexts.

Overall, in this section, I have argued that the Chinese international students in my study demonstrated alignment with the language-ideological strand of economic pragmatism through their frequent references to standardized testing in the context of English academic writing, suggesting that, on the whole, their early exposure to English academic writing was in this strictly evaluative language-ideological context. Whether it was tests like the SAT or TOEFL within the US system, the IGCSE in the British system, or the *Gaokao* in the Chinese system, all of the students experienced linguistic pressure, especially in terms of sentence-level grammatical "correctness," towards "nativelike" grammatical writing. As I have shown, this emphasis on standardized testing is a function of the global commodification and Taylorization of language education, treating language learning, especially English, as an economic product.

In the conclusion below, I will tie these findings to my broader theoretical conception of language ideologies, developing questions about how the three language-ideological strands I

have explored here are connected and transmitted, questions that I will pursue in coming chapters.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have answered my first research question: How do Chinese international students articulate their own language ideologies, especially regarding what constitutes "good" or "bad" English academic writing? In doing so, I have described the results of my interviews with fourteen Chinese international students enrolled in a US college, and I have shown how their evaluative attitudes toward academic writing are bound tightly with three main strands of language ideologies—aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism. The students frequently oriented themselves (often out of necessity) toward aggressively monolingual language ideologies. Whether it was through the students' own belief in the importance of striving toward "nativelike" English (whether or not that is a linguistically feasible goal), through the strict standards they see in instructors' assessment, or through the perceived campus-wide preference for "nativelike" US English over other languages or other varieties of English, the students almost universally articulated their idea of "good" academic writing in an aggressively monolingual way. Ava Chen, for example, explained how Chinese English is "not so welcome"; Peter Wang showed how the US context and specifically proximity to white listeners requires the use of English only as the "official" language of the US; Corey Zhao wanted to come as close as possible to "the native speakers' level"; and Yifeng Yang stated that people should write using the "standard list of rules" for grammar. In manifold instances, the students I interviewed explained how they must adhere to strict linguistic standards and always be working towards more grammatically "nativelike" English in their academic writing.

Very often, students' articulation of aggressively monolingual language ideologies came in the same breath as the economic pragmatism and progressive multilingualism strands of language ideologies. For example, Scarlett Li made sure never to submit a paper without having a friend check the grammar (aggressive monolingualism) to avoid appearing unprofessional (economic pragmatism). David Luo described how language is a "tool," and that Chinese English may be acceptable in some contexts (progressive multilingualism), but Chinese English should be avoided in "professional" contexts (economic pragmatism; aggressive monolingualism). Sofia Liu evaluated Chinese English as neither positive nor negative, saying that it is in "the middle ground" (progressive multilingualism), but she went on to describe her goal of always working on her grammar (aggressive monolingualism). Vivian Wu described the difficulty of striving for "correct" grammar in her academic writing (aggressive monolingualism), but expressed dissatisfaction that her education over-emphasized grammar and deprioritized professional skills like communication and collaboration (economic pragmatism). Jodie Huang conceded that one can use Chinese English for a Chinese audience (progressive multilingualism), but did not think writing with Chinese English is "a good choice" (aggressive monolingualism). Yiying Sun embraced language variation among her students (progressive multilingualism) as part of her professional training as an elementary education major (economic pragmatism), but did not permit herself that same luxury when writing in academic/professional contexts (aggressive monolingualism). These findings strongly reinforce the idea that language ideologies are always plural and plastic, even within a single individual. People can apply them differently in different contexts, fluidly emphasizing one or another as needed. However, the evaluative, emblematic, self-naturalizing, implicit, and multi-scalar qualities of language

ideologies seem to override the possibility for flexibility in people's languaging or respite from strict language-based assessment, with aggressive monolingualism frequently coming out on top.

At this point, it may be tempting to collapse two of my proposed language-ideological strands—aggressive monolingualism and economic pragmatism—into a single strand, given that they seem to function similarly. Indeed, throughout this chapter, the two strands have overlapped: a significant source of aggressively monolingual pressure for students was the job market and its imputed linguistic requirements. However, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, the relationship between economic pragmatism and the other two language-ideological strands is not so simple. Where they are aligned here, and where the Taylorizing and evaluative aspects of standardized testing seem to be fully in line with strictly evaluative and purist conceptions of language, that is not always the case. To explore these concerns, in Chapter 3, I will turn to other campus community members—people with whom these 14 Chinese international students discuss English academic writing—to answer my second research question. Perhaps unsurprisingly, I will show how these community members, too, exist in a tangled web of language ideologies, and, in an effort to understand that intertwinement, I will offer the twin concepts of language-ideological convergence and divergence, which are part of a set of new theoretical tools for the analysis of language-ideology transmission in specific contexts that I will propose throughout Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 3

Potential Language-Ideological Influencers: Campus Community Members' Language Ideologies Regarding English Academic Writing

1. Introduction

In Chapter 2, I described the first phase of this dissertation's data collection, reporting on how the perspectives of the fourteen Chinese international students I interviewed align themselves to different language-ideological threads: aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism. I described how the students often felt the pull of multiple threads at the same time, with aggressive monolingualism (language ideologies that stress linguistic purism) and economic pragmatism (language ideologies prioritizing marketability of language) often overlapping and dominating students' language-evaluative attitudes, and with progressive multilingualism (language ideologies that accept or promote multilingualism and variation) permitted only in tightly constrained settings.

In this chapter, expanding on the idea that people experience multiple, often competing language-ideological pulls, I shift my focus to the second phase of data collection, reporting on the interviews I held with campus community members with whom the Phase 1 participants said they discussed academic writing. Like the Chinese international students in the previous chapter, these writing-adjacent campus community members also articulated the conflicting pull of multiple language ideologies, and the same core aspects of language ideologies (their evaluative, emblematic, self-naturalizing, implicit, plural, plastic, and multi-scalar nature) are visible in these individuals' language-evaluative attitudes too. Generally, the campus community members displayed a language-ideological tug-of-war between aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism, with occasional references to economic pragmatism as a motivator

and justification for assessing students' language in different ways. Where aggressive monolingualism generally overlapped with economic pragmatism in the previous chapter—i.e. the Chinese international students touched on professional concerns as motivators for "improving" their English—that pattern becomes more complicated in this chapter. I will show that, at times, economic pragmatism can pull in the same direction as progressive multilingualism. In other words, if a person's academic and professional goals permit it, they might embrace progressive multilingualism, accept language variation, and deprioritize the linguistic purism and critically evaluative aspects of aggressive monolingualism—although, for everyone on campus, I will argue that aggressive monolingualism is never totally absent.

To conceptualize the varying pull of the three strands of language ideologies, I will theorize the concept of language-ideological convergence and divergence to describe when language ideologies are in harmony (e.g., as we saw before, when David Luo said that Chinese English should be avoided in "professional" contexts, aligning aggressive monolingualism and economic pragmatism) or in conflict (e.g., as we saw before, how Yiying Sun valued multilingualism in the context of her elementary education training but valued linguistic purism when doing academic writing herself, pitting aggressive monolingualism against progressive multilingualism). Exploring the concepts of language-ideological convergence and divergence, I will offer a model for the three-way pull of language ideologies and discuss how economic pragmatism serves as a mediator between aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. In this analysis, I will build toward my ultimate goal in the following chapters of identifying how and when language ideologies are transmitted on campus, and to what effect.

2. Meet the Participants (Phase 2: Campus Community Members)

The seventeen campus community members I interviewed had a range of ages, nationalities, levels of education, and backgrounds. (See Table 2 in Chapter 1.) Fourteen were from the US, one from Canada, one from India, one from Iran, one from Poland, one from Sri Lanka, and one from Switzerland. The youngest was in their twenties; the oldest were in their sixties. One of the participants used the pronouns they/them; eight of them used she/her; and eight of them used he/him. Their positions within the university when they had contact with the Phase 1 participants were as follows: an art history instructor; a business English instructor; seven ESL instructors; a literature instructor; and six writing center instructors. Their highest education levels range from bachelor's degrees to PhDs, with all of them having completed at least some higher education within the US, whether for their current areas of study or for previously completed graduate school. They held various positions within the university: eight were graduate teaching assistants (TAs), one was a faculty associate, one was a lecturer, two were senior lecturers, four were teaching faculty, and one was a teaching specialist.

In the sections below, I will unpack how these campus community members described their perspectives on language evaluation: what, for them, is "good" academic writing, and why? This question was especially important to me since most of the campus community members I interviewed serve as instructors at the university, so their stance and evaluative approach have direct bearing in the Chinese international students' experiences with academic writing, with evaluations often communicated in the high-stakes format of letter grades. In presenting my analysis, I will break down my analysis by the different categories of campus community members I interviewed. The three categories are ESL instructors, Writing Center instructors, and

instructors in other programs at the university (namely Art History, Business, Economics, and English).

3. Language-Ideological Tug-of-War: What to Evaluate, and Why

3.1. English as a Second Language Instructors

When I asked the Phase 1 Chinese international students to name people with whom they discussed academic writing, their first responses were often their current or former ESL instructors at the university. I was able to contact and interview six of those instructors. They were four Americans (Livia, Megan, Molly, and Naomi), one Canadian (Abigail), and one Iranian (Hossein[13]). At the time when they were teaching the Chinese international students of Phase 1, they all held Master's degrees in different language-related fields: Hossein's Master's degree was in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL[14]); Naomi and Molly both held Master's degrees in ESL; Megan's Master's degree was in science in curriculum and instruction; Abigail, Livia, and Charles all held Master's degrees in applied linguistics. All of them had some kind of experience living outside of the US: Hossein was born in Iran and moved to the US for graduate school; Abigail was born in Canada and now lived and worked in the US; the other

[13] Being unfamiliar with Iranian names, I asked Hossein to choose his pseudonym, and he had a very specific reasoning for which name he chose. In an email in October of 2022, he explained this choice to me:

> [L]et's do **Hossein Ronaghi**, he's an Iranian blogger, right now being tortured in jail by the murderous regime of Iran as we speak (or write). You might know that for the past 40 days, Iran has been the scene of courageous protests and violent and cowardly crackdown; I thought about a few names including those who lost their lives in these days, then I thought why not pick the name of someone who is still alive and courageously fighting.

In solidarity with the protesters in Iran, and with my study participant Hossein's consent, I am including his explanation for his pseudonym here, with a sincere hope for the end to the violence and the liberation of Iran's citizens.

[14] Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) focuses on teaching the English in a context where it is the dominant language, e.g. teaching English within the US, whereas Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) focuses on teaching students English in a context where it is non-dominant, e.g. teaching English in China.

instructors had variously lived and taught in a variety of Asian countries, including China, Japan, and Korea.

The ESL program at this university heavily focused on academic writing, with the goal of preparing multilingual students for the linguistic and compositional requirements of their academic majors. The writing curriculum within the ESL program comprised three levels, which I will refer to as ESL Composition 1, 2, and 3. Composition 1 focused on reading comprehension, paraphrasing, and the basic structure of academic writing. Composition 2 was somewhat more demanding, with the students completing more heavily source-based and independent writing projects. Finally, Composition 3 required multiple independent writing projects, heavily based in reading, summarizing, and citing scholarly journal articles and argumentation. Composition 3 satisfied one of two communication requirements all undergraduate students fulfilled to graduate, equivalent to the composition course in the Department of English that domestic students took. At the time of a student's enrollment, the Office of Admissions determined whether students were classified as "native" or "non-native" English speakers, based on their background and the language of their schooling. Students classified as "non-native" were required to take a language test to determine whether or not they were exempt from taking ESL classes. Finally, students were tested by the ESL program to determine which class they should start at, after which they proceeded sequentially. For example, if a student tested into ESL Composition 2, they would have to complete that course and then Composition 3 to satisfy their communication requirement before graduation.

As with the Chinese international students in Phase 1, my conversations with the ESL instructors often focused on what constitutes "good" academic writing. To strike at their language-ideological alignments, I would ask them specifically how "grammar or style" mattered

in their classes, hoping to understand to what extent they evaluated students on adherence to strictly "nativelike" language norms in their academic writing. (I should note that, in such discussions about "grammar," in this context, there is inherent language-ideological baggage. The instructors and I all used the word "grammar" to identify not just any grammar, but specifically the "standard" [read: white, educated, middle- to upper-class] English of the US. I would reiterate here that this ideation of grammar is limited and flawed, missing the extreme breadth of variation even just within academic English itself, let alone language variation globally. For that reason, in this analysis, I will continue using terms like "perceived grammaticality" to stress the subjectivity of such grammar-based evaluations.) Their responses revealed a careful attention to the issue of language evaluation: each of them had developed an individualized sense of how, when, and why to comment on a variety of different perceived issues in student's writing, from very fine-grained grammatical elements all the way up to broad concerns like argument. From a language-ideological perspective, my analysis revealed all of them negotiating between the conflicting language-ideological strands of aggressive[15] monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. (For a more in-depth description of how I determined this categorization, see 2.4 in Chapter 1.)

Demonstrating this language-ideological negotiation, Abigail—in her sixties, a senior lecturer in the ESL program at the time when she interacted with a Phase 1 participant—deemphasized perceived grammaticality in her class in lieu of larger meaning-making compositional elements. In her class, "grammar and style" were relatively minor concerns, she said. For instance, her class included "some fun activities with academic style," like a passage

[15] A note on terminology: when I write that a person aligns themself with aggressive monolingualism or progressive multilingualism, I do not mean that they themselves are necessarily "aggressive" or "progressive." This terminology is not intended to criticize individuals, but to emphasize the qualities of large-scale shared sociolinguistic constructs that we all are forced to engage with.

"full of informal [language], you know, with proverbs and sayings," which her students had to identify. Regarding "grammar," though, she said, "not so much." She limited her grammatical focus to a few specific perceived grammatical concerns. "You know, like watch your verb tenses or, or teaching them what verb tense is appropriate for citation, or—but I didn't do grammar classes. I don't think anybody [in the university's ESL writing classes] does grammar classes[…]" In other words, for Abigail, there were not strict requirements for the type of style or grammar that her students used when writing for her class. She did expect some level of proofreading, especially on later drafts ("on the, on a final draft, […] it wouldn't be riddled with grammar errors"), but her focus was largely on a student's ideas and whether they were communicated clearly. For Abigail, writing would be acceptable for her if "[the student's] ideas are still crystal clear and compelling and interesting, even though there are these flaws." Rather, she described how she evaluated her students' writing "holistically," focusing, according to her, on compositional elements like "argument," "thesis," "evidence," and "logic." Only after addressing these "holistic" elements, she said, would she discuss perceived grammatical concerns. For Abigail, grammar was a second- or third-order concern, perhaps even the last priority for her when she was assessing students' writing, and "crystal clear" ideas took center stage.

In emphasizing meaning-making over all other factors in a student's writing, Abigail demonstrated an alignment to progressive multilingualism. Her assessment style mirrors a common piece of advice within writing centers and composition studies: to give feedback on "global," "higher order," and more impactful concerns like argument and organization, not just "local," "lower order" ones like grammar and word choice (Winder et al., 2016). Concern for giving multilingual students feedback on both global and local aspects of writing has been

expressed before (e.g. Min, 2005; van den Bos & Tan, 2019), including in the context of translanguaging research: for example, Espinosa et al. (2016) recommend allowing students a range of brainstorming and meaning-making methods in different modalities over strictly linguistic assessment. This type of advice has begun to get traction in both ESL programs and writing centers: for example, in a blog post written primarily for a writing center audience, ESL instructor and applied linguist Best (2019, 2020) argues that "faculty in all disciplines" can support multilingual students in a variety of ways, like focusing on global concerns over local, and then only identifying local concerns that hinder meaning. Thus, by focusing on meaning-making first and language assessment only when it hinders meaning-making, Abigail aligns herself within theoretical and pedagogical trends that explicitly seek to support multilingual students. Far from upholding rigid or restrictive language-evaluative standards as within aggressive monolingualism, she allows for linguistic variation, a touchstone of progressive multilingualism. In minor ways, though, we can still see aggressive monolingualism in her language evaluation—for example, she refers to grammatical variation as "flaws," a negatively evaluative term signaling that she, too, experiences the pull of aggressive monolingualism.

The other ESL instructors, like Abigail, revealed that they also experienced the pull of both aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. However, all of them demonstrated slightly different relative alignments with those two language-ideological strands. Megan, a senior lecturer in the ESL program, also in her sixties, described "good" academic writing in similar terms as Abigail, pointing to qualities like word choice, paraphrasing and summarizing, organization, and clear logic as important in academic writing. In the simplest terms, for her, she said that "good" academic writing is "clear and persuasive." In her explanation for her language-evaluative standards, she did not explicitly prioritize any one of

those concerns, but rather emphasized how each one, including her understanding of grammaticality, must fall in line with her overriding concerns of clarity and persuasiveness. “It all leads to meaning,” she said, referring to all these different compositional elements, including word choice and grammar. Like Abigail, then, Megan’s assessment of grammaticality is in service of meaning. She did not, by any means, emphasize any of the overt aggressively monolingual evaluations of language—e.g. that “correct” grammar is a sign of intelligence. Nor did she signal an extreme form of progressive multilingualism, which one might do through an explicit refusal to comment on perceived grammaticality at all. Overall, Megan fell somewhere between the two extremes of aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism.

Like Abigail and Megan, Charles, a teaching faculty in the ESL program, also in his sixties, articulated a similar emphasis on meaning and clear communication over all other concerns, and thus positioned himself somewhere between extremes of aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. He explained that he did “address grammar” in his teaching, since, for him, “the goal in your writing is no one has a question about what you’re trying to say. They may question your conclusions, but your goal is that they understand exactly what you’re saying, and grammar is a, a sort of servant of that.” Similar to Abigail and Megan, Charles prioritized the students’ communicative ability and argument over other concerns.

Though these three instructors revealed a similar two-way pull between aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism, their language-evaluative perspectives reveal differing levels of alignment to those two strands. All of them to some extent acknowledged the significance of grammar in conveying meaning, and by extension the relevance of grammar for their instruction, but they differed in the extent to which they targeted, assessed, and taught their perceived grammatical concerns. Abigail, as we saw, addressed grammar only after addressing a

wide range of other higher-order concerns, and moreover signaled very low engagement with perceived grammatical concerns in class or in feedback, as long as students' ideas are "crystal clear." Charles, contrarily, demonstrated that he paid rather close attention to grammar and put quite a bit of time into giving students grammar-based feedback. We were talking about how some instructors strictly assess grammar whereas others ignore it entirely, and Charles told me, "[…] well, I'm somewhere in the middle. The people who say we shouldn't look at grammar at all, even if the meaning is clear, I guess I agree." However, according to him, "Sometimes [grammar]'s crucial." Illustrating this point, he discussed how the absence of grammatical articles like *a* and *the* (a commonly observed feature of Chinese English; Albrecht, 2021; Robertson, 2000), though seemingly minor, can affect meaning, e.g. by signaling whether a noun phrase is a new entity or item within a text or whether it has been referenced earlier. "If the meaning is clear," he concluded, "yeah, I don't worry. But if there's any question, if there's any chance of ambiguity, as I said, you don't want anyone to wonder what you're writing about." Thus, the ESL instructors' language-ideological alignments reveal subtle but relevant differences. Charles, we can see, took a fine-grained approach to reading, interpreting and assessing students' grammatical choices. Where many instructors—including some of the ESL instructors I interviewed—would skip over a seemingly small-scale error like a missing article, he would address it with a student. How can this difference be understood in language-ideological terms? It is helpful to come back to the core qualities of language ideologies I identified in Chapter 1. Indeed, the ESL instructors' pedagogical approaches align with the idea that language ideologies are evaluative. And, as with the Chinese international students I discussed in Chapter 2, the ESL instructors' language-evaluative perspectives demonstrate the plurality and plasticity of language ideologies: they could dynamically engage with the

linguistically conformist pressures of aggressive monolingualism to some extent, but then contrarily engage with the linguistic acceptance of progressive multilingualism on the other, for their own reasons, in their own ways.

None of the ESL instructors demonstrated this plasticity and plurality more explicitly than Molly, a 62-year-old senior lecturer in the ESL program, who described a variable level of focus on local concerns based on a student's goals. To illustrate how she gives personalized feedback to different students, Molly told me a story about a "really smart" student triple-majoring in three different STEM fields who, when Molly notified her of grammar features that Molly saw as errors, successfully corrected them in her writing. One of the reasons for Molly's grammar-focused feedback was based on the student's professional goals: "if she's gonna be successful and get into grad school, and you know, publish papers, she needs to be better than that." For other students, though, Molly might deprioritize grammar in their writing. She explained that if a student in her ESL class were majoring in mathematics, "and, you know, [if] their grammar isn't great, but they're using it to think, let the grammar go. […] Because for that student, they're not going to be expressing themselves in words much anyway as they go forward in life." Rather than applying a one-size-fits-all grading approach, she would first take into account what linguistic needs a student might have in their future career, and then she would base her feedback on that. Strict language requirements were by no means the norm in her class, but rather could be applied when the situation and a student's prospective trajectory called for it. And when a student's academic or professional goals suggested a low emphasis on "nativelike" grammar, Molly was content to let those issues go, largely aligning herself with progressive multilingualism.

The remaining three ESL instructors all demonstrated similar focuses on meaning and communication over "nativelike" language in their academic writing. Hossein, a graduate teaching assistant from Iran, in his thirties, said that "as I could understand what was going on, so grammar wasn't kind of blocking my understanding, or my comprehension of the text, it was okay." He did make comments on perceived grammatical issues in his students' writing, but just "because that was the expectation, students' expectations," not because of his own personal beliefs. Though "grammar" was mentioned on the course rubric, he said, "we would take points off [for grammar], but I wouldn't, I wouldn't ding them very harshly for that." Livia, a teaching faculty in the ESL program, also in her thirties, expressed a similar perspective. She described pointing out local concerns like "subject-verb agreement issues," but, as opposed to seeing the program as grammar-focused, said, "overall I view our role [as ESL teachers] as teaching academic writing, which is research and organization and critical thinking," as opposed to teaching some conception of "standard" grammar. Finally, Naomi, an ESL lecturer in her fifties, explained, that she would "direct [students'] attention to [a perceived grammar issue] but not penalize them for it, like with your grades or something like that." Thus, I would characterize all of their language-ideological alignments as broadly progressively monolingual, with gestures toward aggressive monolingualism when they saw it as instructionally necessary.

All six of these instructors, in this way, demonstrated a similar balancing act between aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. Through encouraging students to fix perceived grammar errors, all six of them were in partial alignment with aggressively monolingual language ideologies. However, in their permissiveness towards nonstandard English, in allowing linguistic deviance from the norms of "standard" US English when it did not impinge on meaning-making, the instructors demonstrated an arguably much stronger alignment

to progressive multilingualism. They clearly did not see white American English as the inevitable or necessary norm; rather, they appeared to accept the plurality of English, though the instructors differed in how fine-grained a student's grammatical sensitivities need to be in order to communicate clearly.

While walking the tightrope between aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism, many of the ESL instructors also revealed alignment to the thread of economic pragmatism. For example, Charles, providing another reason for why he gave feedback on perceived grammar errors in his ESL class, said, "I'm serving my clients, who are hoping to come out of [their undergraduate education] with a sort of, a credential." His reference to credentials, in this context, likely refers to the diploma that students receive upon graduating, which bestows certain privileges on students, often in terms of professional opportunities. In Charles's conception, his class plays a role in the students' future academic and, eventually, professional success, a clear alignment to the economic pragmatism thread of language ideologies. In this way, Charles's understanding that an ESL instructor plays a role in a student's future professional trajectory mirrors Molly's, when she described the importance of pushing her "really smart" STEM major student to improve perceived grammatical issues in support of her future graduate studies and publishing. Abigail articulated a similar idea, saying that graduate students in her class needed to pay special attention to grammar: "that's sort of something that students may need to figure out, especially grad students, what's expected in their department, and especially if they want to publish"—again, a reference to professional goals that implicates economic pragmatism. In all of these examples, the outcomes of economically pragmatic and aggressively monolingual alignments are roughly the same: they both create pressure for linguistic conformity. There is one noteworthy exception to this trend, however, in which an

instructor's articulation of economic pragmatism stands in stark contrast to aggressive monolingualism. In Molly's flexibility in responding to a student's career goals, we can see the possibility that economic pragmatism might pull in the same direction as progressive multilingualism. In other words, if a student's long-term professional goals are in a non-writing-heavy field—i.e. when the economically pragmatic choice would *not* be to exert a great deal of time and energy striving toward the nebulous goal of more "nativelike" English—then economic pragmatism can align with progressive multilingualism.

Throughout my analysis of these ESL instructors' language-evaluative practices, a language-ideological lens has been helpful in unpacking and understanding the effects and implications of their teaching. As in the previous chapter, the plasticity and plurality of language ideologies are apparent, in that everyone in this section has the ability to engage with or push back against different language ideologies. A person's language-ideological alignment is never monolithic or unchanging: they can emphasize the importance of strict language assessment in some contexts (e.g. when Charles emphasized the importance of strict, fine-grained language assessment) and express acceptance of multilingual students' diverse Englishes in another context (e.g. when Abigail said she did not spend much time on perceived grammaticality in her class, focusing instead on higher-order concerns). Plurality and plasticity are also visible in how people variably bow to economic pragmatism, using economic terms to justify or to reject strict language assessment.

Building on this analysis, in the next section, I will show how similarly complex and conflicting language-ideological effects are operative on and through the language evaluations of Writing Center instructors, especially how they negotiate between their own personally held

language ideologies and the language-ideological demands of their students and other instructors at the university.

3.2. Writing Center Instructors

After ESL instructors, Writing Center instructors were the most commonly mentioned campus community members with whom the Phase 1 Chinese international students discussed academic writing. Universities around the world have writing centers: intra-collegiate institutions whose purpose is to provide feedback on students' academic writing. Often, writing centers are staffed by graduate student tutors; such is the case in this university's Writing Center, where the graduate students are classified as graduate teaching assistants. Undergraduate and graduate students at the university are able to schedule free, one-on-one writing-instruction sessions with a Writing Center instructor, during which they can discuss a specific assignment's requirements, read through the student's draft together, and discuss possible improvements the student can make.

When I was interviewing the Chinese international students in Phase 1 of my data collection, they were often unable to remember a particular Writing Center tutor's name, as they usually only had one-time meetings. Ultimately, I was able to contact and secure interviews with five of those Writing Center instructors: four American instructors (Cal, Evan, Tony, and Aiden), one Sri Lankan instructor (Maala), and one Indian instructor (Daisy). Their age range at time of interview was between 25 (Daisy) and 35 (Aiden). When teaching in the Writing Center, all of them were enrolled in PhD programs. Cal was enrolled in the Social Welfare program in the School of Social Work. Daisy, Tony, and Maala were enrolled in the Literature program in the

Department of English. Evan and Aiden were enrolled in the Composition and Rhetoric program, also in the Department of English.

The experiences of Tony, a 31-year-old American Writing Center instructor, are a useful starting point here, since his position on language evaluation and the importance of "nativelike" grammar is a fair representation of the other Writing Center instructors I spoke to. I asked him, "For you, how does, like, grammatical correctness matter in academic writing?" He replied, with a laugh, "I don't really think it does very much." He clarified by saying that he would, at times, address perceived grammaticality in Writing Center sessions, since "excessive grammatical errors [make] it hard to understand what a sentence means." When students brought perceived grammatical concerns to Writing Center sessions with Tony—a common occurrence, according to him—he would try to identify "patterns" and "repeating problems" in grammar to discuss with them. While a focus on grammatical "correctness" suggests at least a minor alignment with aggressive monolingualism, he added nuance to that evaluative stance, saying, "But my sense is that, like, nobody really knows grammar rules that well. […] And I think that, like, there's no point trying to adhere to a bunch of rules that, like, nobody agrees on." In short, Tony revealed a belief that language should not be seen as an impediment to understanding nor as a precondition for one's academic writing—a clear language-ideological alignment with progressive multilingualism.

Also signaling alignment with progressive multilingualism, the other Writing Center instructors stressed clarity over evaluating grammar for its own sake. For example, when I asked Cal what constitutes "good" academic writing, they said, "what is, like, good writing is, like, are you clearly […] communicating your ideas?" When Cal did provide feedback on perceived grammatical issues to multilingual students, they structured that feedback solely around

improving their reader's understanding. For example, they said they would give feedback like, "Hey, […] this sentence doesn't quite have a, have a clear subject. Who are you talking about here?" Similarly, in talking to a multilingual student about passive voice or long sentences, they would "really emphasiz[e] that, like, we want these to be intentional choices." The overriding goal when making such choices, they stressed, was "making sure we don't lose people somewhere in that giant sentence." Overall, Cal's approach to perceived grammaticality is one that foregrounded the reader's experience, improving clarity. Rather than criticizing a multilingual students' grammatical variation, Cal's focus on clarity and intentionality would be applicable to any student-writer, regardless of language background. The decision to use or avoid the passive voice, for example, is a linguistically complex one regardless of one's language background (Hundt et al., 2021; Hyland, 2002; Rundblad, 2007). In other words, Cal's concerns about perceived grammaticality do not center multilingual English speakers' issues (however one might conceive those) specifically, but the concerns any academic writer must wrestle with. Again, in emphasizing clarity over other concerns, and by demonstrating acceptance of linguistic diversity, Cal aligns themself with progressive multilingualism.

The story was similar for the other Writing Center instructors: a focus on perceived grammaticality when it impedes meaning, but a progressively multilingual acceptance of language variation beyond that. Daisy, a 25-year-old Writing Center instructor from India, explained that she might discuss grammatical distinctions like the difference between *a* and *the*, but she said, "it's fine if [students] make that mistake, versus bigger mistakes. I think, in terms of tenses, sometimes if you use like, future perfect instead of, like, past or something that completely changes the meaning of the sentence." Similarly emphasizing meaning, Evan, a 31-year-old American Writing Center instructor, explained how he sought "[…] to avoid, like, an

obsession over, like, prepositions and, like, article usage, things like that […] But then things like […] subject-verb agreement [and] lexical issues, they're sort of issues that can potentially interfere with meaning." Maala, a 33-year-old Sri Lankan Writing Center instructor, had a similar perspective, pointing out that she had never received training on grammar-based feedback specifically, and also that, within the tight constraints of a 45-minute conference, there was often insufficient time to discuss perceived grammaticality. She described taking "a holistic" perspective on feedback (echoing the ESL instructor Abigail, who also advocated for "holistic" assessment), then, since "It's all integrated"—in other words, like the other instructors, she might give grammar-based feedback, not as an end in itself, but when it contributed to an essay's larger communicative goals. Aiden, a 35-year-old American Writing Center instructor, stressed that the end product of writing was less important to him than "giving students opportunities to practice in a variety of genres" and "opportunities to be amateurs"—but that "If a student asked for feedback on grammar/punctuation, I would give deep, comprehensive feedback on grammar/punctuation on a text they provided." All of these instructors, in a variety of ways, expressed that, for them, perceived grammaticality was a worthwhile subject of conversation in Writing Center conferences, but by no means was it the most important thing. This deemphasis of grammatical adherence to some assumed "standard" within academia and the overall acceptance of multilingual students' varied Englishes signal an alignment with progressive multilingualism for all of these instructors.

Though their personal language-ideological alignments were toward progressive multilingualism, the story did not end there. For them, perceived grammaticality mattered less than the overall message conveyed by a student's writing. In this sense, the evaluative quality of language ideologies is apparent—given that language ideologies construct people's

understanding of what "good" or "bad" language is, we can see that the Writing Center instructors' evaluations of student writing were specifically focused to a certain type of meaning-making. Given the types of evaluation promulgated by this particular brand of progressive multilingualism, then—if an instructor in the Writing Center had bigger fish to fry than fine-grained grammatical nuances, especially within a time limit—would it not be better in most cases to focus wholly on big-picture concerns like argumentation, utilizing sources, and analysis? Though the Writing Center instructors themselves articulated progressive multilingualism, their instruction was shaped by strong language-ideological influences external to the Writing Center: the aggressively monolingual pressure that instructors across the university put on multilingual students, directly or indirectly, to "fix" their grammar, which often caused those multilingual students to seek out the Writing Center in the first place.

Throughout my interviews with the Writing Center instructors, the aggressively monolingual demands of other instructors outside of the Writing Center loomed, shaped multilingual students' goals and expectations, and directly affected how the Writing Center instructors approached their conferences. Tony, for example, told me that he had recently worked with a student whose instructor had told them, "[…] this needs quite a bit of work in terms of, like, correcting grammar errors and typos." Tony read the essay with the student, he told me, and "[…] we went through it, and I found, like, three comma splices and that was, like, the extent of […] the grammar trouble […]" He said that often instructors would tell his students, "You need this proofread" or "You need to go get feedback on your grammar." Questioning these criticisms, Tony said, "And it's like, okay, well, what do you mean? [...] Like, 'What, what, what specifically do you see me having trouble with?' I think that instructors often are so vague when they give that kind of feedback." Tony's description of how instructors give language-evaluative

feedback to multilingual students suggests that, while Tony himself had a clear set of language-ideological standards, namely an acceptance of multilingual Englishes, in his work he found himself facing off against directly opposing language ideologies. He helped multilingual students deal with feedback from other instructors who, in their criticism of multilingual students' grammar, signaled alignment to aggressive monolingualism. Tony saw the opposing camp in an extremely negative light: "[…] to me, [other instructors' criticism of multilingual students' grammar] signals often, like, a degree of possibly neglect and, like, possibly even worse, just like straight-up bias." In quite explicit terms, then, Tony highlighted the discriminatory potential of aggressively monolingual language evaluations in university contexts.

Tony was not alone in revealing the aggressively monolingual tenor of many instructors' language-evaluative comments to students who ended up visiting the Writing Center. Daisy, for example, told me that she often met multilingual students in the Writing Center who would tell her "that they feel not as confident about their writing, or feel like they're doing something wrong, but then I read their writing and it's really beautiful […]" She reflected on how many campus community members give language-based criticism to students:

> […] when TAs are asked to grade something, they're like, you know, they can't help but, I guess, point out these mistakes, grammar mistakes, or whatever. […] they just, you know, point out the mistakes and refer the student to the Writing Center and don't realize how much it affects the students in the process.

Tony also touched on that same effect, saying, "I just see so often that [multilingual] students come in here feeling such a lack of confidence, feeling so sort of, like, singled out and, and just kind of dejected about their work and they have, and they, then they present you with really good work." In this way, the Writing Center instructors' progressively monolingual language

ideologies, their broad acceptance of language variation and their general focus on clarity, came into direct conflict with other university instructors, who articulated aggressive monolingualism in their strict criticisms of multilingual students' language. As both Daisy and Tony noted, multilingual students might be producing quite clear and effective compositions, from a perspective that focuses mainly on meaning. But from an aggressively monolingual language-evaluative stance, meaning alone is not sufficient: strict adherence to a perceived "standard" in language is also necessary for a piece of writing to succeed.

Of all the Writing Center instructors, it was perhaps Cal who most comprehensively tied together these various competing issues relevant to language evaluation, instructor feedback, and the way conflicting language ideologies pull at Writing Center instructors. As we discussed working with multilingual students, Cal explained,

> I worked with a number of […] students who are from China, and who wanted me to, like, check their grammar, wanted me to check their structure, like, to, like, make sure that their papers were good. So thinking about, like, how do I support these students in like, passing their classes, because their professors are going to have, like, specific standards that they're looking for. And often we would look at the rubrics together. It was, they're such short sessions, so I would try to get as much information as I could. But look at the rubric, we'll talk about like, what, do they know what their, like, professor is expecting? Or based on other feedback they've gotten, what kinds of things they'll be looking for in that person's writing. With, so like, trying to balance that with the, like, what I believe like, there is no like one like, right way to write.

In Cal's description of Writing Center work, they clearly depicted the tension a Writing Center instructor faces. On the one hand, they said, "there is no […] one […] right way to write," showing an alignment with progressive multilingualism by accepting plurality and variation in language and in academic writing. But on the other, they experienced aggressive monolingualism indirectly in their students' professors' requirements, often as articulated by rubrics. Making the implicit discriminatory potential of writing assessment fully explicit, Cal explained how they sought to help students "pass [their] classes based on these standards that [their] professor might have that, like, may or may not be, like, rooted in white supremacy[.]" This latter point, about white supremacy, is a language-ideologically loaded one. As scholars in raciolinguistics have argued, the naturalizing link between race, language, and a person's perceived inherent qualities is particularly powerful, especially in the US university context (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Overall, this analysis shows Writing Center instructors stuck between a rock and a hard place. Given their druthers, they would focus mainly on meaning, and that was often the main focus of their instruction during Writing Center conferences—but concurrently, they also felt the pressure to include fine-grained grammatical feedback to appease strict and potentially biased language evaluations from other instructors, which was challenging due to time constraints and lack of grammar-instructional training.

Throughout these interviews, in revealing these deep-seated power disparities enacted through language evaluation and the ways individuals grapple with those disparities, language ideologies have been an effective analytical tool. We have seen the power of language ideologies to tie into broader sociolinguistic trends (multi-scalarity) to enact acts of representational, self-justifying discrimination (emblematicity and self-naturalization), often without a person even knowing about it (implicitness), demonstrating once again how powerful and harmful they can

be to multilingual students, especially students of color. And, once again, we saw writing-adjacent instructors struggling to negotiate the push and pull of conflicting language ideologies. The Writing Center instructors, by demonstrating their acceptance of language variety and their willingness to accommodate a wide range of linguistic norms, signaled alignment with progressive multilingualism. But when their students brought strictly evaluative language feedback from other instructors, the Writing Center instructors were caught in a language-ideological tension: to reject that feedback was likely more in line with their own beliefs about language assessment, but would do their students no help to, as Cal said, "pass their classes." But by directly engaging with instructor feedback, they risked unintentionally countenancing those language-evaluative norms, tacitly endorsing that feedback and aggressive monolingualism. Writing Center instructors could, potentially, directly resist aggressive monolingualism by having language-ideologically explicit conversations with students, critiquing the hierarchies behind strict language-evaluative feedback—but, as several of them noted, time was short. In these ways, this analysis of Writing Center instructors parallels the complex language-ideological tensions that the Chinese international students of Chapter 2 experienced.

A significant parallel between the Writing Center instructors I have introduced here and the ESL instructors in the previous section is how and why they engage with aggressive monolingualism: not necessarily due to their own values, but due to the assumption of others' aggressive monolingualism, namely other university instructors and future employers. Both the ESL instructors and the Writing Center instructors acknowledged, to some extent, that language could be used to discriminate. Multiple of the ESL instructors consciously built feedback on perceived grammaticality into their instruction in pursuit of clear communication, as did the Writing Center instructors. Between these two cohorts of instructors, also, there was some degree

of sensitivity to the students' desires: Molly, we can recall, tailored her instruction based on a student's major and career goals, and, similarly, Writing Center instructors like Aiden let their students decide what to focus on in a Writing Center session, including perceived grammaticality.

In language-ideological terms, all of my interviewees so far were dealing with the tension between two threads of language ideologies: aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. By acknowledging that variation exists in language, and by allowing space for multilingual students to write in nonstandard English without criticism, they aligned themselves mainly with the thread of progressive multilingualism, and only experienced or articulate the pull of aggressive monolingualism when it came to helping their students deal with language assessment from other university stakeholders. In my analysis, the thread of economic pragmatism did not become as apparent here as in previous sections, although, due to the Taylorizing concept of assessment and grades, arguably it is visible anywhere where a student is being assessed, and thus it is significant in the Writing Center too, albeit less explicitly.

In the next section, I will expand this analysis outside of ESL and the Writing Center to explore how other instructors in the university articulate language ideologies in how they talk about academic writing, revealing the now-familiar push and pull of competing language-ideologies.

3.3. Other Writing-Adjacent Instructors

After instructors in ESL and the Writing Center, often the Phase 1 Chinese international students would point to other instructors in the university who provided them with academic writing advice. Of those different instructors, I was able to contact and conduct interviews with

four of them: Audrey, a 60-year-old American teaching faculty in the School of Business who teaches Workplace Communication; Elias, a 50-year-old Swiss faculty associate in the Economics program; Liam, a 38-year-old American teaching specialist in the Department of English who teaches literature; and Tom, a 35-year-old Polish graduate instructor in the Art History program.

Audrey demonstrated an approach to instruction with language-ideological significance that is, by now, quite familiar in centering clarity. Her background is striking in that, like many of the Writing Center instructors, her graduate education was in English, but she worked for 25 years in "private-sector business," including for a trade company in Japan, and ultimately found a job teaching technical communication in the university's School of Business. She was identified by a Phase 1 Chinese international student as giving writing feedback in her Business Communication class, which combined written and spoken skills appropriate for the workplace. Within that class, she said she wanted her students "to be able to write clearly and concisely to get to the point, to consider their audience, make sure they're giving your audience what they need." To illustrate her focus on audience, she talked about how she would assess one of the class assignments, which was to write a particular type of professional email. To assess her students' emails, she would ask herself, "If you got that email, would it be effective?" In other words, like other instructors I discussed above, Audrey's overriding focus in assessing students' writing appears to be clarity. In this way, by emphasizing the "effectiveness" of a piece of writing rather than its close adherence to specific formal or linguistic requirements, the language-ideological strand of progressive multilingualism is visible.

Expanding on Audrey's language-ideological alignments, I found that her focus on "effectiveness" over other writing concerns in her class also applied to assessing multilingual

students' writing. This approach was informed in part by her experience working as the internal editor for a Japanese company; during this work, she learned that, in many Asian languages, "the way their languages are constructed, you know, they don't have articles, they don't have the plurals, you know, there's all kinds of things that are very different," all of which could affect a multilingual person's writing in English. This acknowledgement of language variation suggested an alignment to progressive multilingualism, which played out in her specific language-evaluative practices in her class. Like Molly, she would often ask whether students were intending to work in the US or in another country, "Because that makes a difference to me on how much I'm going to push them on, on really correct English," since the linguistic requirements of business writing in different contexts were quite different. For students who intended to work in the US, she gave them advice that quite explicitly foregrounded the negative evaluative potential of aggressively monolingual language ideologies, saying to them, "if you're going to want to work here, you, you should understand that some people have a prejudice against people who have strong accents, against people who have these kind of writing tics that come from writing in a second language, and you're going to need to really work on them." Though she did not provide explicit grammatical instruction in class, she did emphasize to those students that when sharing an important document, "have someone who is a native speaker look it over and help you, you know, don't do it on your own."

Overall, Audrey's language-ideological alignment was similar to Molly's: generally, she articulated progressive multilingualism in accepting variation and not assessing perceived grammaticality as an end in itself; but she did provide grammar-based feedback when she saw it as relevant for students' future jobs, aligning herself with economic pragmatism. Her characterization of linguistic variation in student writing as "tics" is striking. Where other

instructors referred to grammatical "mistakes," "errors," or "issues," the use of the word "tic" suggests that these linguistic features were involuntary quirks or habits of language (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2022). This framing is somewhat difficult to unpack—it could be read as critical, as paralleling linguistic variation as a kind of neurodivergence, or as accepting it as a minor, unimportant idiosyncrasies, each of which connotations have different implications or complexities. Like so many other instructors, she did nod toward aggressively monolingual norms in encouraging multilingual students to seek out "native" speakers for assistance. Overall, though, I would characterize her language-ideological alignment as progressively monolingual, in that she did not harshly grade students for their language.

Elias, a faculty associate in the Economics program, also engaged with language ideologies in his own way. He was unique in sidestepping, or at least delegating, the evaluation of students' writing: Rather than personally reading much of his students' writing in class, he used Packback, a "Digital TA" that assessed and provided feedback on student's writing and, according to the company's website, produced "2x more rigorous writing" (in the debatable sense that student compositions would be longer and contain more sources, according to a "multi-year study") and caused students to "[earn] more A's and B's, and fewer D's, F's, and W's" (Packback, 2022). While the claims of the company's advertising copy are, of course, up for debate, Elias found the program generally useful. He explained that it checked students' syntax, use of sources, use of tables and graphs, paragraphing, and other aspects of their writing. Though he acknowledged the program's limitations (saying it "probably sounds more sophisticated than it really is. I mean, it is, after all, it's just an algorithm"), he was generally satisfied with its assessment of students' writing, since it encouraged students to produce "well-

organized" writing with clear paragraphing, "versus something that's just kind of a stream of consciousness. So [Packback] kind of gets the broad outlines right." In other words, while Packback might not be the most precise method of assessment, in Elias's mind, it did typically align with what he thought "good" academic writing was—especially when one of Elias's main goals in the course was to teach students to "critically read," understand, and assess the truthfulness of mass media news about economics, a goal that, for him, was achieved by having students respond to prompts via Packback.

When one of the Chinese international students from Phase 1 of my data collection told me that Elias's class had provided him with writing feedback through an AI-powered web tool, I was immediately interested in its language-ideological significance. I assumed that such a tool would inevitably provide cookie-cutter feedback, penalizing students for linguistic variation, and generally enact aggressive monolingualism in the form of strict linguistic assessment. Based on Elias's description of the tool, however, it emerged that the opposite was true. According to Elias, Packback provided "a way for, to induce students to write in an environment that, that's pretty low pressure, which I think is crucial for some of the, the foreign language students." While one might assume a multilingual student who does not feel strong in English writing might feel especially uncertain being evaluated by artificial intelligence rather than a human, Elias emphasized that few students complained about the program's assessments, and after a few rounds of assessment they nearly universally figured out that, for example, organizing their responses in paragraphs gave better scores. For him, Elias said, Packback effectively worked toward the course goals without putting undue pressure on students, regardless of their language backgrounds—an alignment with progressive multilingualism that he revealed not just in his own

personal language-evaluative approach, but in the overall evaluative practices of the Economics program. Within that program, he said,

> If [you're not enrolled in the more writing-intensive Honors program], you could probably sort of squeezed by with, even with, you know, spoken or written English, that is maybe not, kind of, up to the standard of what we'd say a native speaker would, would sort of naturally have. […] you can, you know, you can graduate and do well with, with somewhat limited language skills, both in writing and in spoken language.

In light of these institutional norms, which did not place emphasis on linguistic conformity or nebulous ideas of "nativeness" in English academic writing, a systematic alignment with progressive multilingualism is visible. Elias emphasized that some of the students were enrolled in the Honors program, they were required to do more extensive writing, and thus were put under more language-evaluative pressure, but that was not the norm for the program. In this variability, I again see the mediating effect of economic pragmatism between progressive multilingualism and aggressive monolingualism: in the absence of an overriding aggressively monolingual standpoint which demands linguistic purism, the demands of the market determine whether or a person or institution leans more towards linguistic strictness (aggressive monolingualism) or linguistic permissiveness (progressive multilingualism).

Next, Liam, a teaching specialist in the Department of English, specifically in the literature program, also showed a general alignment with progressive multilingualism. When I asked him, "How did, how did and how does, or how do grammar and style matter in academic writing?" he replied, "They don't matter, and I don't teach them, but they matter immensely at the same time. […] It's a really hard question." This response revealed the tension between

aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. In explaining his perspective on language evaluation in his teaching, he referenced taking a linguistics class, in which he learned the distinction between descriptive and prescriptive grammar, which raised his awareness of the issues, but did not give him sufficient training to provide instruction on perceived grammaticality in his teaching. He went on to say, "I don't teach grammar, but I teach style, I suppose," which, for him, meant discussing how linguistic features like the passive voice were used differently in different disciplines and subtly altered meaning. For example, he said that in his class "we'll look at some science journals or some science articles that use, explicitly use the passive voice to eliminate the agent [...] just to focus on the object, to make it seem objective, and the kind of power of that." In approaching grammatical nuance in terms of its communicative import and linguistic variation rather than in terms of adhering to a specific standard, Liam's language-evaluative approach signaled alignment to progressive multilingualism. However, he did reveal that tension existed between his overall progressively multilingual approach and the overall aggressively monolingual standards of his educational context, saying, for example, that "to teach a prescriptive grammar" could be "a type of exclusion," an idea that he discussed in the context of the linguistic class he took, revealing an awareness of the tension between the inclusive pedagogical practices tied to progressive multilingualism but the overriding aggressive monolingual norms in the US.

Tom's approach was similar in his capacity as a graduate teaching assistant in the Art History program, showing yet another individual negotiating conflicting language-ideological pulls. As with other participants before, he described the importance of providing feedback holistically, including perceived grammaticality, saying, "It's not exactly my job to teach grammar, but I recognize grammar, syntax, word choice, all those kinds of things as very

valuable tools that convinces somebody of […] your point of view." In describing his approach to giving students feedback, he categorized his feedback into three different "levels." The first level, for him, was the meaning or overall argument: "did they have a lot to say?" The second level, then, was "how they structure their arguments." And the third, finally, was perceived grammaticality, which he described as "sharpening up their, their ability to, to write," including grammar feedback when he saw it as necessary for conveying meaning clearly. In his experience, different students needed different levels of feedback on those different levels, and his concerns by no means were limited just to multilingual students. Illustrating this point, he talked about how STEM students might have certain issues, whereas multilingual students might have other issues, and he would take an individualized approach to deciding what level(s) they needed feedback on. Thus, similar to many of the ESL and Writing Center instructors above, he aligned himself with progressive multilingualism in not targeting multilingual students' linguistic variation specifically, but rather in assessing students' writing holistically.

It might be easy to assume that any kind of aggressive monolingualism, or push toward linguistic conformity, stems from bias, but Tom's language-evaluative practices problematize that idea. Tom's linguistic and national background—he was born in Poland, but he grew up in a Russian community, and was enrolled as a graduate student at the same US university at the time of our interview—played a significant part in how he understood a multilingual college student's experiences. In deciding whether or not to comment on linguistic variation in multilingual students' writing, he explained that, "[…] when they phrase things awkwardly in English, I so totally understand exactly what they mean," because his own parents, being multilingual, spoke similarly. And while he understood easily what multilingual students meant to say, he would often choose to comment on it, telling them, "It's a little bit different in English, and so you

don't do this, don't do that." What motivated this rather fine-grained language-evaluative feedback? It was not from the fundamental assumption that "standard" US English is superior, as is the case in more toxic instantiations of aggressive monolingualism. He noted that many other instructors would refrain from commenting on a multilingual student's language, since, "there's an aspect of embarrassment that might be involved here, right?" However, he said, his decision to provide feedback on perceived grammaticality came from his own personal experiences. He told me a story about his advisor correcting how he used a particular phrase in English, and, rather than feeling embarrassed, Tom's response was: "why hasn't anybody told me that?" Motivated by his own experience negotiating multiple languages, Tom became more likely to correct perceived errors in students' grammar, not out of a critical or purist position on grammaticality, but to save students from what he saw as the risk of future embarrassment and judgment.

Tom's nuanced thought process in language evaluation is striking from a language-ideological perspective. Where repeatedly throughout my analysis my emphasis has been on pressures toward monolingualism—the strictly evaluative aspects of language assessment that devalue linguistic diversity—Tom's comments reveal an as-yet unexplored facet of progressive multilingualism: not the acceptance of multilingual students' written variation on its own merits, but for fear of making students embarrassed. Tom's stance, which falls into line to some extent with aggressive monolingualism (in that it stresses more precision in terms of perceived grammaticality), perhaps paradoxically, is compassionate. For the purposes of my analysis, it becomes even more clear how language ideologies complexly intertwine: this instructor, himself multilingual, acknowledged the demands of an aggressively monolingual environment, all the while valuing and embracing multilingualism in its own right. This entwinement is complexified

yet again by the entanglement of economic pragmatism: Tom also justified his grammar-based feedback in terms of career goals, saying, "[…] when [students] are ambitious people who want to be successful at a business or—or whatever profession they pick, [grammar]'s a valuable tool to have. And a lot of people go into the STEM fields, they don't develop very good writing skills." He went on to say,

> […] I think it's a shame that we've set up a dichotomy, where on the one hand, if you emphasize grammar, you, you seem still stilted, […] and on the other hand […] those people do, who do emphasize the aspect of, formal aspects of writing, they are almost doing it in opposition to the other side of writing, which is everything that is located in a person's mind. […] And that, that aspect has no grammar, you know, there's no grammar to, to a mind.

As shown through this interview, Tom has engaged deeply with the language-ideological tension between strictly assessing perceived grammaticality on the one hand and solely evaluating a student-writer's thoughts on the other. In this utterance, we can see the three language-ideological threads at play. The "somewhat stilted" trends of grammatical prescriptivism in writing assessment stands in contrast to "the other side of writing, which is everything that is located in a person's mind." For Tom, we can see, a dichotomy exists between valuing language itself in terms of its "formal aspects" (aggressive monolingualism) and valuing pure thought itself divorced of its linguistic form (progressive multilingualism). It is not just the "formal aspects" that matter, though: he also said that a researcher's ability to "put together […] convincing data" is contingent on their ability to "fram[e] it into a narrative that's also convincing." In short, in Tom's mind, *some* engagement with aggressive monolingualism is

necessary for academic or professional success, but multilingual people's ideas are important and valuable at the same time—clearly demonstrating the pull of all three language ideologies.

Applying the terminology I proposed in Chapter 1, the various core aspects of language ideologies are also apparent: the evaluative quality of language ideologies is apparent in how Tom and the other instructors must decide what academic writing counts as "good"; often instructors go about these assessments with implicit assumptions about language; the language ideologies reference emblematicity in that language evaluations often leverage preexisting judgments about people based on their language, all of which ties into multi-scalar preconceptions about languages and the people who speak them. And, as always, language ideologies are plural and plastic, permitting people to engage with them in different ways, for different purposes, in different contexts.

As with the instructors in previous sections, the instructors I interviewed here all revealed some degree of engagement with all three of the threads of language ideologies. In the next section, drawing together all of these disparate parts of analysis in this chapter, I will propose a model of language-ideological tension that encapsulates the different ways a person can experience language ideologies in a specific context.

4. A Three-Way Pull: A Model of Language-Ideological Tension

Throughout this and the previous chapter, I have maintained a relatively tight focus on individuals' language-ideological alignments. Based on the three-part language-ideological heuristic I proposed in Chapter 1, which categorizes language ideologies within aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism, I have worked to understand how individuals within a US university articulate different language ideologies. I

have demonstrated the utility of that heuristic in unpacking the specific language-ideological alignments of individuals: how they frame their own language-evaluative attitudes and respond to the language-evaluative exigencies of their environment. In Chapter 2 I showed that Chinese international students at a US university exist at the center of a three-way pull of language ideologies, engaging with aggressively monolingual assumptions that any admixture of "standard" US English with Chinese English is generally negative, but also with progressively multilingual positive assessments of linguistic variation, with these two language ideologies standing in stark contrast. In Chapter 2, I also explored how economic pragmatism, or the valuation of language strictly in terms of economic value or professionalism, mediated between the ideological strands of aggressive monolingualism or progressive multilingualism. In short, people foregrounded linguistic purism or diversity depending on whether it aligned with what they perceived to be marketable in different contexts.

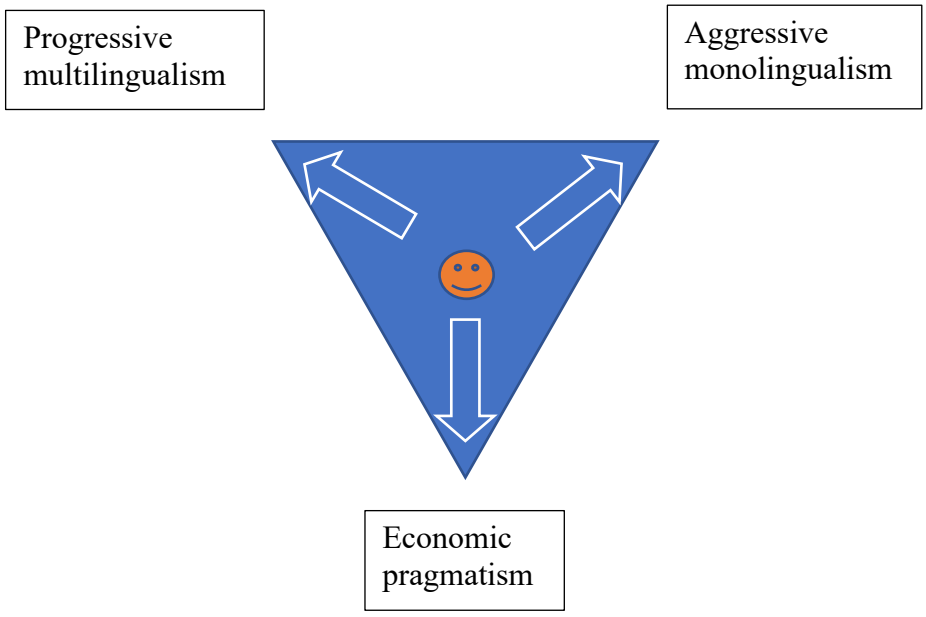
That dynamic intertwinement of language-ideological strands is consistent with my findings here, in Chapter 3. Interviewing campus community members with whom the Chinese international students of the previous chapter discussed academic writing, in this chapter I have applied that same three-part language-ideological heuristic, painting a more detailed picture of how the three strands of language ideologies interact, align, or conflict. The ESL instructors I interviewed felt the pull of aggressively monolingual language ideologies in the US college context, and responded with varying degrees of focus on local-level perceived grammatical concerns, often engaging with progressive multilingualism at the same time by prioritizing clarity first, with discussions of perceived grammaticality falling under the umbrella of clarity, along with a wide range of other rhetorical issues. Some of them negotiated the tension between progressive multilingualism and aggressive monolingualism in economically pragmatic terms,

justifying varying levels of language-evaluative strictness with relation to students' future professional goals. Likewise, the Writing Center instructors engaged with the same language-ideological tug-of-war: with regard to their personal language-evaluative beliefs and approaches, they centered the students' stated needs, providing feedback on high- or low-order concerns accordingly, signaling alignment with progressive multilingualism. However, they also oriented themselves at times toward aggressive monolingualism in response to other instructors' harsh language-evaluative feedback on multilingual students' writing. The other instructors I interviewed—in Art History, Economics, Business, and English—all articulated their own language-ideological positionings with relation to those three language-ideological threads, too, revealing how they intertwine and overlap. In all of these examples, language ideologies exerted constant pulls on the instructors, often in tortuously complex and intertangled ways.

I thus argue that all three threads of language ideologies—aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism—are ubiquitous in university spaces, and always intertwined. It would be nearly impossible for a student to attend a US university without experiencing some kind of centripetal pressure towards "nativelike" English, but at the same time the discourses of inclusivity and diversity are also so ubiquitous that a student is unlikely not to experience this thread of language ideologies, the valuation of diversity in language, at some point, explicitly or implicitly. And I would argue that, even when an instructor does not explicitly reference future academic or career goals, however, they engage with those language ideologies by the mere fact of working within a university, an institution whose stated purpose is to provide some form of professional accreditation, often for pay, almost always with some kind of future career in mind. Thus the three threads of language ideologies, ubiquitous as they are, are always co-occurring, often competing.

To illustrate this language-ideological tension, I propose a three-way model of language-ideological tension, depicted in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. The three-part model of language-ideological tension



Within Figure 2, a triangle represents the tripartite structure of language-ideological tension. At the top left corner is a text box labeled "progressive multilingualism." At the top right corner, another text box is labeled "aggressive monolingualism." At the bottom corner, a third text box is labeled "economic pragmatism." Within the triangle, a smiley-face emoji represents a person's language-ideological positioning, with three arrows radiating out from it towards the three surrounding language-ideological strands, indicating the force exerted by the three language-ideological strands. This model should be understood as extremely dynamic and context-dependent. While a person might experience a strong pull in one direction in one moment (for example, a Writing Center instructor might help a student address their instructor's harshly language-evaluative feedback, an instantiation of aggressive monolingualism), that person might shift in another direction just as rapidly (for example, that same Writing Center instructor might,

later that day, attend a Writing Center all-staff meeting to discuss ways of enacting linguistic justice in conferences, instantiating the linked pedagogical aspects of progressive multilingualism and the workplace demands of economic pragmatism). Based on my analysis, this model depicts the complex language-ideological exigencies people experience, especially in the US university contexts.

Complementing this model of language-ideological tension, I will offer two new terms to describe language ideologies in context:

- **Language-ideological convergence:** When two language-ideological strands work toward the same purpose, i.e. when economic pragmatism is used to justify aggressively monolingual or progressively multilingual language evaluations.
- **Language-ideological divergence:** When two language-ideological strands work at cross purposes, as when the opposing pulls of aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism both work on an individual, and that person is forced to react accordingly.

These two terms are useful in foregrounding how economically pragmatic language ideologies (evaluations of language based on their market value) can **converge** with aggressive monolingualism while **diverging** from progressive multilingualism (i.e., perceived economic valuations of specific language forms push people to police their own or others' language). The opposite can also happen, with a person's economic pragmatism **converging** with their progressive multilingualism and **diverging** from aggressive monolingualism. In proposing these two terms, language-ideological convergence and divergence, I hope to build on the language-ideological heuristic I proposed in Chapter 1. Rather than simply a heuristic, then, this set of terminology constitutes a new taxonomy of language ideologies, allowing the categorization and

specific identification, classification, differentiation, and comparison of a person's language ideologies in context. By applying this taxonomy, as I will show in the next chapter, broader and farther-reaching analysis of language-ideological transmission is made possible.

5. Conclusion: From Individuals to Institutions

In this chapter, I have answered my second research question: How do writing-adjacent campus community members—namely people on campus with whom Chinese international students discuss academic writing—articulate their own language ideologies, especially regarding what constitutes "good" or "bad" English academic writing? I have demonstrated how instructors on campus acutely experience a range of writing-related exigencies, variously including the stated goals of their own courses, student's expectations, a desire to support students' emotional wellbeing, the demands of students' future workplaces, and, secondhand, the language-evaluative criteria of other instructors on campus—all of which carry language-ideological freight, and all of which, shape (indirectly or indirectly) how instructors approach their teaching. In this way, instructors can be seen not just as holders of their own language ideologies, but as language-ideological mediators. While they bring their own language-ideological alignments to the classroom, they also are forced to engage with a tangled web of outside language-ideological forces. Their role in this web is complex, and there is optionality in how they approach language evaluation. Instructors like Tom, Molly, and Audrey are especially striking in that they appear to be deeply sensitive to the linguistic demands their students face, and they are able to react dynamically to those demands. Applying a language-ideological lens to examine instructors' approaches to assessing language reveals deep, long-term thought processes, informed by instructors' lives, experiences, and language backgrounds (think, for

example, on how Tom's own experiences with learning English have shaped his approach, seeking to lessen multilingual students' embarrassment).

Thus far in my analysis, I have focused almost entirely on individuals' articulations of language ideologies. My analysis has addressed various qualities of language ideologies on individual levels, like the ways individuals use language ideologies to evaluate writing, how they leverage the plasticity of plurality of language ideologies in response to different sociolinguistic contexts, and, to a lesser extent, how language ideologies are emblematic, self-naturalizing, and multi-scalar in that they constitute larger sociolinguistic processes of reifying inter-group hierarchies and biases. In this individualized analysis, I have tried to sidestep a pressing theoretical concern: the fact that language ideologies are not just individual, but socially shared and constructed. This social aspect of language ideologies is critical for a thorough analysis of language ideologies in any context, but especially in educational contexts. As Pachler et al. (2008) observed, teachers dynamically orient themselves toward different "ideological centres" (p. 440), which could include their academic training, the standards and rubrics of their academic program, their students' expectations, and campus- and nationwide norms. It is with this larger institutional lens that my next chapter will proceed.

Thus, in Chapter 4, I will build on my analysis so far, showing how the coexistence and conflict of the three language-ideological strands are the subject of much larger language-ideological processes. By looping in various institutions within the universities—the Writing Center overall, the ESL program overall, among other academic programs, and each of their respective shared norms, policies, and values—and by applying the concepts of language-ideological convergence and divergence, I will expand my analysis to explain how specific language ideologies are transmitted within larger units of social organization.

Chapter 4

Language-Ideological Transmission on a US Campus

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction: From the Intrapersonal to the Interpersonal and Institutional

In the previous chapters, I discussed how the three strands of language ideologies—aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism—were articulated on a US campus. I worked to answer my first two research questions, regarding how Chinese international students on a US campus articulate their own language ideologies (Research Question 1; Chapter 2) and how the people with whom they discuss English academic writing articulate their own respective language ideologies (Research Question 2; Chapter 3). I showed how, in articulating their language-evaluative criteria, specifically their reasons for qualifying English academic writing as "good" or "bad," people aligned themselves with specific strands. They might critically assess a multilingual person's language based on nativistic and judgmental attitudes (aggressive monolingualism); they might accept or even embrace language variation (progressive multilingualism); or they might evaluate language positively or negatively only based on its future marketability or career relevance, not as an end in itself (economic pragmatism). Moreover, as people revealed alignments with these different language-ideological strands in their language-evaluative criteria, I showed that language-ideological convergence and divergence between these different threads occurred, with people either (1) justifying strict language-based assessment in the assumption that people need "good" grammar for future workplace opportunities (i.e. aggressive monolingualism converging with economic pragmatism), or (2) justifying permissive language-based assessment in the assumption that

someone's current language repertoires will be acceptable in their future workplace (i.e. progressive multilingualism converging with economic pragmatism).

Thus far, I have explored these patterns of language-ideological alignment, convergence, and divergence mostly on an *intra*personal basis, asking people to explain their own language-evaluative attitudes, identifying individuals' language-ideological alignments, and exploring how language ideologies act within individuals' language-evaluative criteria and thought processes. I have emphasized how language ideologies' qualities of plasticity and plurality were operative within my study's participants, given that they were able to demonstrate alignment with different, multiple language ideologies dynamically and flexibly as the need arose. For example, Yiying Sun, one of the Chinese international students mentioned in Chapter 2, aligned herself with progressive multilingualism when embracing her elementary students' language varieties as part of her professional training (progressive multilingualism converging with economic pragmatism), but aligned herself with aggressive monolingualism when strictly assessing her own academic writing's adherence to "standard" academic English norms, particularly with regard to her future professional and academic career when trying to publish her academic writing (aggressive monolingualism converging with economic pragmatism). In this intrapersonal focus, up until now, I have explored the *what* of a language-ideological analysis: what is the substance of a person's language-ideological orientation?

What about the *how* of language ideologies—how are they shared between individuals, communicated through larger social groups, and taken up or rejected? Given that prior language scholarship has demonstrated the multi-scalar quality of language ideologies—i.e. that they are reproduced at multiple scales of social organization, from individual interactions all the way up to national policy (Blommaert et al., 2005; Horner & Trimbur, 2002; Irvine & Gal, 2000)—a

thorough language-ideological analysis of the US college campus must include larger-scale analysis. With that goal in mind, I turn next to my third research question:

> How do these various campus stakeholders […] articulate language ideologies to each other, and how do these conversations play out, on interpersonal and institutional levels? In agreement, open conflict, unspoken disagreement, or shifting attitudes?

This question targets when and how larger scales of social organization demonstrate language-ideological salience, including one-to-one relationships in addition to the role of institutions. Thus, this chapter explores language-ideological transmission: when these various stakeholders, students and instructors alike, articulated language-evaluative criteria and therefore language-ideological alignments to each other. In particular, I paid attention to:

1. **Moments of alignment and misalignment**, i.e. when one campus stakeholder signaled agreement or disagreement with another person's language-evaluative criteria and thus signaled language-ideological alignment or misalignment with that person.
2. **Moments of discrepancy**, i.e. when one person held or articulated a particular language-ideological alignment but their interlocutor either perceived something different or consciously rejected their language-evaluative criteria.
3. **Moments of large-scale language-ideological uptake**, i.e. when groups of individuals can be seen shifting their language-ideological alignments.

These three analytical foci strike at language-ideological transmission in a number of ways. First, by showing patterns in language-ideological alignment and misalignment, I will provide insights into the social contexts and conditions conducive to language-ideological alignment. Most often, Chinese students and other campus stakeholders typically signaled a blend of language

ideologies, with no clear misalignment or disagreement about what constitutes "good" or "bad" English academic writing. While this general alignment was the norm, I will show, by noting significant discrepancies, in moments of language-ideological silence—i.e. when language-evaluative criteria and their justifications are left implicit, often for lack of time—language ideologies are *not* transmitted, leaving space for misunderstanding, assumption, and, troublingly, people defaulting to aggressive monolingualism as an unspoken, assumed norm on campus. These findings deepen conversations within language scholarship that has foregrounded issues of race and language, particularly the argument that university spaces are implicitly designed for speakers of "standard" or "appropriate" (read: white) English (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2016). Echoing Dolmage's (2017) argument that universities are designed for the "unmarked" normatively abled, masculine, white, heterosexual student, these results show the power of a tacit norms: in university spaces, constructed for the benefit of these assumed "unmarked" individuals, not talking about language leads to the assumption that there is only one "correct" language—to the detriment of any students who do not speak that language.

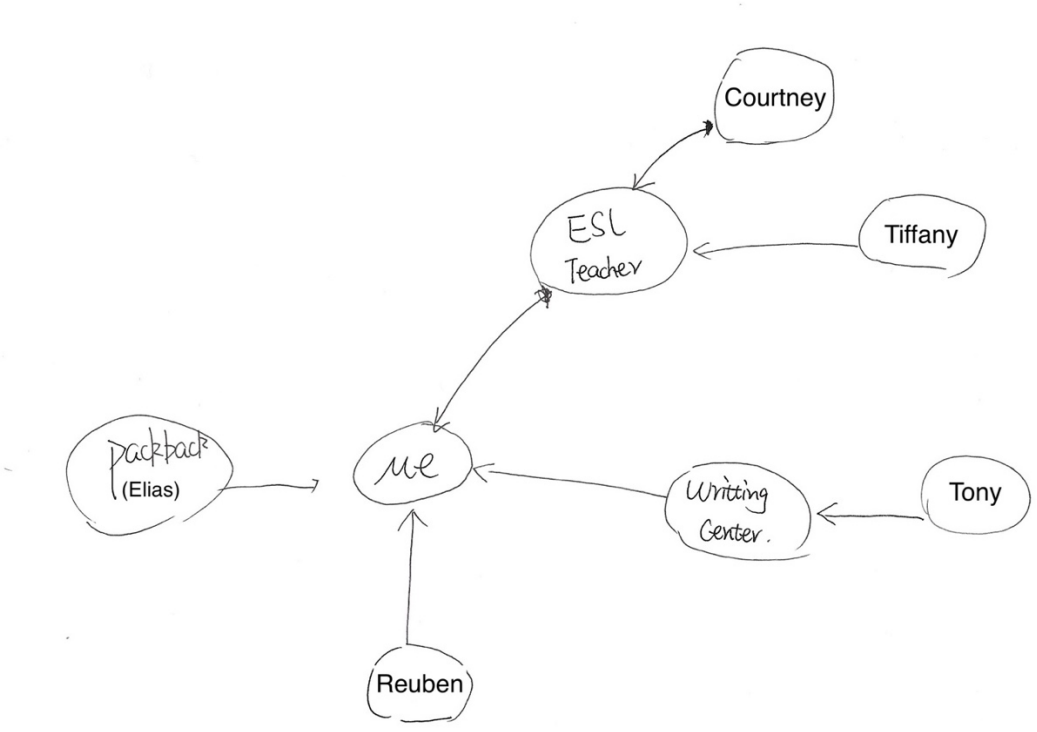
Within my findings, there were also clear cases of language-ideological misalignment, most often between friends giving each other advice. Noting this trend, I will demonstrate that language ideologies are most powerful when legitimized and spread on institutional levels, i.e. by academic programs or other university-based institutions (e.g. the ESL program or a student's home department). I will show that, in critical moments of language-evaluative talk, language ideologies are transmitted, and individuals are pushed by their institutionally shared language-evaluative justifications toward language-ideological uptake. I will conclude by demonstrating that such institutional language-ideological alignment is at its most powerful when drawing multiple language ideologies into convergence. I will argue that language ideologies are

cumulative, in that multiple disparate language ideologies can work toward the same effect, becoming more powerful when overlapping.

1.2. Introduction: A Macro View of Language-Ideological Transmission

Before analyzing these various aspects of language-ideological transmission, it is useful to establish some context: what is the overall scope of these supposed language-ideological transmission sites? In my interviews with the Chinese international students of Chapter 2, I asked each of them to draw a social-network map of people with whom they discussed academic writing. I asked each student to draw a circle in the center of a piece of paper (or, during Zoom-based interviews, on Zoom's whiteboard) and to label it with "Me." From there, as we proceeded with the interviews, I asked them to identify different people with whom they discussed academic writing. For each additional person, I asked the participants to (1) add and label a new circle with that person's name or title, (2) add an arrow indicating the directionality of advice (i.e. with a one-way arrow showing a person gives advice to another person and a two-way arrow indicating bidirectional advice-giving), and (3) to discuss their writing-related conversations with those people. Thus, each participant produced a writing-related social network map like Figure 3, below.

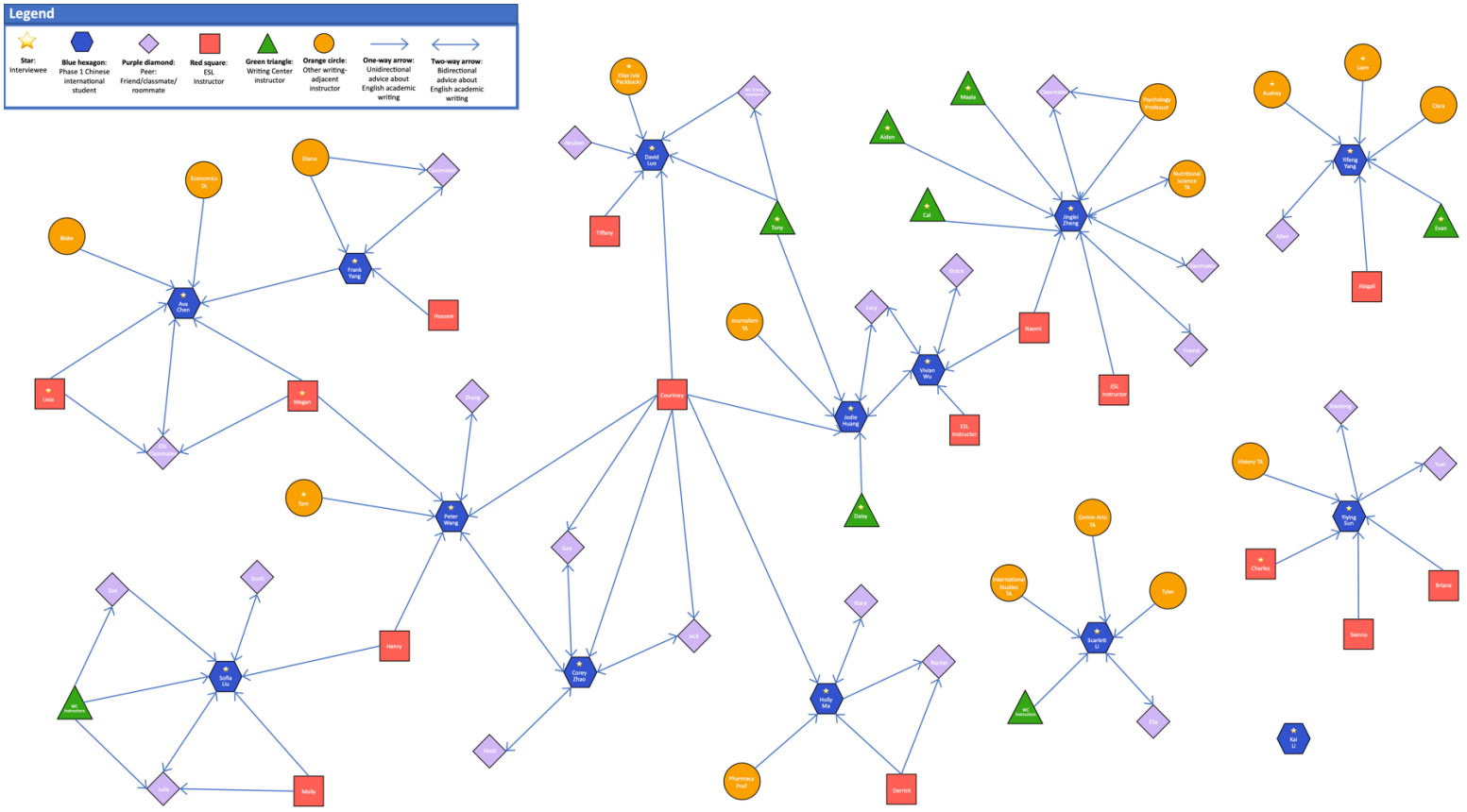
Figure 3. David Luo's Social Network Map



In Figure 3, a central circle labeled "Me" indicates the participant's, David Luo's, position within his social network. Surrounding the "Me" circle are various other circles, each with arrows indicating the directionality of advice. On the left, a circle labeled "Packback (Elias)" indicates David Luo's economics instructor, Elias, who used the AI-driven writing-evaluation software package Packback to assess students' writing; an arrow goes from Elias's circle to the "Me" circle, indicating that Packback, with Elias's imprimatur, gave David writing-related advice. Other circles indicate other people in David's writing-related social network, all of whom gave him advice: Reuben, David's American classmate; Tony, the Writing Center instructor; and Courtney and Tiffany, his ESL instructors. (Note: To see each student's social network map and a master table listing every person included on the participants' social network maps, in addition to their relevant demographic details, see the Appendix.)

Compiling all of these social-network maps, I produced Figure 4, which is a master social-network map for all of the Phase 1 Chinese international students and every person they included on their maps. (To view a high-resolution, zoomable Google Slides version of Figure 4, go to https://go.wisc.edu/fv2874).

Figure 4. Master Social Network Map



In Figure 4, the Phase 1 Chinese international students are represented by blue hexagons. Whenever one of those students was a peer (a friend, classmate, or roommate) I represented that person as a purple diamond. Additionally, ESL instructors are represented by red squares, Writing Center instructors by green triangles, and other writing-related instructors by orange circles. As in the individual participants' hand-drawn social-network maps, arrows between each

of these shapes represent the directionality of advice. I used stars to indicate people with whom I was able to secure interviews. All names are pseudonyms; for details about my pseudonym-assignment criteria, see Chapter 1.

A number of caveats are called for in discussing the master social-network map. Each Chinese international student included an average of 5.5 contacts with whom they gave and/or received advice about English academic writing. Only one person, Kai Li, did not add anyone to his social network map, so he constitutes the low end of the spectrum; of all the Chinese international students, Jinglei Zheng had the most, with 10. As I noted in Chapter 1, though, this is not a quantitative analysis, nor are the number of arrows necessarily demonstrative of anything in themselves. At times, participants drew arrows to entire groups of people (e.g. Ava Chen, among others, added a circle labeled "Classmates" to refer to an unclear number of students with whom she exchanged writing-related advice), meaning that the exact number of arrows and items on this master map is not an empirically significant data point. My recruitment methods also mean that the specific number of arrows is not analytically significant—note that Courtney, the ESL teacher near the center of the map, taught eight different individuals represented elsewhere on the map. This relatively high number is due not necessarily to her somehow having an especially widespread language-ideological impact, but rather that she was extraordinarily generous in helping me recruit Chinese students to participate in my study.

What *is* salient for my language-ideological analysis, however, is the profound interconnectedness that the map reveals. Note Sofia Liu's position in the bottom left-hand side of the map: she said that Henry, an ESL instructor, gave her writing-related advice. Henry also taught Peter Wang, who, in turn, had Courtney for an ESL instructor. Courtney, as mentioned, taught a large number of Chinese international students mentioned on the map, including Jodie

Huang. Jodie indicated that she would exchange writing-related advice with Vivian Wu, who had Naomi for an ESL teacher, who, in turn, also taught Jinglei Zheng. These communicative overlaps were profuse and frequent in my analysis. Even for participants whose social networks are not connected through these sequential communicative links—Scarlett Li, Yiying Sun, Kai Li, and Yifeng Yang (see the right-hand side of the map)—they still had contact with people from the ESL program, the Writing Center, or both. From a language-ideological perspective, these writing-related advice-giving social networks were rich and interconnected to an extent that it became critical to assess their role in language-ideological transmission. Moreover, based on this level of institutional overlap, with social groups like the ESL program having extensive contact with many multilingual students on campus, my focus on language-ideological transmission from an interpersonal and institutional standpoint is further justified.

With this context established, I will turn next to the specifics of analyzing language-ideological transmission on campus.

2. Interpersonal Language-Ideological Transmission

2.1. Interpersonal Language-Ideological Transmission: General Language-Ideological Alignment

Based on my interviews with the Chinese international students and, where possible, the campus community members with whom they discussed English academic writing, I sought to identify each person's language-evaluative criteria, which I then mapped onto the three language-ideological threads I identified in Chapter 1. The first of these, aggressive monolingualism, was characterized by strict policing of language and the high valuation of so-called "native" English, often simply as an end in itself. The second, progressive

multilingualism, was characterized by the acceptance of other Englishes, and also by the acknowledgement that there are other writing-related concerns other than grammaticality or "nativelike" English. When participants described language-evaluative criteria that focused on other aspects of writing, particularly regarding meaning-making, generating ideas, or communicating clearly, I read it as alignment with progressive multilingualism, in that it did not position the specific language form as important in itself, but only important for the goal of communicating. Finally, economic pragmatism was characterized by the evaluation of language based primarily on its future utility for a person's future career success. For a complete breakdown of my analysis, with representative quotes for each individual's language-ideological alignments, see Appendix C.

Throughout my data collection, there were numerous instances when the Chinese international students' own language-ideological alignments approximately matched their descriptions of other campus community members' language ideologies. These instances are salient for developing a framework of language-ideological transmission. In a sense, these instances of alignment constitute the default state of language-ideological transmission on campus. On the whole, between advice-givers and -receivers, the general guidelines, rules, and overall language-ideological motivators were consistently a mix of different language-ideological strands, with few instances of obvious shifts in attitude, disagreement, or misalignment. As my analysis in Chapter 2 revealed, all of the Chinese international students existed at the nexus of a three-way language-ideological pull. They all felt some degree of pull towards aggressive monolingualism, usually in the form of strict language-policing practices, seeking so-called "native" or "standard" grammar, and curating their own language, especially in formal or professional contexts. However, they all also revealed some acknowledgement of

progressively multilingual language ideologies, in that they valued compositional features other than "nativelike" language: they discussed a wide range of higher-order concerns, including logic, organization, use of sources, argumentation, and clarity. Some of the students articulated more explicit progressively multilingual language ideologies in indicating acceptance of Chinese English in certain contexts. In Chapter 2, too, I argued that all of them, to some extent, felt the pull of economic pragmatism, in that the Taylorizing design of standardized tests and grading systems inherently commodify certain linguistic repertoires. Many of the students, too, described their language-related goals in terms of being "professional" in their language. In this multiplicity of language-ideological alignments, all of the students revealed some extent of ambivalence in their language ideologies: they were all pulled, at some time or other, in various directions. And, throughout my interviews, as I asked about students' perception of other campus community members' language ideologies, I frequently found alignment, or at least a lack of obvious misalignment: a similar ambivalence in language-ideological alignment among the campus community members from whom the Chinese students received writing-related advice. In other words, just as the Chinese international students themselves were pulled in multiple directions, so, too, were the campus community members they interacted with.

One of the most common exemplars of this shared language-ideological ambivalence was the ESL instructors: the Chinese international students described their ESL instructors as balancing meaning-making with specifically language-based concerns, well in keeping with the analysis I presented in Chapter 3. For example, based on Ava Chen's description, much of her ESL instructor Livia's feedback was content-based, and when Livia did give her grammatical feedback, Ava said, "she gave me tons of the ideas of the more like some tense grammar to be more convincing, and more, like, clear." In other words, Livia did not criticize Ava's grammar

out of an aggressively monolingual push towards a certain specific English, but sought to address perceived issues in Ava's ability to communicate clearly. Ava also told me that her other ESL instructor's, Megan's, feedback focused on meaning: "I would say the, the most important thing is the essay can convince her," which, according to Ava, Megan's students did by providing "examples in each paragraph can, like, perfect[ly] support the statement in your paragraph," since, for Megan, according to Ava, "logic is really important." David Luo's description of his writing-related social-network map is similar, in that it demonstrated multiple language-ideological influences. For example, he said that his ESL instructor Courtney gave him advice on topics like brainstorming, paraphrasing, and "vocabulary, like, the phrases uses." Tiffany, another of David's ESL instructors, gave David feedback that mainly focused on big-picture ideas, like demonstrating his understanding of the articles he was citing and paraphrasing, in addition to other composition topics like using "the hook and thesis statement" and outlining. Tiffany did give rather extensive feedback on perceived grammatical issues, according to David. She would "circle out a lot of even some grammar mistake or some, some way that you didn't phrase correctly." While these ESL instructors did push Ava, David, and the other Chinese international students toward curating their grammar to some extent (i.e. they transmitted aggressive monolingualism), they usually did so for larger meaning-making and communicative goals (i.e. transmitting general progressively multilingual language ideologies). And some of the ESL instructors, like Molly did for Sofia Liu, determined their language-evaluative criteria for each student with an eye toward future marketability, revealing the pull of economic pragmatism as well. In describing their ESL instructors' language-evaluative criteria, the Chinese international students revealed general alignment with their ESL instructors—they all experienced and articulated a mix of language-ideological alignments, and they did not often

disagree about what makes "good" or "bad" English academic writing. Overall, then, large-scale language-ideological alignment is clear: taking the broadest view, the Chinese international students and their ESL instructors had similarly multivalent language-ideological alignments.

There were also numerous instances where the Chinese international students indicated language-ideological alignment with other non-ESL instructors on campus as well. Frank Yang, for example, personally had a strong progressively multilingual language-ideological orientation, as can be seen when he said that "I don't think grammar matters that much" as long as the meaning was clear. Frank's instructor Diana, who taught a technical communication class for engineering majors, did not stress perceived grammaticality or specific language forms as an end in themselves. Rather, according to Frank, "She only cared about […] readability and word choice," and, in Frank's words, much of the writing in the class sought to "translate the technical things" for non-engineers. The choice of the word *translate* is very much suggestive of progressive multilingualism, in that it implies a plurality of languages: the complexity of specialized engineering language which must be translated into non-technical or non-specialized lay language. By suggesting that there was not one "correct" language, but rather multiple languages that are valid in different contexts, Diana's language-evaluative criteria align closely with Frank's own. Similarly, Holly Ma's pharmacy professor, according to Holly, provided resume-writing feedback but did not address perceived grammaticality in her class, signaling alignment with both economic pragmatism and progressive multilingualism. And Jinglei Zheng, who emphasized to me that "good" writing was context-dependent, told me that when she worked with the Writing Center instructors (Aiden, Cal, and Maala), she could solicit advice on any aspect of writing she was concerned with—in other words, those instructors responded dynamically to whatever language-ideological concerns a student brought to them, in obvious

alignment with Jinglei's own dynamic language-ideological sensibilities. When I asked Jodie Huang if her ESL instructor Courtney would accept Chinese English in an essay, Jodie said, "I don't think she mentioned about Chinese English because we were learning about American English, but she, she loves China, and she loves teaching Chinese students," which I read as a quite explicit alignment with progressive multilingualism. In other words, Courtney did not target Chinese English specifically, and responded positively to Chinese students in her class. Jodie did say that Courtney did grade based on perceived grammaticality, but it was only one part of Courtney's assessment, indicating the dual pull of aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism. In all of these cases and many more, various of the Chinese international students described their own mixed language-ideological orientations and language-evaluative criteria that were very similar to how they described their instructors'—again, revealing frequent language-ideological alignment between students and instructors.

In addition to instructors, the Chinese international students also revealed language-ideological alignment with their peers: friends, roommates, and classmates. For example, David Luo described seeking out writing-related advice from his American friend and classmate, Reuben, with whom he would exchange advice: he would give Rueben advice about Calculus, and Reuben would give David advice on his writing, checking if David's writing "sounds like native or is, like, correct"—evincing some degree of aggressive monolingualism, in that David and Reuben both collaborated in pushing David's English to linguistic conformity with "native" English. David also indicated that he and his advice givers on campus aligned in acknowledging economic pragmatism: regarding his time in Tony's Writing Center group, especially talking to his groupmates, he said, "the group just want us to be more pro writing." In characterizing their writing goals as being more "pro"—i.e. "professional"—David indicates the career-based focus

of academic writing characteristic of economic pragmatism. Similarly, according to Sofia Liu, when talking to Zoe, her American-born Chinese friend and roommate, Sofia would ask Zoe to check her grammar for perceived errors, particularly to see if anything was "kind of weird." She said that she trusted Zoe as a source of feedback on perceived grammaticality specifically because Zoe was born in the US. However, based on Sofia's account, Zoe did not see perceived grammaticality as the overriding concern—rather, "[whether or not] it's understandable [was] like the most important thing" for Zoe. Next, Sofia talked about a Chinese friend, Julia, who was also enrolled in Molly's ESL course. Together, Sofia and Julia would check each other's essays for perceived grammaticality (often they would "double check with the Grammarly [an online grammar-correction software] 'cause we're not sure whether it's right or wrong"), as well as talking about whether or not potential essay topics were "interesting." With Lena, another Chinese friend, she would talk about higher-order concerns: "besides the structure and the grammar issue, [according to Lena,] the content may be more important, like, unique, and good, a good academic writing needs to convey your own point to readers." Overall, these various pieces of feedback pulled her both towards perceived grammatical correctness (i.e. broadcasting aggressive monolingualism to her) as well as emphasizing the importance of meaning and clarity (i.e. broadcasting progressive multilingualism). Overall, these various peers and classmates expressed a general language-ideological ambivalence similar to the Chinese international students themselves and their instructors, with no evident language-ideological misalignment.

Another example of language-ideological alignment between the Chinese international students and other campus community members can be seen in how Jinglei Zheng described her interactions with her psychology professor. That professor, according to Jinglei, demonstrated extremely strict language-evaluative standards—she was, in Jinglei's estimation, "so picky on

the grammar." The instructor was teaching a writing-heavy Capstone course for the psychology program which, it seems, was quite focused on lower-order concerns, as demonstrated by Jinglei telling me, "I think like, one of the instructors [teaching a different section of the same class] told my friend, told the whole class to please make good use of the Writing Center," a comment Jinglei made in the context of the professor's strict feedback on perceived grammaticality. Explaining the instructor's motivation for such strict language-based assessment, Jinglei said, according to the professor,

> [T]he grammar is important if you just like, if you maybe just leave college and seek a new occupation, she thinks you need to communicate with others. But if you have really poor grammar it's, other people we, may consider you as, like, kind of like you do not pay attention to those details. And if you go on to graduate school, there are tons of essays and research paper.

By justifying strict assessment of perceived grammaticality in terms of future professionalization—suggesting that, without the "right" kind of language, one cannot find a job—the convergence of aggressive monolingualism and economic pragmatism is visible. Jinglei herself can be seen to align herself with the same set of language-evaluative criteria and language ideologies, concluding of the psychology professor, "I think she is a very, really fair professor."

In these various examples, as can be seen throughout Appendix C, the vast majority of language-ideologically salient interactions revealed in my interviews did not result in conflict or disagreement. Among the Chinese international students and the campus community members from whom they received writing feedback, a mix of language-ideological influences were the norm, with the pull of aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism both

particularly apparent, along with economic pragmatism in occasional references to future careers. But such alignment is not always the case. I will explore such instances of language-ideological *mis*alignments in the next section.

2.2. Interpersonal Language-Ideological Transmission: Instances of Language-Ideological Misalignment

Where language-ideological alignment between the Chinese international students and the campus community members with whom they discussed writing was the most common finding from my interviews, that was not always the case. Returning to Jinglei Zheng's psychology professor as an example again, an instance of misalignment appeared. As we talked, it came up that several of Jinglei's classmates thought that that professor was overly draconian in criticizing perceived grammaticality in students' writing. When I asked if Jinglei thought those criticisms constituted "some kind of bias," she replied that "[s]everal students from that class" thought so, but Jinglei disagreed. While the professor evaluated student writing strictly, and she could be brusque in her written feedback, Jinglei found her to be very approachable and helpful in office hours, ultimately resulting in Jinglei's assessment that the professor was "fair." But Jinglei's dissatisfied classmates clearly did not align themselves to the same extent with aggressive monolingualism, seeing such intense language-evaluative criticisms as outright bias. This is a useful exemplar of language-ideological misalignment on campus: in disagreeing about what is or is not worthy of attention in academic writing, different individuals aligned themselves with different language-ideological threads, most often disagreeing about the extent to which a student-writer needs to police their own grammar for "correctness."

There was also language-ideological misalignment among various students with whom Jinglei did peer review in different classes. She told me that many of her classes heavily featured group work, meaning she often found herself working on writing assignments with other students of various language backgrounds, and their language-evaluative criteria varied widely. Some of her groupmates, she said, "will talk about the grammar" or "give you a suggestion on like, more, how to fix it to make it more, like, sound locally or logically." However, she said, her American-born classmates were not necessarily the best judges of grammaticality, since, "for some American students, they, they themselves even have really basic grammar mistakes, and they don't care about that." With one of her friends in particular with whom she attended several humanities courses, including a philosophy class, she would "talk about, like course, course assignment," and "share our understanding about all the things." In addition, they would give each other feedback on perceived grammaticality and logic. Overall, these language-evaluative criteria constitute a balance between aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism, in alignment with Jinglei's own self-described language-evaluative criteria, but there was an additional complicating factor. When I asked what that friend considered to be "good" academic writing, Jinglei laughingly told me, "I think, [according to that friend] it's, like, [good] as long as you have, like, good grades." Given the Taylorizing connotation of grades, especially with relation to language, this friend's language-ideological alignment reveals economic pragmatism converging with progressive multilingualism, in that this rather carefree attitude does not pull strongly toward aggressive monolingualism—rather, this friend accepts any type of academic writing, in any kind of language, as long as it receives "good grades." Here, too, there is language-ideological misalignment: different people more strongly feel the pull of

different language ideologies, and that is revealed in how their language-evaluative criteria differ.

Frank Yang and Ava Chen's interactions reveal a striking instance of language-ideological misalignment in that there was a clear discrepancy between the type of feedback Frank gave Ava and the language-evaluative criteria Frank himself described. At Ava's request, Frank gave her feedback on both content and language. Before submitting a paper to an instructor, she said, she would ask Frank to check it. When I asked her what type of feedback he generally gave, she said, "If we have enough time, I will say, like, 70% of the advice were logic, and 30% is grammar. But if we cannot have enough time, I would say 100% grammar." From Ava's characterization of Frank's advice, just like the ESL instructors, we can see a somewhat ambivalent language-ideological transmission. On the one hand, Frank's advice pushed Ava to write with more careful attention to perceived grammaticality, excising features of Chinese English from her writing, a compositional practice characteristic of aggressive monolingualism. On the other hand, a focus on "logic" suggests that there is more than just perceived grammaticality to worry about, suggesting a partial alignment to progressive multilingualism—i.e., a person's ideas matter, not necessarily just their language. But given that, when pressed for time, Frank focused entirely on perceived grammaticality, it is clear where the priority was: strictly curating grammar, seeking so-called "native" English. But when I talked to Frank about his own language-evaluative criteria, he painted a far different picture for me: "I don't think grammar matters that much," he told me, "as long as the word choice is correct." In other words, for him, as long as meaning was conveyed, attaining specifically "American" grammar was not a priority. This rather explicit rejection of aggressive monolingualism is striking, because Ava herself did not mention it when I asked her what, in her mind, Frank thought "good" academic

writing was. In his own words, from the beginning, he provided local-level feedback on Ava's writing. He told me about how he first came into contact with Ava when he helped her write her college-application essay, when, according to him, he "tried to correct the, the small errors and also make the sentences flow in a more natural way," confirming, as she mentioned, that he did give her feedback on perceived grammaticality. He also told me that he would help her "proofread" her writing. Gradually, though, he shifted from lower-order to higher-order concerns: "At first, I started only fixing a grammar errors," he said. "After a while, I felt like she was making a lot less of them. I started going through different logical connections […]" This ordering of Frank's feedback is notable: it suggests that, for him, and perhaps for Ava, too, perceived grammaticality was the first concern that needed to be addressed, and meaning-making second—hinting that one or both of them perceived aggressively monolingual language assessment as a clear threat that needed to be neutralized before moving to higher-order concerns like logic.

Frank's own personal language-ideological alignments seemed to clash with the language ideologies he broadcast to Ava. While he prioritized feedback on perceived grammaticality to her, aligning with aggressive monolingualism at first, he demonstrated that in his personal thought process, logic trumped perceived grammaticality. This could be seen when I asked if he ever disagreed with Ava about what makes "good" English academic writing. He told me a story about reading Ava's friend's essay. "I was actually somewhat impressed by her friend's word choice and just use of English language as a whole," Frank told me, and Ava was also impressed with the essay, he said. However, according to Frank, "her logic was a huge mess." He said, "After I read it, I'm like, she needs to rewrite this whole thing." This anecdote suggests that, for Frank, logic is the first priority. Despite strong performance with regard to perceived

grammaticality, a piece of English academic writing with poor logic is fatally flawed, in Frank's mind. Interestingly, where his advice to Ava indicates a stronger alignment to aggressive monolingualism in strictly language-evaluative advice, his personal stance as demonstrated by this anecdote suggests a stronger alignment to progressive multilingualism, in valuing clear meaning-making more than perceived grammaticality by itself. This mismatch, as in many other instances, speaks to the plurality and plasticity of language ideologies, and demonstrates that language ideologies are not monolithic or all-powerful. Individuals can be aligned or misaligned with language ideologies, and just because one person holds or expresses a particular language-ideological alignment does not mean that their interlocutor must form a similar alignment.

Corey Zhao's relationship with his friend Heidi also demonstrates how two students can have language-ideological misalignment. According to Corey, one of the people with whom he frequently discussed English academic writing was his friend Heidi. Heidi, Corey said, had "graduated from the American high school," suggesting to Corey that she would have a strong grammatical sensibility. But when she gave Corey writing feedback, her advice was "mainly about the structure of the essay," and when Corey asked her grammar-based questions, "she was kind of surprised that I, I was so, like, focused on the grammars." In her apparent unconcern about pursuing "native" English, Heidi is striking in her rejection of aggressive monolingualism: she appeared almost entirely unconcerned with strict language-evaluative standards, focusing more on higher order concerns like structure, suggesting an acceptance of language variety characteristic of progressive multilingualism. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Corey believed that academic writing should be "as close as [possible] to the native speakers' level," revealing that he experienced strong pressure toward aggressive monolingualism. Once again, a moment of language-ideological misalignment appears. While Corey indicated general approval

of Courtney's wide-ranging approach to feedback and mix of language-ideological alignments, he did not go so far as Heidi in rejecting aggressively monolingual language evaluations.

Yet another pair of friends—Yiying Sun and her roommate, Xiaotong—had language-ideological misalignment. When I asked Yiying to assess what, for Xiaotong, constituted "good" academic writing, Yiying said,

> It was like, clear enough just to, need to like, make your article easy. Or like, I don't know, 'cause easy doesn't mean academic. […] Sometimes it's easy to understand. But it's also, like, academic things.

When I asked Yiying if she agreed with Xiaotong's language-evaluative criteria, Yiying replied in a thoughtful and nuanced way, saying,

> Yeah, I think I agree. But maybe easy to understand or easy is like, is a controversial point here. Because sometimes academic paper for me, it's like, maybe you want to publish them if you have opportunity. So that should be contain some professional terms, or like, professional terminology.

In articulating her relative description of her own and Xiaotong's language-evaluative criteria with regard to English academic writing, Yiying painted a complicated picture. On the one hand, she acknowledged and agreed with the idea that academic writing should be clear and easy to read, suggesting an overall alignment with progressive multilingualism—i.e. one's ideas are what matter, and specific linguistic ornamentation or perceived grammaticality is not necessary for a piece of writing to succeed. This overall progressively multilingual language-ideological alignment appeals to Yiying, as evinced by her qualified agreement, but the converging strands of aggressive monolingualism and economic pragmatism also pull on her when she considered "professional" factors like publishing, which require more strictly curated language. In this

description, Yiying revealed the same tension she experienced between broadcasting progressive multilingualism to her elementary students but self-imposing aggressively monolingual linguistic criteria for her own writing. She showed once again how ideologically fraught Yiying's experience on campus is. In disagreeing with Xiaotong, Yiying revealed language-ideological non-uptake, receiving a particular language-ideological transmission from Xiaotong, but ultimately declining to align herself with it.

Throughout my data collection, the campus community member who most explicitly articulated aggressive monolingualism was Jodie Huang's journalism instructor, an interaction that also revealed language-ideological misalignment. Discussing her interactions with her journalism instructor, Jodie explained,

> I don't know […] if he has some problems with me. Or it's just that my skills, my English skills are really bad. Every time he gave me advice on my essays, he says, I should go to the Writing Center, I should go to a native speaker and improve my English. And he didn't even give me any advice for my paper. […] he's not happy with my grammar and the language I use. And he just says that I am not that native, because he knows I am a Chinese but not an American. So he always asked me to find a American classmate and ask them about how to fix my essays. But I go to the Writing Center and those instructors, the Writing Center, they don't think my essay has a very big problem. And actually, they think they're pretty good.

Jodie's description of her journalism instructor is highly significant from a language-ideological perspective. To start with, it demonstrates the degree of self-doubt strict language evaluation can inflict on a student: we can see Jodie questioning her own language proficiency, wondering if her

"English skills are really bad." This comment confirms what several of the Writing Center instructors in Chapter 3 expressed to me: that strict language-evaluative criticisms were harmful to students' self-confidence. For example, Daisy told me, "[H]aving met a lot of students, especially international students who come to me in the Writing Center, and they often tell me that they feel not as confident about their writing, or feel like they're doing something wrong […]" The nativist bias of aggressive monolingualism is clear, too, in that instructor pushed her to seek a "native speaker's" advice and targeted her specifically because she is Chinese. This instructor is unique in my research in that, based on Jodie's description, his language-ideological alignment is pure aggressive monolingualism: his assessment does not touch even slightly on meaning-making or communication ("he didn't even give me any advice for my paper"), but focused entirely on criticizing Jodie's language. Jodie did not ultimately accept this language-ideological orientation, however: when I asked her, "do you agree with the TA's, like, opinions?" she replied, "Well, firstly, I just listened to him, because I think he's the instructor and he knows more than me. But then when I think back now, I think he is not that—I don't think I should listen to him." What can be seen here is not just language-ideological misalignment, but also the conflicting pull of language ideologies that I outlined in Chapter 2. In extremely strict and nationalistically flavored language criticisms, aggressive monolingualism is transmitted clearly to students, but they have some optionality in aligning themselves with it.

There was a distinct difference between how the journalism instructor's language ideologies and those of her Writing Center instructors were transmitted to. In direct contradiction to Jodie's journalism instructor's aggressive monolingualism, the Writing Center instructors I interviewed largely demonstrated rather extreme progressive multilingualism. But, where Jodie heard the journalism instructor's criticisms loud and clear, the Chinese international students I

interviewed often showed very low awareness of their Writing Center instructors' actual attitudes. For example, when I asked Sofia Liu what, in her mind, her Writing Center instructors considered "good" academic writing, and she replied, "I think from my, from my experience, experiences, I think it's the clear structure and *without any grammar issue*" (italics mine). Unfortunately, I was unable to identify, contact, or interview any of the Writing Center instructors with whom Sofia worked—but Sofia's description of her Writing Center instructors' language-evaluative criteria is strikingly different from the instructors I did interview. Tony, for example, when I asked him whether "grammatical correctness" mattered in academic writing, laughed and said, "I don't really think it does very much." Cal was concerned that other instructors' strict language-evaluative criteria indicated "a degree of possibly neglect and, like, possibly even worse, just like straight-up bias." The Writing Center instructors I did interview articulated thoughtful, nuanced, and often theoretically grounded explanations of why they did not prioritize feedback on perceived grammaticality to students, how they tended to focus on larger concerns like argument, and how they provided feedback on local concerns only when it hindered meaning or when the student asked for it specifically. Similarly, Jodie Huang visited the Writing Center multiple times, working with both Daisy and Tony. When I asked Jodie what "good" academic writing was according to those instructors, she said, "Well, with *good grammar*, with good word choice, and good structures" (italics mine). Similar to Sofia, it is notable that Jodie said that the instructors valued "good grammar." Tony, though, explicitly stated that, for him, grammar is not important in academic writing, and Daisy had a fairly nuanced explanation about how she only addressed perceived grammatical concerns that hindered meaning-making (she described targeting a type of grammar feature that "completely changes the meaning of the sentence")—but she did not evidently address perceived

grammaticality as an end in itself. That nuance seems to have been lost on Jodie when she described their language-evaluative criteria, collapsed into a simple description: they value "good grammar," a characterization that is aggressively monolingual, in that it assumes a single, stable, monolithic "good" form of English. Clearly, then, language-ideological transmission can be disrupted, in some contexts.

There is much to unpack in the various language-ideological alignments and misalignments revealed in this analysis. The first issue I would point out is the relatively high frequency of misalignment between peers: Ava Chen and Frank Yang differ in their valuation of perceived grammaticality; Jinglei Zheng and her many groupmates in different classes also have markedly different language-ideological alignments; Corey Zhao did not agree with his classmate Peter Wang's assessment of what constituted an error, and Corey was surprised at his friend Heidi's low concern about perceived grammaticality; Yiying Sun saw using "professional terminology" as more important than simplicity, contradicting her roommate, Xiaotong, who valued simplicity—in other words, Yiying demonstrated stronger alignment to economic pragmatism (in emphasizing professionalism), and Xiaotong stronger alignment with progressive multilingualism (in emphasizing clear communication). In all of these language-ideological misalignments, it seems that language ideologies are not fully transmitted. One person might express a particular language-evaluative criteria, which has language-ideological significance, but often between peers there is a high degree of optionality in uptake. This could be understood simply as a low-stakes interaction: I can listen to my peer's advice, but they are not grading me, so I am not required to follow that advice. Language-ideological misalignment is more fraught in the other instances where it occurs between students and instructors—the most salient example of this phenomenon is Jodie Huang and her linguistically draconian journalism instructor. With

the threat of graded assessment looming, Jodie had to take that instructor's language ideologies much more seriously. And while she did not ultimately herself take up that instructor's strong alignment with aggressive monolingualism, she felt herself forced into action, going to the Writing Center, seeking advice, working to police her grammar. In the Writing Center, though, another type of misalignment happens: while the Writing Center instructors broadly demonstrated alignment with progressive multilingualism, in some cases a radical acceptance of language variation, they did *not* transmit their language ideologies to their Writing Center tutees.

To explain the varying outcome of language-ideological misalignment—the differing outcomes when people disagree about what constitutes "good" English academic writing—I would offer a theoretical explanation: what I will refer to as *language-ideological silence*, when a person or institution does not make language-evaluative criteria and their justification explicit. Language-ideological silence can happen first because someone chooses not to talk about language-evaluative criteria, as can be seen in the mismatch between what Frank Yang thought and what he said to Ava Chen. For whatever reason, they did not discuss this topic, or Ava did not recall Frank expressing such linguistic progressivism. Other times, language-ideological silence is created by lack of time or space in which to discuss language-evaluative criteria. This was the case in Writing Center instructors' communication with their students. While the Writing Center instructors themselves revealed deeply considered attitudes towards language evaluation, they simply did not have time during conferences to articulate these perspectives to their students. As Maala stated when we talked about making space for nuanced conversations about grammar in the Writing Center, "[m]aterially, it's just, the 45 minutes is, is a restraint." In short, when there is language-ideological misalignment between two university stakeholders, be they students or instructors, language-ideological transmission and uptake cannot happen in silence.

This is the first piece in understanding language-ideological transmission on a campus-wide scale: language ideologies are transmitted when language-evaluative criteria are made explicit, which requires time, space, and attention. They are not transmitted, or can be misconstrued, when there is language-ideological silence.

Though the concept of language-ideological silence is useful in explaining patterns of language-ideological transmission on the interpersonal level, more questions remain. How do larger forms of social organization play a role in this transmission? Are there more factors other than simple individual preference that account for whether or not someone takes up another person's language-ideological alignments? In the next section, taking a larger, institutional viewpoint, I will answer these questions.

3. Institutional Language-Ideological Transmission

While I set out at the start of my dissertation to understand how Chinese international students gave and received advice from their direct social-network contacts on campus, this approach bore unexpected fruit: in discussion with various instructors on campus, our conversations led to discussions about their home institutions and how they shared language-evaluative criteria intra-institutionally. Pulling on this thread, I was able to identify stories of language-ideological significance: moments when these academic communities shifted and developed their language-evaluative criteria, nuancing their approach to assessment, and prioritizing particular types of instruction, all with language-ideological significance. These stories built directly off of the previous section and the idea of language-ideological silence: they showed that, opposite to silence, explicit language-ideological talk—especially under the imprimatur of official institutional policy—is immensely powerful in evoking individuals'

language-ideological uptake. In short, while up until this point I have demonstrated that language ideologies are communicated on an individual level, it is on the institutional level that they become most powerful. Pursuing this analysis, I will lay out how these stories have played out within the ESL program, the Writing Center, and in other instructional institutions on campus.

3.1. Institutional Language-Ideological Transmission: A Long-Term Language-Ideological Shift in the ESL Program

I was lucky in that multiple of my interviewees were veteran instructors in the university's ESL program. Charles, for example, told me that he had been teaching in the program for over 30 years. With decades of teaching experience in this program under their belts, these instructors could offer insights into how the program had changed over the years. As I showed in Chapter 3, the ESL instructors all revealed some level of language-ideological ambivalence: they acknowledged some aspects of progressive multilingualism in acknowledging the plurality of Englishes and accepting students' language; but at the same time, in places, they bowed to the demands of aggressive monolingualism, assessing and gradings students' grammar based on its alignment to a perceived standard. This shared set of language-evaluative criteria within the program did not arise in a vacuum. As I learned about the history of the program for the past few decades, it emerged that the ESL program has been changing, shifting from quite extreme aggressive monolingualism, through a variety of influences, toward a more moderate approach with more of a progressively multilingual focus.

Based on the ESL instructors' stories, it is clear that very strict language-based assessment was the norm in the ESL program in the 80s, an institutional norm very much shaped by the program's leadership (or, significantly, the lack thereof). When Abigail was talking about

beginning her work in the ESL program in the 1980s, she explained that the program did not have clear institutional norms, nor did the program leadership play a great role in guiding instruction. Describing a time when she sought advice from the course coordinator at the time, Abigail said,

> [O]ne time I walked in [to her office], I said, here's this paper and, you know, how do I, where do I even begin [providing feedback]? [...] And she goes, she just took her pen, and she crossed out the first paragraph on this person's paper. And I was like, she goes, they shouldn't start here, they should start here. And I'm just like, Oh man, I'm not gonna do that to the student. And I mean, some of the jokes [the other ESL instructors and I tell] are like, okay, like, do you think, should we comment on [students'] use of "the"? We still joke about it, because it was, we were babes in the woods, I would say.

Abigail's story speaks to the early programmatic norms when she first started. First of all, the coordinator showed an extremely strong hand in providing feedback. Crossing out an entire paragraph and making a large-scale, top-down, directive piece of feedback— "they should start here"—is indicative of a fairly draconian and teacher-directed teaching style, one that does not permit students to have their own voice. Abigail said she and the other ESL instructors joked about whether or not to address a student's use of *the*, which suggests that they were having conversations about fine-grained grammatical features, too. While she presented this part of her story humorously, suggesting perhaps that such a fine-grained approach was amusing in being excessively punctilious, it demonstrates a level of uncertainty. Should they dive into grammatical minutiae or not? And the overall uncertainty she described, the fact that they were "babes in the woods," all speaks to the lack of direction: Abigail clearly did not find the course coordinator's

feedback useful, outright rejecting this directive top-down approach, but she did not have a clear alternative, leaving her and the other instructors to formulate their own language-evaluative criteria. Charles described a similar lack of leadership when he first began teaching in the program in the 80s: “back then [the] coordinators just sort of chose general topics and then you are on your own. You were expected to know how to teach. And so we sort of taught each other how, what to do [...] I had no idea what to do at that time. I’d never taught academic writing before, and had no, no specific training in that. So I really learned on the job.”

How did the ESL instructors, as individuals and constituents of an educational institution, move from this uncertainty about what and how to teach to a fairly stable set of language-evaluative criteria? One explanation for the program’s gradual language-ideological uptake can be found in the effects of linguistics graduate school on the program’s instructors. Livia, though she was one of the youngest ESL instructor I interviewed, had observed how the program had changed while she had worked there, and she commented how this change had occurred, and is still occurring:

> I think there’s a generational shift in ESL that I think is happening. I think as we, as the university, as everyone becomes a little more interested in sociolinguistics and linguistic jus—justice and multilingualism. You know, that’s not, even though we talked about sociolinguistics when I did my master’s in 2007, I feel like it was just, just, just coming in. […] Just everyone becoming more, I mean, the word translanguaging, I don't think hardly existed in 2007. I want to say that some of the seminal, seminal articles were published in 2007, 2008. Maybe there was a little bit before that. But all that to say, there's been some shifts, and I think we're trying to understand those shifts as well. So I think there is shifts taking

> place, but if I think to, like, what it felt like when I was, you know, even five or 10 years ago, I would be much stricter in an ESL.

She went on to talk about how, in that cohort of teachers, she saw remnants of older theoretical frameworks like grammar translation, which has since fallen out of favor as a language-instructional method, having been replaced by methods that emphasize more naturalistic communicative language learning (Celce-Murica et al., 2014). Livia's description reveals a shift from strictly grammar-based assessment and instruction to more sociolinguistically informed methods. In particular, by mentioning the theoretical framework of translanguaging, Livia demonstrates a clear transition from strong aggressive monolingualism toward progressive multilingualism, in that translanguaging and related theories value linguistic variation, especially in academic writing (Canagarajah, 2011; Espinosa et al., 2016; García & Kleyn, 2016; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Kaufhold, 2018; Kiramba, 2017; Kleyn & García, 2019). She contrasted the disciplinary training of these ESL instructors with other writing programs on campus:

> [The ESL] program is not, like, really run by a lot of graduate students who are doing, like, the cutting-edge work. It takes some time, and we're all, we all read and we're all interested in the field and we all do professional development, but I think it might be slower than in, like, Composition Rhetoric or the Writing Center where, like, 90% of the people are doing PhDs and, like, all engage, and the people running the program have PhDs. […] And so I think the change though, my sense of it, it's coming in sociolinguistics, it's coming in the field, and then it filters into us, and we talk about it and we read and, and we, slowly we come together.

In Livia's description, then, where the program started with aggressive monolingualism as its default in language-evaluative criteria, it had shifted over time, but not as fast as other programs with instructors more actively engaged with recent research. The impetus for this shift is not individuals' attitudes, necessarily, but rather the gradual, collective influence of linguistics research and how it influences individual instructors.

The effects of linguistics instruction can be seen in how several of the ESL instructors described their language-evaluative criteria, confirming this gradual shift as Livia described it: exposure to linguistics seems to have left a distinct progressively multilingual mark on at least some of them. I noted in Chapter 3 that all six of the ESL instructors whom I interviewed hold Master's degrees in language-related fields, and the way the instructors talked about their language-evaluative practices echoed discourse within those fields. Megan, when discussing how a common difficulty in her ESL classes was plagiarism, showed a sociolinguistically informed understanding that US academic writing norms are culturally bound, saying, "[In] some cultures, plagiarism is a sign of respect for previous research or professors," a concept that has been extensively explored in linguistics (e.g. Flowerdew & Li, 2007). By framing the issue in a way that acknowledges both the language-culture connection and also the plurality of languages and cultures, and by implicitly rejecting the idea that American English and ways of writing are the only acceptable ones, she demonstrated alignment with progressive multilingualism. Similarly, Naomi described how during her Master's degree, she "discovered that academic writing [doesn't] have the same rules across cultures." Also emphasizing linguistic and cultural plurality in composition, Charles stressed that there is not one single way to write correctly: "I try to be very upfront with the students and say, this is one way of writing. It's one way of using language." And Hossein's understanding of linguistic issues likely goes beyond any of the

others, as, at the time when he was teaching for the ESL program, he was working towards his PhD dissertation, the topic of which is "interaction of linguistic behaviors and ethnic identities," a research topic that makes explicit the idea that language is bound to identity—a sensitizing approach that clearly shows his alignment to progressive multilingualism. And both Livia and Charles, independently of each other and without explicit prompting from me, referred to the idea that language education can be "imperialistic." Livia, to start with, said that it was a mistake to totally divorce the teaching of academic writing from teaching grammar, saying, "I feel like you don't want to get to a place where we are so dogmatic about one thing that we don't allow for another. Like anyone that teaches grammar is evil, and is trying to be *imperialistic*" (italics mine). Charles, similarly, when laying out his thought process in how and when he addresses perceived grammatical concerns in his writing feedback, showed his awareness of his own positionality within two ideological extremes, saying, "I'm fully aware of the sort of *imperialistic* sense of that […] in a way, I'm perpetuating it" (italics mine). The idea that strictly upholding grammatical rules can be imperialistic is one that they both likely came across during their graduate studies, and they both approached this conversation with an understanding of how their assessment might, albeit unintentionally, reinforce global inequality. While it is naïve to assume that a person's language-ideological alignment is formed by a single experience, I would argue that the instructors' critical position towards language education and their place within global hierarchies is directly tied to their graduate studies, leading to this rather explicit alignment with the progressive multilingualism thread of language ideologies. By collectively engaging in linguistics research and integrating linguistics findings into their pedagogy, these instructors reveal institutional language-ideological uptake: a group, as a whole, adopting a certain set of language-evaluative criteria, namely by being more permissive of language

variation. However, these stories still center individuals' experiences in academia—how do these norms become solidified on an institutional level?

One answer to this question, explaining how institutions might demonstrate collective language-ideological uptake, can be seen in how changing ESL leadership affected the instructors' standards for language evaluation. About a year before these interviews took place, the ESL program had taken on a new director, whom I will refer to as Paul. Livia quite explicitly noticed how Paul's talk about language assessment and instruction differed markedly from the previous director, whom I will call Joyce. Livia explained:

> I mean, Paul definitely, like, encouraged the shift as far as our whole department is concerned, but he didn't, like, it was happening before then. But Joyce wasn't interested, you know, in like, these conversations. […] The very first meeting, Paul—this is such a good thing, that Paul lead, he talked, he said, you know, "We want to be aware of, like, the deficit model. And we want to make sure that we're not, like, projecting a deficit model." And I often text with friends during meetings, and I'm, like, texting, like, [gasp] "Oh, my goodness, I had never heard the word deficit model in our department."

When I asked Livia what "deficit model" meant in her understanding, she explained, "valuing [students'] pre-existing strengths. […] And just trying to not, not view ESL students, multilingual students, as something that needs to be fixed." The term "deficit model" has been used for decades in language education to critique conceptions of multilingual students as inherently lacking (e.g. Khan, 1984). It is striking that Livia had not heard the term used in conversation in the ESL program, and especially that she believed the previous director "wasn't interested [in] these conversations." Based on Livia's portrayal, the entire program is in the

process of language-ideological shifts: on the one hand, a very slow-moving one as sociolinguistics research and perspectives are permeating this teaching community, at times conflicting with older, aggressively monolingual pedagogical approaches; on the other hand, a very fast-moving one as the program undergoes a shift in leadership and concurrent shift in institutional values. In this institution-wide change, I see language-ideological transmission at work, and in particular the power that institutions, and their leadership, have to affect people's language ideologies. In particular, in explicit talks about pedagogy and language assessment, particular language-evaluative criteria are shared among members of that institution.

Demonstrating how explicit language-evaluative talk pushes institution members towards language-ideological uptake, I found evidence that program meetings were relevant for this type of uptake. Megan told me how, as a teacher, she had gradually shifted away from fine-grained feedback on perceived grammaticality, focusing more on global concerns, mirroring the same move from aggressive monolingualism toward progressive multilingualism that Livia described. I asked her how that change had happened, and she told me, "Peer pressure," and laughed. She elaborated,

> I did notice that, that, that it kept coming up in different meetings that, you know, section meetings. About correcting. I mean we never really discussed correcting but the, I think what helped me see too was the rubrics that we were given. Now we all have the same rubric, and how little the language section is emphasized, the language and mechanics, I think it is. […] Whereas a lot of the larger ideas of comprehension, how can I say it? Anyway, I think the rubric and my colleagues and being in this more academic environment has influenced me. I think back when I was working at [a private language school], and we weren't teaching

> research skills, and not even style as much. So I think, and I was teaching a lot of grammar classes. So it was very natural for me to focus on sentence grammar.

While working at a private language school, Megan was drawn into alignment with fairly extreme aggressive monolingualism, in an educational context that highly emphasized the pursuit of a very particular grammar. In time, by sitting in meetings in the ESL program, and especially by looking at the course-wide shared rubrics among instructors, Megan picked up the sense that strict assessment and feedback based on grammar was not highly valued by the program—in other words, aggressive monolingualism was not emphasized. Instead, the greater focus on "larger ideas of comprehension" signaled that the program overall and the instructors within it were being drawn into alignment with progressive multilingualism—or, at least partial alignment, given that "language and mechanics," apparently, still included perceived grammaticality as an assessable and gradable aspect of the ESL writing classes. Megan's story revealed how an institution's shared values can push an individual toward language-ideological uptake and personal alignment, as seen by Megan's personal movement from strong aggressive monolingualism to a more balanced language-ideological orientation.

Graduate-school instruction, the attitudes of program leadership, shared rubrics, meetings, peer pressure from other instructors—the various ways in which language-ideologically salient information is communicated on larger interactional and institutional scales are becoming clear. Where in the ESL program the shift had been from aggressive monolingualism to a rather more balanced multivalent position between aggressive monolingualism and progressive multilingualism (with the occasional pull from economic pragmatism), in the next section, I will show a different language-ideological shift, in the form of

a gradual change from extreme progressive multilingualism to acknowledging and addressing the pull of aggressive monolingualism among Writing Center instructors.

3.2. Institutional Language-Ideological Transmission: Teaching or Not Teaching Perceived Grammaticality in the Writing Center

As with my conversations with ESL instructors, I also found it fruitful to attend to stories about moments of shifting or developing language-evaluative criteria within the Writing Center. Livia, again, was a very helpful source of information in understanding these shifting norms, given that she held an official role as liaison between the ESL program (where she was a teaching faculty) and the Writing Center (where she served in an advisory role regarding issues of multilingual writing). Discussing how she came into that role, she described how graduate teaching assistants in the Writing Center often struggled knowing how to address multilingual students' needs. For example, she said, "I do a workshop now that is not just for ESL writers, it's for everyone, called, like, Linguistic Features of Professional Research Writing […]" Using her training in applied linguistics, then, Livia was able to offer linguistic insights into academic writing, treating it as a new language that anyone, not just a multilingual student, needed to learn. In this capacity, she was well-positioned to note institutional shifts in the Writing Center.

A language-ideologically salient shift that Livia and other Writing Center instructors revealed was the gradually increasing institution-wide acceptance that grammatical instruction is appropriate in the Writing Center. Initially, she said, many Writing Center instructors had the sense that teaching and discussing grammar in the Writing Center was frowned upon: "There was definitely some of that, like, am I allowed to help [students], like, edit their paper?" While many campus stakeholders, including Chinese international students, seemed to see grammatical

instruction not just as important but necessary for success in academic writing, the Writing Center had an opposite language-evaluative criteria, holding that *no* grammatical assessment or discussion should happen in the Writing Center. Livia elaborated on where this idea had come from by telling a story about a conversation with the former director of the Writing Center, whom I shall call Howard:

> When I first got to the Writing Center, it's, there seemed to be, between students and staff, was like, "We don't know if we're allowed to work on grammar and language." And, and some people feeling like they had to do it, like, under the table. And I talked to Howard about this. And Howard's like, "No, of course, the Writing Center's always worked on, like, grammar and language." But I think in their effort to be like, we are not, like, a one-stop editing shop, the kind of message had gotten muddled. So whenever, so I would, I did multiple presentations to the whole staff, and, like Howard okayed this and we do work on grammar and language. And then here's some ways you might do it in the context of a Writing Center appointment that isn't all about grammar and language.

Strikingly, this anecdote reveals a very different language-ideological situation than I saw while looking at other campus stakeholders. Where almost everyone else I talked to, students and instructors alike, indicated at least some alignment to aggressive monolingualism, the Writing Center instructors as described here revealed the polar opposite: an extreme form of progressive multilingualism—what could be called aggressive progressive multilingualism: an utter rejection of strict language assessment. What followed, though, was a gradual partial alignment to aggressively monolingual language ideologies in the form of increased attention to and explicit discussion about perceived grammaticality. Similar to the ESL program and how Paul had pulled

his institution away from aggressively monolingual language assessment, in the Writing Center Howard had pulled the Writing Center *toward* aggressive monolingualism.

Several other Writing Center instructors discussed this gradual language-ideological shift toward aggressive monolingualism with me. Aiden, for example, talked about how the Writing Center had changed since he first started to work there "more than ten years ago." He told me, that when he first started, "I was taught to be very indirect on, on that kind of thing, on providing grammar and punctuation feedback, but toward the end, I could really change my mind on that." Describing how he shifted his attitude, he said "[T]here's nothing wrong with teaching those things. It's still a rhetorical thing, so you're not going to be able to persuade your audience usually if, if what you're writing is unclear or confusing because of grammar/punctuation concerns." Daisy, similarly, talked about how she initially was not very comfortable giving feedback on perceived grammaticality, especially because she felt she lacked training in discussing grammar in Writing Center conferences. But she, too, shifted her attitude: "So, yeah, something like grammar is relatively, I think I've gotten more used to Writing Center sessions focused on that versus argument." In both of these examples, the Writing Center instructors found their attitudes shifting. Initially, either by training or by personal predilection, they did not address local concerns like perceived grammaticality, focusing instead on global concerns like, as Daisy said, argument. Aiden framed this change in theoretical and pedagogical terms, coming to think of such instruction as a way to help students convincing their audiences. For both of these instructors, the change was from extreme progressive multilingualism toward more aggressive monolingualism, in that they began to provide more targeted feedback on perceived grammatical concerns.

As the ESL instructor Megan indicated a changing language-ideological orientation through "peer pressure"—in the form of staff meetings—the Writing Center instructors also revealed how staff meetings shaped their language ideologies, and one staff meeting in particular came up in multiple interviews with Writing Center instructors. During the meeting in question, several multilingual student-writers were invited to serve as panelists, for instructional purposes to inform the Writing Center instructors' practices. Livia described a particularly memorable moment in that workshop:

> [Student's name], you know, mentioned there was like, you know, an instructor [in sociology] […] I don't remember what he said, but some instructor [said], like, "Go, fucking, like, go to the Writing Center before I'll fucking read this."

The implication of this sociology professor's comment to the student—delivered thirdhand to the Writing Center instructors—was a pure articulation of aggressive monolingualism, emphasis on the word *aggressive*. The comment indicated that the instructor would not read the student's writing without grammatical changes, and an in particular the use of the vulgar intensifier *fucking*, rendered this an intense and extreme rejection of not just the student's language, but also their ideas, suggesting that no communication at all could be achieved without strictly adherence to some "standard" set of grammatical rules.

This story, of university instructors' intense aggressively monolingual language assessment and its impact on multilingual students, demonstrably shaped multiple Writing Center instructors' willingness to discuss perceived grammaticality in Writing Center conferences. Tony also clearly remembered that same meeting, and told me:

> [I]t was, I mean, it was such an effective meeting. […] I think it really affected a lot of people and really changed Writing Center practice. Because before, when I

> first started here, it was very often the case that we would say like, well, we don't proofread, we don't proofread, we don't proofread. And I think that the experience of having those students come and say, "Well, like, I'm dealing with racist instructors who, who aggressively comment on every mistake that I make. I need somebody to help me with my grammar, so that I don't have to deal with that." Like, I think that really changed a lot of people's minds about how we should, how we should work with people on their, their grammar and proofreading problems here.

What can be seen here is a radical reshaping of an institution's pedagogical focus. Initially, Tony's story shows, the Writing Center instructors held that any kind of grammar-based or local-level feedback constituted "proofreading," i.e. fine-grained correction based on perceived grammaticality, and they maintained that this was not a service that they offered. Conversations about whether or not proofreading is acceptable are not new to the Writing Center, a debate concerned with whether or not proofreading and grammar-based feedback is educative or not (Harwood, 2022). What can be seen in Tony's description is a shifting attitude—a growing understanding that a simple rejection of grammar-based feedback is not in students' best interest. This story reveals a trend I found in Chapter 3: while the Writing Center instructors themselves did not assess students' writing based on aggressively monolingual norms of grammaticality, they do, in an effort to support multilingual students, provide such feedback in response to *other* instructors' language-based criticisms. Evan revealed similarly how Writing Center staff meetings could lead instructors to institutional, shared language-ideological alignment, telling me how there had been a workshop in which Livia and other ESL instructors had taught Writing Center instructors to differentiate "egregious errors and non-egregious errors."

The stories of these staff meetings, as told by Livia, Tony, and Evan, show the impetus for the Writing Center instructors' nuanced language-ideological orientation. Through shared experiences and explicit talk about language evaluation, the institution as a unit was shifting more towards addressing perceived grammaticality, a sort of second-order alignment with aggressive monolingualism. While their personal language-ideological alignments leaned heavily toward progressive multilingualism, these experiences led them to address perceived grammaticality in their instruction. As I will show in the next section, institutional language-ideological transmission happened in other academic institutions in the university too.

3.3. Institutional Language-Ideological Transmission: Talking (and Not Talking) about Writing in Other Academic Institutions

Other instructors' academic institutions also played a role in their language-evaluative criteria and apparent language-ideological orientations. Tom, for example, told me that he "had no formal training in pedagogy, and in art history we don't get it." He lamented this fact, telling me that "just the fact that some person is an expert in the field doesn't mean that they are expert in teaching that." Without any kind of instruction, similar to the ESL instructors, Tom was left mainly to his own devices in developing a pedagogical approach, including his language-evaluative criteria when reading student writing. As I described in Chapter 3, Tom had a deeply considered set of criteria in which he broke his feedback into different "levels," one of which included "grammar, syntax, [and] word choice" as "very valuable tools that convinces somebody […] of your point of view," tools that could and should be "sharpen[ed]." In describing this pedagogical approach, Tom echoed other instructors who have discussed feedback on perceived grammaticality in terms of meaning-making and communication, and not as an end in itself.

Indeed, Tom was deeply sympathetic to multilingual people. What I would like to point out in Tom's institutional experiences in the art history program is a clear instance of language-ideological silence. Where his academic program provided little to no pedagogical training, Tom developed his own standards. While Tom struck me as deeply thoughtful and empathetic, this silence is concerning—without oversight, instructors have the option to be extremely strict and critical of students' language, veering into the type of harmful aggressive monolingualism people like Jodie Huang experienced with her journalism instructor.

There were other academic programs that had shared language-ideological alignments. In Elias's economics class, he did assess students' grammar with Packback, but that was only one of the criteria by which they were assessed. Elias's focus in writing overall was communication and "financial literacy," or the ability to read and understanding financial information, and to convey it to others, since, according to Elias, "we don't communicate particularly well with, with people outside the profession." He himself did not have any kind of strict standards for grammatical assessment, and, according to him, that was true of the economics program overall. Other than students in the more writing-intensive honors track, he said, "I think you can, you can, you know, you can graduate and do well with, with somewhat limited language skills, both in writing and in spoken language." This program also had an institutional norm, and a largely progressively multilingual language-ideological orientation. Elias's description of this shared norm is similar to how Audrey described the business writing class, which was taught by ten other instructors in different sections. Illustrating this point, she told me,

> [I]t's something that we talk about sometimes in our staff meetings, especially when new people come in, they're like, "Well, what do you do with students who are non-native speakers? Some who have who have pretty good English, some

> who don't? You know, how do, do we do something special?" So we do talk about it and I think we're all in agreement that we're not, we're not going to be, you know, with the ruler on the, on the back of the hand for every grammatical error, you know, because that would be unreasonable. And it would take the focus away from what we're trying to do, which is think about how your communication is working. That's the important thing.

Similarly to the staff meetings in both the ESL program and the Writing Center, in Audrey's story, we can see individuals within an institution participating in meetings. In this example, she describes how new members of this community ("new people," i.e. new instructors) come in and are drawn into language-ideological alignment, in this case with an overall progressively multilingual orientation. This can be seen in how Audrey describes a fairly light touch with regard to perceived grammaticality: the standard language-evaluative criteria among these instructors are not to criticize perceived grammar mistakes (illustrated with the rather extreme example of striking a student "on the back of the hand" with a ruler), but rather to focus on communication. This standard is also shared in their rubric—Audrey told me about how there is a portion of the rubric for the class which requires "error-free writing." Interestingly for a language-ideological analysis, she told me that she herself rejected parts of the rubric. This suggests that, while the rubric does constitute a mode of language-ideological transmission by which members are drawn into alignment, there is—just as shown in Chapters 2 and 3—plasticity and plurality in that people can engage with or not engage with language ideologies based on context or personal orientation. Finally, when I talked to Liam about the English program, he told me that he had not been in the program long enough to feel that he could comment on it, but described how his own language-evaluative criteria, and specifically his

decision not to focus on grammar, had been shaped by "a variety of graduate seminars." He had also noticed that "there was no discussion of grammar" in English department meetings. From this, he concluded, "Okay, well, I guess we don't have to […] worry about this [perceived grammaticality]." Outside of this institutional context, his own attitudes had been shaped by his experiences with linguistics, though. Throughout all of these examples, the role of institutions in shaping larger-scale language ideologies is clear, as well as the individual factors at play in deciding how people engage with them.

4. Conclusion:

In this chapter, I have answered my third research question: How do these various campus stakeholders—Chinese international students and the campus community members with whom they discuss academic writing—articulate language ideologies to each other, and how do these conversations play out, on interpersonal and institutional levels? In agreement, open conflict, unspoken disagreement, or shifting attitudes? In doing so, I have shown that individuals deeply engage with each other's language ideologies. There is likely no such thing as a person whose language-ideological anchor is solely internal, whose language-evaluative criteria have no ideological baggage other than their own preferences. On the contrary, as I showed, individuals (especially in a writing-centric institution like a university), in frequently discussing writing, also frequently transmit language ideologies to each other. The lion's share of these language-ideological transmissions, I found, have no apparent language-ideological misalignments: the individuals in this study had generally overlapping concerns about writing, with the similar influences of all three language-ideological strands visible in most people's descriptions of their language-evaluative criteria. On this campus, and likely on other US campuses, there is a shared

focus on inclusivity, and so explicit rejections of nonstandard Englishes are likely frowned on—but still, strict assessments based on perceived grammaticality are frequently passed on people's writing in this context. But that is not the only factor in how people think and talk about academic English on campus. There are many other concerns that people factor into assessing writing, including both future job prospects (suggestive of economic pragmatism) and non-grammatical concerns like effective communication and the creation of new ideas (suggestive of progressive multilingualism). In terms of language-ideological transmission, this finding suggests that, on the whole, language-ideological transmission is successful in instilling shared values with regard to what makes "good" language in a particular context.

Critically, however, people do not *always* demonstrate language-ideological alignment. People disagree, differ in their language-evaluative criteria, or shift their attitudes over time. I found that distinct language-ideological misalignment was most common between peers. One student might highly value "nativelike" grammar (whatever that means), and work hard towards that goal, whereas their close friend might care not a whit for so-called "correct" grammar as long as their grades are good. These opposing valuations between peers with regard to English academic writing do not necessarily have high stakes: these students do not officially assess each other, have institutional power on each other, or have the ability to impose their language ideologies on others. Where these differences are more troubling is when they happen within power differentials. We saw multiple instances where students' language-ideological orientations were seriously misaligned from their instructors; we also saw moments where institutional-level discourses pushed constituents (or, perhaps more appropriately, employees) of those organizations into language-ideological alignment, most often through professional talk about writing. So while language-ideological transmission happens frequently, most often resulting in

overall alignment, that transmission is most powerfully formative in pulling together misaligned language ideologies, working towards agreement and uptake, when it happens in the context of an overarching institution. Simply put, when people are at the mercy of larger institutional forces, especially when those institutions are their workplace, it is more likely that previously misaligned language ideologies will be drawn into alignment. That is what we saw in the ESL program's shift over time, in the Writing Center instructors gradually changing their perspectives about teaching perceived grammaticality, and in various discussions within other academic entities (e.g. the Business Writing program) wherein people's language ideologies were drawn toward various institutional lodestones.

All of these trends lead me back to the idea of language-ideological convergence and divergence as I discussed in Chapters 2 and 3: a person is usually pulled at by all three language-ideological strands, but economic pragmatism—the valuation of a particular language form as a career boon and not as an end in itself—acted as a sort of wildcard, bolstering one of the other two strands. When money was involved, it factored into people's language-evaluative criteria, often forming the foundation for how they justified those criteria. What I would argue here is that there is not simply *convergence* or *divergence* of language ideologies—in fact, they combine with each other. These findings suggest to me that people are constantly experiencing potential language-ideological transmissions to shape their language in a certain way, but the pull becomes much stronger when *multiple* of those justifications, and their associated language ideologies, work in tandem. And when a particularly strong language-ideological stance (e.g. the Writing Center instructors' acceptance of language variation) comes into contact with an opposing one (e.g. how students visiting the Writing Center did so because of the strictly critical language evaluations of other instructors), there is a kind of language-ideological arithmetic that happens,

ultimately resulting in a person's overall language ideological alignment. For the Writing Center instructors, that alignment was one wherein they typically held quite radical progressively multilingual alignments, but acted in concert with aggressive monolingualism in hopes of supporting students. In a word, language ideologies are *cumulative*: they are able to work together to similar effects.

With a language-ideological lens, the entire campus becomes a complex, multi-valent webwork of competing language ideologies, some of them pulling in one direction, others in opposition, and everyone must react dynamically to those various and often changing pulls. As a teacher or administrator, one cannot necessarily shift the balance of power, because there are such powerful institutions (including conceptions of nationality, race, ethnicity, etc.) at play. However, given the prevailing power of race-based language assessment that still holds sway over universities, it is inexcusable *not* to acknowledge the relationship between language assessment and racism on campus. Matsuda (2006) has argued that there exists a "myth of linguistic homogeneity" in university spaces, joining a chorus of other scholars arguing that universities in general (Dolmage, 2017; Schick, 2000) and academic English specifically (Flores & Rosa, 2015) are made by and for whiteness. In this deeply raced context, given that my findings have shown that language-ideological silence can result in a defaulting to aggressive monolingualism, it is clear that instructors must be explicit in explaining their language-evaluative criteria and the justifications for it. Additionally, institutions must be explicit in developing standards for what counts as "good" academic writing within them. There are individuals (like Tom, the Art History TA who received very little explicit pedagogical training but who had a rather radical progressively multilingual orientation) who naturally orient themselves in favor of progressive multilingualism. But it is also likely that many individuals,

lacking explicit instruction, will assume that strictly policing students' language is a necessary instructional approach. Overall, then, I would argue for stakeholders in university spaces to develop and widely share explicit, theoretically grounded and ideologically sensitive definitions of what they consider "good" academic writing.

In hopes of more deeply articulating these assertions, in the next chapter, I will work to tie all of my ideas together thus far. First, I will summarize the collective findings of this dissertation. Next, focusing particularly on prior scholarship on language ideologies, I will discuss how my findings and theorization contribute to larger theoretical and disciplinary conversations about language ideologies. Finally, I will provide more in-depth recommendations based on my findings, both in terms of how educators and university stakeholders can work to better support multilingual students, and also how future research can build on these findings.

Chapter 5

Conclusion: Implications and Recommendations

1. Summary of Findings

My initial motivation for this research was to better understand the experiences of Chinese international students on a US campus, a community with which I have worked extensively as a writing instructor. Noting that a wide body of research has argued that minoritized communities in US universities are subject to significant racial and linguistic bias, I expected that my results would reveal such bias in great detail: harsh and dismissive instructors who reject their multilingual students' writing, including that of Chinese students, based solely on perceived linguistic deficits. Designing my dissertation in part to seek out such critical moments of exclusionary discriminative assessment, my goal was to identify ways in which universities could better support not just Chinese international students but all students with minoritized language repertoires. And I did indeed find references to such draconian instructors: Jodie Huang talked about an extremely strict and biased journalism instructor, and several of the Writing Center instructors told me how they had heard second-hand about instructors who are extremely critical in assessing students' adherence to so-called "native" English. These findings are well in line with researchers like Flores and Rosa (2015), who pointed out the racializing evaluative trend in college composition, and Matsuda (2006), who described the segregation of multilingual students into remedial language and composition courses in terms of "linguistic containment" and "quarantine." My findings do indicate that students whose languages do not match the perceived norm (i.e. white, middle- or upper-class, American-born) for language do, as predicted, experience friction and criticism based on their language. Beyond this, though, my findings also provided extensive detail into the language ideologies that Chinese international

students themselves held and into the language ideologies of campus community members with whom they discuss academic writing, and finally into how these individuals communicate academic-writing-related language ideologies to each other, and to what effect.

While past scholarship I read prepared me for university stakeholders to hold extremely strict aggressively monolingual language ideologies, I was surprised to find that the Chinese international students themselves were some of the harshest critics of their language. In Chapter 2, answering my first Research Question, I analyzed my interviews with fourteen Chinese international students enrolled in a US university. I found, first, that the students, when describing their own language-evaluative criteria with relation to academic writing, frequently exhibited strong orientations toward aggressive monolingualism. They described their language- and writing-related goals in terms of learning "native" or "standard" English, following the rules, and constantly striving to "improve" their English—all indicative of the monodirectional language-learning characteristic of aggressive monolingualism. There were some instances of exception, though: Frank Yang, for example, was quite accepting of language variation in his own writing. But even where some of the students demonstrated a partial alignment to progressive multilingualism, usually in the form of embracing non-"standard" Englishes, that acceptance often came with caveats and tight restrictions. Frank himself, when giving Ava Chen feedback on her writing, took a strong grammatically evaluative stance contrary to the language-evaluative criteria he himself articulated. Other students talked about how Chinese English was acceptable, but usually only in conversation with other Chinese people—not with US-born people. Their articulations of aggressive monolingualism were often tied into articulations of economic pragmatism, in that they justified strict language- and writing-related goals in terms of professionalism and future career goals. I demonstrated how the three strands of language

ideologies—aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism—were often closely intertwined.

In Chapter 3, building on this idea of intertwinement, I sought to answer my second Research Question by exploring the language ideologies of campus community members with whom the Chinese international students of Chapter 2 said they discussed English academic writing. Reporting on my interviews with seventeen campus community members whom the Chinese international students identified, I showed how other stakeholders on campus are similarly pulled in different directions in their language ideologies. At times, they demonstrated alignment to aggressive monolingualism by critiquing and discussing students' grammar, instructional moves that suggests students' current language repertoires are insufficient, and pushing them, at least to some extent, toward more "nativelike" English. However, all of the instructors I interviewed revealed some alignment to progressive multilingualism in that they acknowledge other concerns in writing, outside of just language. Some of the instructors were utterly unconcerned with any conception of "native" or "non-native" English; others, especially the ESL instructors, did see perceived grammatical improvement as a worthwhile goal (signaling alignment to aggressive monolingualism) but mainly in pursuit of clarity and communication (signaling alignment to progressive multilingualism). I found that the instructors, especially in the Writing Center, were also responsive to other instructors' language ideologies, too, providing feedback on perceived grammaticality in an effort to shield their multilingual students from the harsh language-based assessment of other instructors on campus. In this chapter, I proposed that all three language ideologies are constantly pulling at individuals, and that economic pragmatism could converge varyingly with aggressive monolingualism (when strict language assessment is

seen to be in line with someone's career goals) or progressive multilingualism (when a student's current language repertoire is seen as sufficient or effective for their future career goals).

In Chapter 4, I tied the ideas of the previous ideas together and expanded them, going from intrapersonal language-ideological analysis to interpersonal, exploring how individuals transmit language ideologies to each other and to what effect, both between individuals and within larger institutions like the ESL program. Applying social-network mapping, I identified that often the Chinese international students and writing-adjacent campus community members most often displayed language-ideological alignment: a general resonance in the language ideologies they articulated, both individually and to each other. Noting moments of mismatch or misalignment, though, I found that there were instances where individuals disagreed, which I termed non-alignment. Instances of non-alignment were notable because often they occurred between peers—for example, one student might take a strictly grammar-focused approach to writing and seek to curate their languages for a "native"-speaker audience, whereas another might not care about perceived grammaticality. I also found moments of non-alignment between instructors and students, though, where students perceived bias in their instructors' strict assessment. In moments of language-ideological silence, I argued, when instructors leave their language-evaluative criteria unspoken, their interlocutors may assume those criteria to be more aggressively monolingual than they really are. This was the case for several of the students who worked with Writing Center instructors: while those instructors did not value perceived grammaticality as an end in itself, the students *thought* that they did, suggesting that aggressive monolingualism (and identity factors like race, ethnicity, and nationality) within university spaces is the default. I found, too, that within institutions, people's language ideologies shifted in explicit moments of language-ideological talk—for example, the ESL instructors became less

strict prescriptivists gradually over the years, with individual instructors' attitudes changing especially when observing their coworkers' language-evaluative criteria during staff meetings.

Throughout all of these chapters, I found that moments of language-evaluative talk are critical in shaping people's language ideologies in different ways, often dependent on power differentials in relationships. When peers talked to each other, and had differing language-ideological alignments, there was little to no difference and power, and often they did not shift each other language ideologies. But when the workplace was involved—as seen in various staff meetings and training seminars that shaped different instructors' language-evaluative criteria with relation to student writing—people were much more likely to change those alignments. Within the framework I have developed throughout this dissertation, these situations can be seen as economic pragmatism (given that these conversations occurred in people's workplaces, the source of their income) converging with one of the other two strands. Noting this trend, I proposed that language ideologies are cumulative: when multiple language ideologies pull in the same direction, they become more powerful. To illustrate: if a multilingual person meets a classmate or peer who is critical of non-"standard" English, the student experiences one language-ideological pull toward aggressive monolingualism. If that student is also strictly assessed based on their grammatical "correctness" in a class, that constitutes yet another pull in that direction. If they exist in a national context wherein multilingualism is criticized and policed, that constitutes yet another language-ideological pull. And if that student hopes to find work in that country, and sees "nativelike" English as a potential boon in their job hunt, that constitutes yet another pull. These language ideologies cohere into stronger and stronger forces, shaping people's attitudes.

With these findings laid out, in the next section I will discuss how they contribute to theory.

2. Contributions to Theory

This study's theoretical underpinning broadly comprises research on language valuation and belonging: how individuals perceive certain language forms as "good" or "bad," mediating group membership. In order to understand how Chinese international students might experience academic writing in the US, my research explored what people consider the "right" language for US universities. This work builds, first, on a host of prior linguistics studies mapping the connection between language and group belonging (e.g. Eckert, 2000, 2002; Finegan & Biber, 2002; Labov, 1972, 1973; Lippi-Green, 2011; Rickford, 1997). I identified Silverstein's (Silverstein, 1992, 1998a, 1998b) framework of language ideologies as particularly useful for understanding such large-scale societal language valuations. I was also motivated by a number of subsequent scholars who applied this framework. Irvine and Gal (2000), describing the process of "linguistic differentiation," outline the process by which social divisions are recursively created and recreated in people's perspectives, with language differences taken to represent—and then perpetuating—perceived intergroup differences. Kroskrity (2007) similarly explores how language ideologies are both a function and driver of intergroup difference, characterizing them as plural within a society, often falling below people's conscious perception, and representative of identity features like nationality. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005) showed that language ideologies function on multiple scales, tying together individual action and large-scale sociopolitical trends. One particularly significant language-related sociopolitical trend found in language scholarship is that English's valuation as an economic product on the global market

does much to render it not just powerful, but insidious as a vehicle for bias and discrimination (Heller & Duchêne, 2012; C. Luke, 2006; Phillipson, 2009; Prendergast, 2008; Urla, 2012). While these global societal trends do often work against people with minoritized language backgrounds, though, individuals in the right context are able to leverage languages to their own end, suggesting that language ideologies are not all-powerful in every context, and individuals have some degree of optionality and flexibility in the extent to which they engage with them (Leeman, 2012; Pachler et al., 2008; Rosa & Burdick, 2017). And, though they did not use the term "language ideologies" explicitly, Horner and Trimbur (Horner & Trimbur, 2002) discussed how "a tacit policy of English monolingualism" (p. 594) has developed not just in the US, but specifically in university composition classrooms, further deepening my theoretical underpinning with relation to academic writing, demonstrating how in-class language-assessment policies can activate larger societal discriminatory practices and mindsets.

Drawing together this body of language-scholarship, I defined language ideologies as evaluative perspectives of language that are

1. **Plural**, in that any person, social unit, or society has multiple, often conflicting language ideologies.
2. **Plastic**, in that the judgments entailed in language ideologies are context-dependent, subject to an individual's choice to reproduce or reject them, and able to change over time.
3. **Implicit**, in that people often hold language ideologies without ever becoming conscious of them.

4. **Emblematic**,[16] in that they shape and are shaped by identity markers of group belonging, reinforcing preexisting social hierarchies.
5. **Self-naturalizing**, in that, once a language form is taken to represent an implicit quality of its speakers, one's language ideologies and perceptions of those speakers' qualities are mutually reinforcing.
6. **Multi-scalar**, in that they act at multiple levels of social organization, from intrapersonal attitudes all the way up to national and international discourses.

My findings are in line with this definition of language ideologies. Throughout my analysis, these different qualities were visible in a myriad of ways. I found that language ideologies are, indeed, plural, in that my participants were often negotiating between multiple competing language ideologies. So, too, did my findings uphold the idea of plasticity, in that my participants were able to align themselves with different language ideologies at different times. A good exemplar of the plurality and plasticity in language ideologies, one of my participants felt a tension between her training as an elementary school teacher to be accepting of multiple Englishes and the pressure within academia to conform linguistically—and she bowed to those competing ideologies differently based on context. The implicitness of language ideologies did not have direct positive proof, but its existence was supported in a general absence of metalinguistic commentary as people described their language-evaluative criteria. Beyond a few outliers—e.g. Cal explicitly describing some instructors' strict linguistic assessments as "rooted in white supremacy"—on the whole, the participants did not comment on the connection between their language-evaluative criteria and larger social forces. And I saw frequently in my findings that language ideologies are emblematic, in that my participants, at times, took a

[16] I borrowed this specific descriptor from Silverstein (1998a, p. 401).

person's language to be representative of particular inherent qualities—for example, for several of the students having "nativelike" grammar indicated that a person themself was "professional," revealing the tie between perceived language and a person's perceived qualities—associations that, I would argue, are self-naturalizing in that they are used to reinforce one's preexisting perceptions of individuals. And, as demonstrated by the transmission of language ideologies not just between individuals but through their social networks, particularly within institutions, this study has confirmed that language ideologies are multi-scalar. In this sense, my study has confirmed past scholarship on language ideologies, offering fine-grained examples of how many of these qualities are enacted in people's daily lives in an educational setting.

In addition to reinforcing the findings of past scholarship on language ideologies, my study adds to this understanding by indicating that language ideologies are cumulative: that they overlap, reinforcing each other. This finding touches on Prior and Shipka's (2003) findings in their research on writers' "environmental selecting and structuring activities"—i.e. the ways people organize their space, time, and lives around writing. Drawing on Bakhtin (1981) and Prior (1998), the authors performed their analysis through the lens of "chronotopic lamination of writers' literate activity," which they define as "the dispersed, fluid chains of places, times, people, and artifacts that come to be tied together in trajectories of literate action along with the ways multiple activity footings are held and managed" (p. 180). They concluded that, when people write, the here and now, and the exigencies of an ongoing writing task, are not the only things that a writer contends with; rather, people's writing, physical spaces, bodies, and minds are all tangled up in complex relationships, memories, histories, associations, and other valences. Hence, all of these different "chronotopes" are layered (i.e., "laminated") one on top of the other as someone writes. My findings speak to this idea as well by showing how, through language

ideologies, writers (and the people who assess their writing) orient themselves constantly to different forces, institutions, ideas, and ideals, near and far, often with conflicting or overlapping significances and connotations. My research contributes to this idea by providing fine-grained examples of this lamination, how people experience and engage with these different chronotopes. Taken along with Prior and Shipka's work, my findings reinforce the spatiotemporally distributed nature of writing, and the way any writer engages with a host of different concerns while in the process of composition. A writer sitting down at their desk to write a college paper is sharing space not just with their instructor, but also with that person's biases (real or, in the case of language-ideological silence, perceived but still very much affective), with the assumptions and biases of friends and classmates, with the widely varied language ideologies transmitted to them across campus, with the language-ideological alignments transmitted by university policy (e.g. language requirements), and even with national-level policies (e.g. language testing requirements for citizenship). Simply put, my findings should reinforce the profound challenge any student, but especially a multilingual student, faces.

My research also speaks to pedagogical theory, especially to the way teachers decide how to engage with societal inequality in their classrooms. Other scholars have argued that, for students to have any hope of processing and contending with the inevitability of language-based discrimination, they must be explicitly taught about how language discrimination works, historically and contemporarily, in and out of school. For example, working within the field of Writing Center Studies, Diab et al. (2012) showed the profound complexity of working toward social justice in writing center work, and called for pedagogies that are "processual and reiterative," "reflective and attentive," and "embodied and engaged." Their argument is that working towards social justice in an educational context requires constant assessment and

reassessment, both internal and external, and that people bring their whole selves—their entire histories, their plural identities, their bodies—into writing centers, and instruction in this context must take all of those factors into account. That includes, for Diab et al., facing bias head-on in such contexts and participating in difficult conversations when issues like race or language criticism arise. Similarly, Blommaert and Horner (2017), too, argue that the hegemonic structure of academia should be the subject of teaching and study in composition classes to help students understand this process. Cliett (2000) called for teaching students about the sociohistorical context which judges their language, writing of this pedagogical approach, "Students of the subordinated culture must put standard English back into its proper historical and political context in order to locate their own literacy" (p. 303). You (2010), pushing back against the idea of an English that belongs to the US or any other country, seeks "an altered assumption of English language ownership" (p. 9), viewing English use worldwide not from a monolingual or colonial lens, but in a way that foregrounds how people worldwide own and use English for themselves. Similarly discussing the Spanish-speaking world and global valuations of different Spanishes, Del Valle (2014) argues that students should be taught to understand why and how different forms of language come to be associated with different qualities, allowing them to make informed choices for themselves. All of this research, grounded in different backgrounds with different analytical foci, are similar in arguing that both teachers and students need to have more explicit discussions of what the "right" language is for different contexts. I would add my own voice to this chorus, arguing that, in light of my findings about ideological silence, instructors cannot risk that silence.

3. Implications and Recommendations

This study has implications for any university organization or entity that has contact with multilingual students, including admissions offices, writing centers, ESL programs, and programs in different majors across the university. Given the wide-ranging effects of language ideologies as I have described them here, the potential impact on international students is enormous: toxic language ideologies can and do cause harm, create unrealistic language expectations, inflict stress, and actualize discriminatory language- and identity-based regimes that exist nation- and worldwide. Thus, in this section I will break down how various types of stakeholders can respond to my findings.

First and foremost, instructors are at the front line of language contact with multilingual students, and they would be the first stakeholder I would seek to address with my research. Most obviously, in light of the problematic existence of language-ideological silence, any instructor who assesses multilingual students' language, and especially their writing, must do so mindfully with the ways that different language-evaluative criteria activate language ideologies. That is not to say that instructors must never discuss language- or grammar-related topics in class—far from it. As we saw, there are ways for instructors to include grammatical instruction in ways that are sensitive to students' needs, and, at least based on the Chinese students in this study, many students actually want to receive such instruction. However, if such assessment is included in classes, it needs to be clearly and articulated and justified. Simply including "language and grammar" on a rubric is vague; rather, instructors must specifically break down what they are assessing, what specific issues they are targeting with that assessment, and what their motivation for that assessment is. I also recommend that instructors take their own course content into account: in many courses, so-called "correct" grammar and other local-level concerns are unrelated to course content. Unless an instructor has the time and the means to adequately cover

such material in class, it works at cross purposes to effective pedagogy to assess some conception of grammaticality without teaching it.

Next, at larger-level curricular and policy levels, university stakeholders need to take into account the extent to which assessment, rules, and policies are enacting harmful language-ideological effects. Similar to instructors, any kind of language-based policy needs to be thoroughly justified: if students are not admitted to the school for language-based reasons, how does that assessment work, and why? Given the power of language-based assessment to drag along a heavy freight of bias and discrimination, transparency in any kind of language assessment is key.

4. Limitations

This study should be understood as having taken place in a specific place at a specific time; at its largest level, my study should be taken as outlining some of the ways in which language ideologies can work, especially in an educational context, but by no means should my findings be seen as limiting or all-encompassing. Inevitably many other language-ideological processes are constantly at work, to be observed by future scholarship. While my sample size (14 Chinese international students; 17 campus community members) is on the high end for a qualitative study, it is not a statistically significant one, and should not be taken to have the kind of generalizability characteristic of a randomized, controlled trial.

Another significant limitation regards the community I focused on: Chinese international students. I chose this community first because of my own personal familiarity, having lived and worked in China and having taught, at this point, hundreds of Chinese students, I felt I could ask better questions given some background knowledge. And while Chinese international students do

constitute the largest percentage of international college students in the US (Open Doors, 2023), China is a massive and diverse country, and my findings should also not be taken to be representative of all Chinese students. I did hope for my findings to have relevance for the lives and educational experiences of all multilingual students, but obviously any application of these findings for looking at non-Chinese communities should come with a caveat.

5. Future Research

Since this study focused on Chinese students, a natural extension is to expand it to include international college students of a large number of other backgrounds. This variability is especially important based on my findings regarding convergence, divergence, and cumulativity. The Chinese had a powerful optionality: some of them had the social class, education, and language skills to work in the US, a goal which was not unreasonable; others of them sought work in China, where they had "native"-speaker privilege and (for the most part) all of the benefits of being members of the dominant racial and linguistic group in China. What about students from minority groups in China? What about international students from other countries, especially less affluent and politically powerful countries? It is likely that the patterns of convergence and divergence for those communities would be quite different. For example, if a student did not see returning to their birth nation as a desirable and profitable career choice, then the language-ideological strand of economic pragmatism likely could not converge in the same way with progressive multilingualism—and the pull of aggressive monolingualism, the demands of accommodating an English-monolingual market, would be far more dominant. Thus, to expand on my research, future research on language-ideological transmission should focus on other student communities. Additionally, other patterns of language-ideological transmission are

likely observable in other countries, at other educational levels (e.g. community colleges and high schools), and among other student groups (e.g. lower-income students). As I have argued throughout this dissertation, the heuristic of categorizing language ideologies into aggressive monolingualism, progressive multilingualism, and economic pragmatism is a highly productive one, as is the methodological approach of social network mapping. This broad approach to language-related research, I believe, is applicable to a wide range of contexts.

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Appendix A: Master Name List

This master name list includes all people referenced in this dissertation, including the Chinese international students I interviewed in Phase 1 and every campus community member those students included on their social-network maps, whether I interviewed them or not. The first column indicates whether or not I was able to secure an interview with each person. Pronouns are self-reported for participants whom I interviewed; pronouns for people I could not interview are based on the pronouns the participants used when describing those people. For traditionally American names, I used a random-name generator web page to create pseudonyms. Where Chinese students introduced themselves with English names, I sought to respect that choice (Zhang & Noels, 2022), to the extent that I could while maintaining anonymity, by assigning them English pseudonyms using the same random-name generator. For participants who introduced themselves with Chinese names, I asked a native Mandarin speaker to invent natural-sounding Chinese names for them. For participants with nontraditional or non-American names, I contacted them directly and asked them to choose pseudonyms. In cases where an interviewee could not remember someone's name, suggesting a lack of familiarity with that person, I chose a generic title for them instead of a pseudonym (e.g. Economics Teaching Assistant) to reflect that lack of familiarity; where participants referenced family members, I did the same (e.g. Jodie Huang's mother), as the participants did not report their parents' names.

Regarding the "Label" column: the core group of Chinese international students are labeled as "Participant 1," Participant 2," and so on. Each person they referenced in their social-network maps is listed as an "Alter." So, below, Participant 1, Peter Wang, identified Alter 1a, Alter 1b, Alter 1c, etc. on his social-network map. Participant 2, Ava Chen, identified Alter 2a,

Alter 2b, etc. on her social-network map. It should be noted that there are repeated people on the list. For example, the ESL instructor Courtney was referenced by multiple Chinese participants.

Interviewed?	Label	Pseudonym	Role	Nationality	Age	Pronouns
X	Participant 1	Peter Wang	Participant	Chinese	19	He/him
X	Alter 1a	Corey Zhao	ESL classmate	Chinese	21	He/him
	Alter 1b	Zhang	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	He/him
X	Alter 1c	Tom	Art history TA	Polish	35	He/him
	Alter 1d	Henry	ESL teacher	American	Unconfirmed	He/him
	Alter 1e	Courtney	ESL teacher	American	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Alter 1f	Megan	ESL teacher	American	62	She/her
X	Participant 2	Ava Chen	Participant	Chinese	20	She/her
	Alter 2a	Blake	Economics professor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	He/him
	Alter 2b	Economics Teaching Assistant	Economics Teaching Assistant	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Alter 2c	Livia	ESL instructor	American	38	She/her
X	Alter 2d	Megan	ESL instructor	American	62	She/her
x	Alter 2e	Frank Yang	Ava Chen's friend	Chinese	22	He/him
	Alter 2f	ESL classmates	ESL classmates	Various	Various	Various
X	Participant 3	Kai Li	Participant	Chinese	21	He/him
X	Participant 4	Holly Ma	Participant	Chinese	19	She/her
	Alter 4a	Rachel	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 4b	Kiara	Roommate	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 4c	Derrick	ESL instructor	American	Unconfirmed	He/him
	Alter 4d	Courtney	ESL instructor	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 4e	Pharmacy Professor	Pharmacy Professor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed
X	Participant 5	Jodie Huang	Participant	Chinese	18	She/her
	Alter 5b	Courtney	ESL instructor	American	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Alter 5c	Vivian Wu	Friend	Chinese	19	She/her
	Alter 5d	Lucy	Roommate	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 5e	Journalism TA	Journalism Teaching Assistant	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	He/him
X	Alter 5g	Tony	Writing Center Tutor	American	31	He/him

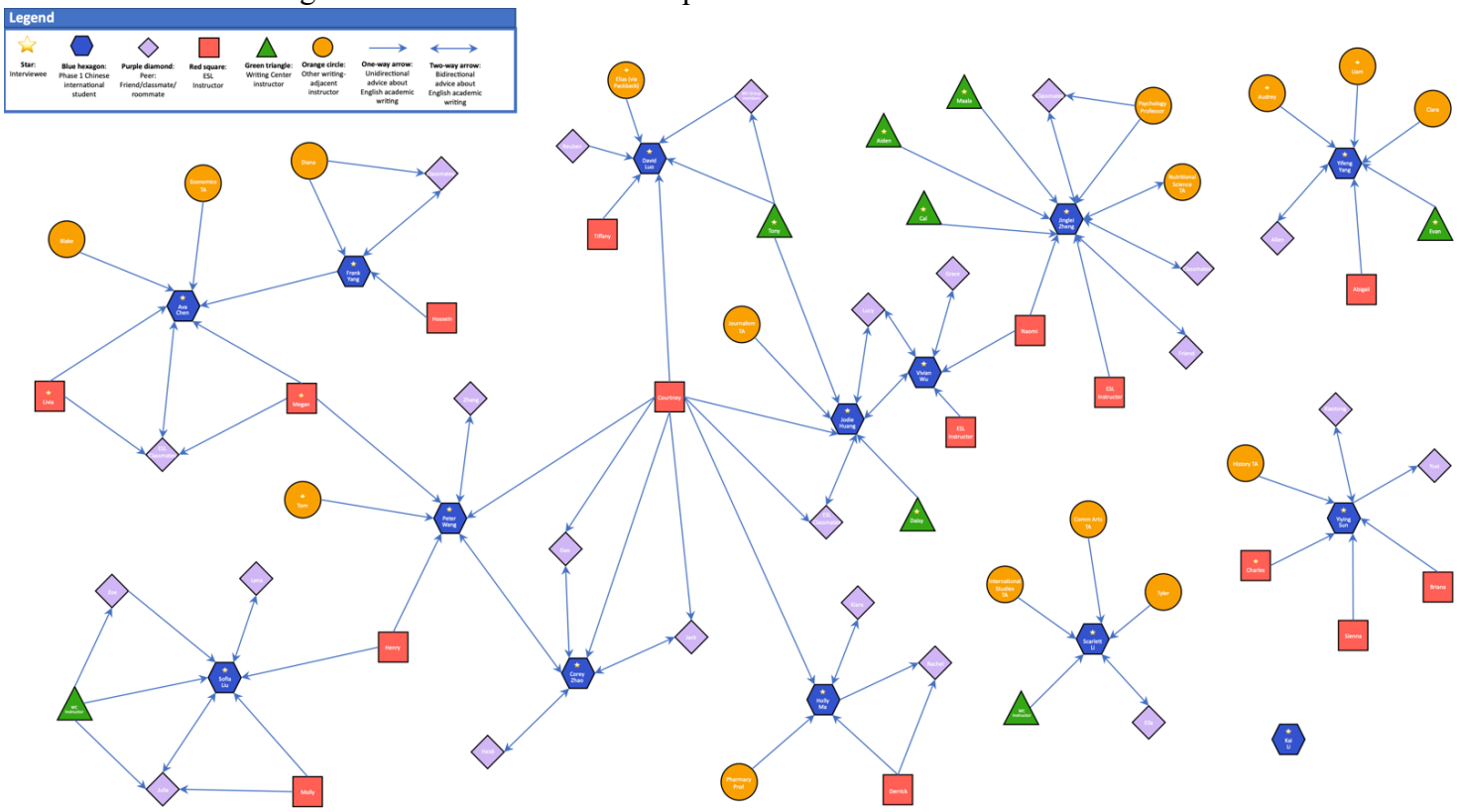
X	Alter 5h	Daisy	Writing Center Tutor	Indian	25	She/her
X	Participant 6	David Luo	Participant	Chinese	20	He/him
	Alter 6a	Courtney	ESL instructor	American	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 6b	Tiffany	ESL instructor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Alter 6c	Tony	Writing Center Group Leader	American	31	He/him
	Alter 6d	Reuben	American classmate	American	Unconfirmed	He/him
X	Alter 6e	Elias	Economics professor	Swiss	50	He/him
	Alter 6f	Writing Center group members	Writing Center Group members	Various	Various	Various
X	Participant 7	Frank Yang	Participant	Chinese	22	He/him
X	Alter 7a	Ava Chen	Frank Yang's friend	Chinese	20	She/her
	Alter 7c	Diana	Engineering Technical Communication Professor	American	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 7d	Engineering Communication Classmates	Engineering Technical Communication Classmates	Various	Various	Various
X	Alter 7e	Hossein	ESL instructor	Iranian	36	He/him
X	Participant 8	Corey Zhao	Participant	Chinese	21	He/him
X	Alter 8a	Peter Wang	ESL classmate	Chinese	19	He/him
	Alter 8b	Jack	ESL classmate	Chinese	Unconfirmed	He/him
	Alter 8c	Gao	ESL classmate	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 8d	Courtney	ESL instructor	American	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 8e	Heidi	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Participant 9	Vivian Wu	Participant	Chinese	19	She/her
X	Alter 9a	Jodie Huang	Friend	Chinese	18	She/her
	Alter 9b	Grace	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 9c	Amar	ESL instructor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	He/him
X	Alter 9d	Naomi	ESL instructor	American	51	She/her
	Alter 9e	Lucy	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Participant 10	Scarlett Li	Participant	Chinese	20	She/her
	Alter 10b	Ella	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 10c	Comm Arts TA	Communication Arts Teaching Assistant	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her

	Alter 10d	Various	Writing Center instructors	Unconfirmed	Various	Various
	Alter 10e	Tyler	Journalism Teaching Assistant	American	Unconfirmed	He/him
	Alter 10f	International Studies TA	International Studies Teaching Assistant	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Participant 11	Sofia Liu	Participant	Chinese	21	She/her
	Alter 11a	Henry	ESL instructor	American	Unconfirmed	He/him
X	Alter 11b	Molly	ESL Instructor	American	65	She/her
	Alter 11c	Zoe	Friend/ roommate	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 11d	Writing Center Tutors	Writing Center instructors	Various	Unconfirmed	Various
	Alter 11e	Julia	American-born Chinese friend	American	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 11f	Lena	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Participant 12	Yifeng Yang	Participant	Chinese	22	He/him
X	Alter 12a	Abigail	ESL instructor	Canadian	65	She/her
X	Alter 12b	Audrey	Workplace Communication Professor (Business School)	American	60	She/her
	Alter 12d	Allen	Roommate	Chinese	Unconfirmed	He/him
X	Alter 12e	Evan	Writing Center instructor	American	31	He/him
X	Alter 12f	Liam	Literature teaching assistant	American	38	He/him
	Alter 12g	Clara	Philosophy professor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Participant 13	Jinglei Zheng	Participant	Chinese	23	She/her
	Alter 13a	Psychology Professor	Psychology Professor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 13b	Peers in Psychology Classes	Psychology classmates	Various	Various	Various
	Alter 13c	Peers in Various Classes	Classmates in psychology, biochemistry, and life science	Various	Various	Various

			communication classes			
	Alter 13d	Friend	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	He/him
	Alter 13f	ESL Instructor	ESL instructor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	He/him
X	Alter 13g	Maala	Writing Center instructor	Sri Lankan	33	She/her
X	Alter 13h	Aiden	Writing Center instructor	American	35	He/him
X	Alter 13i	Cal	Writing Center instructor	American	30	They/them
	Alter 13k	Nutritional Science TA	Nutritional Science Teaching Assistant	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Alter 13l	Naomi	ESL instructor	American	51	She/her
X	Participant 14	Yiying Sun	Participant	Chinese	22	She/her
	Alter 14a	Xiaotong	Roommate	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her
X	Alter 14b	Charles	ESL instructor	American	68	He/him
	Alter 14c	Sienna	ESL instructor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 14d	Briana	ESL instructor	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	She/her
	Alter 14e	History TA	History teaching assistant	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed
	Alter 14f	Yuxi	Friend	Chinese	Unconfirmed	She/her

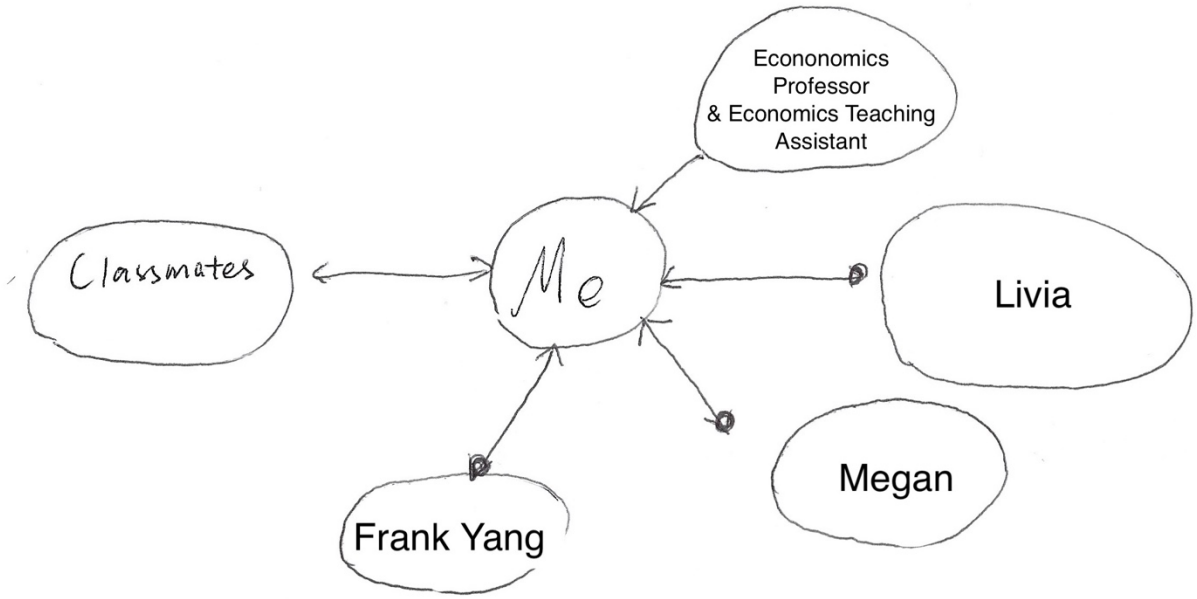
Appendix B: Master and Individual Writing-Related Social-Network Maps

Master Writing-Related Social-Network Map

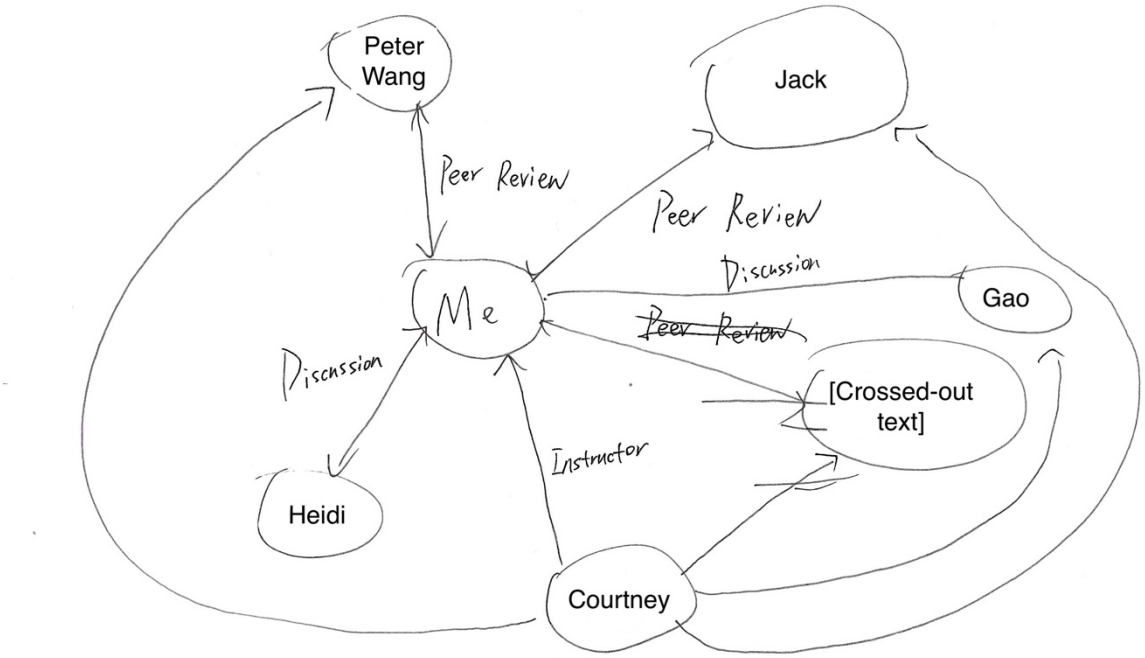


Individual Phase 1 Participants' Writing-Related Social-Network Maps

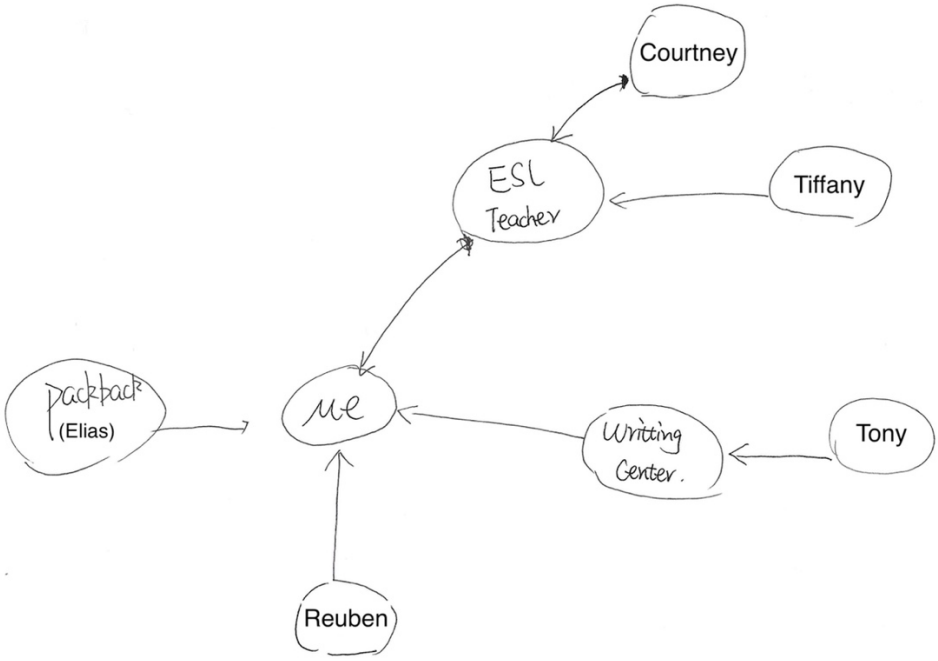
1. Ava Chen's Social Network Map



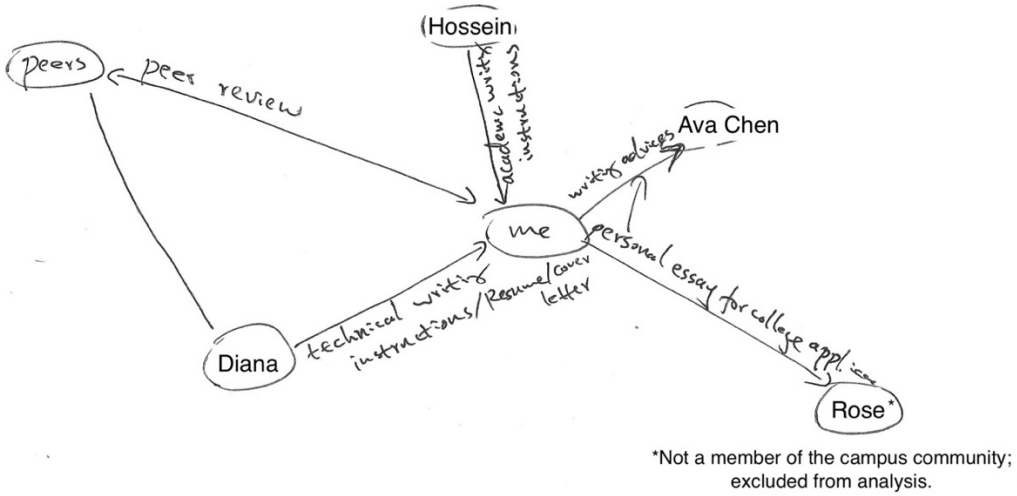
2. Corey Zhao's Social Network Map



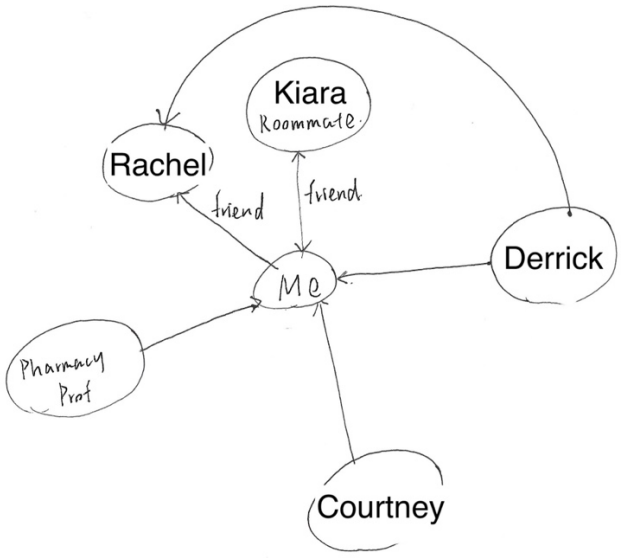
3. David Luo's Social Network Map



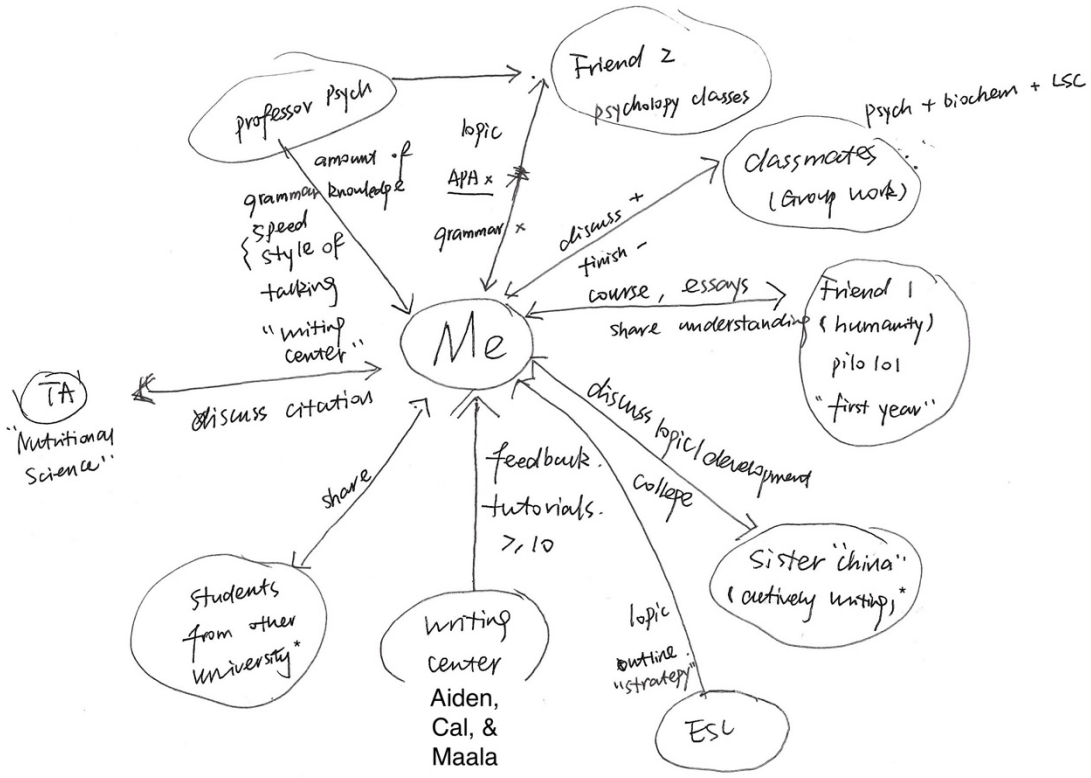
4. Frank Yang's Social Network Map



5. Holly Ma's Social Network Map

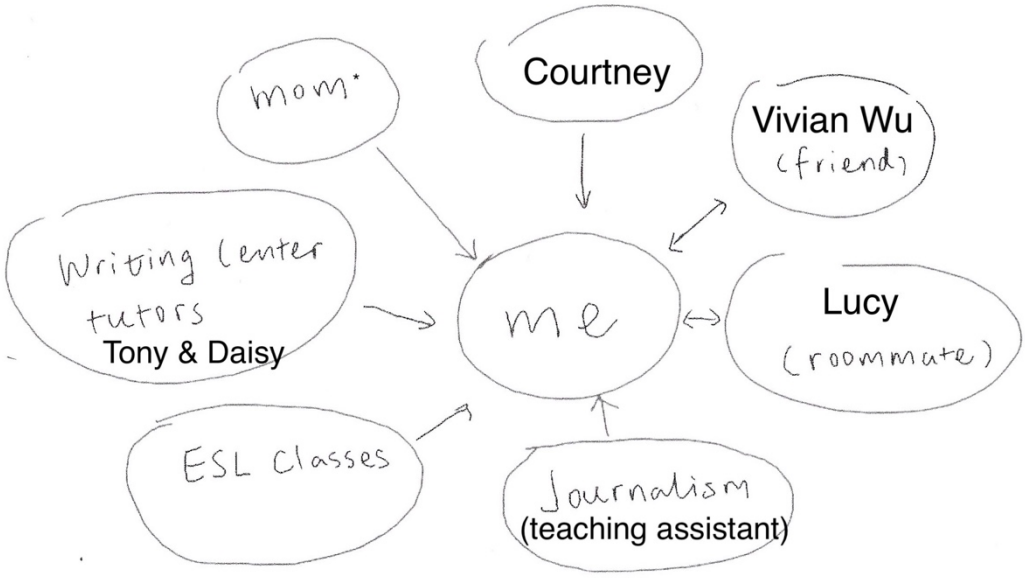


6. Jinglei Zheng's Social Network Map



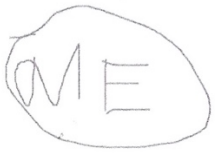
*Not a member of campus community; excluded from analysis

7. Jodie Huang's Social Network Map

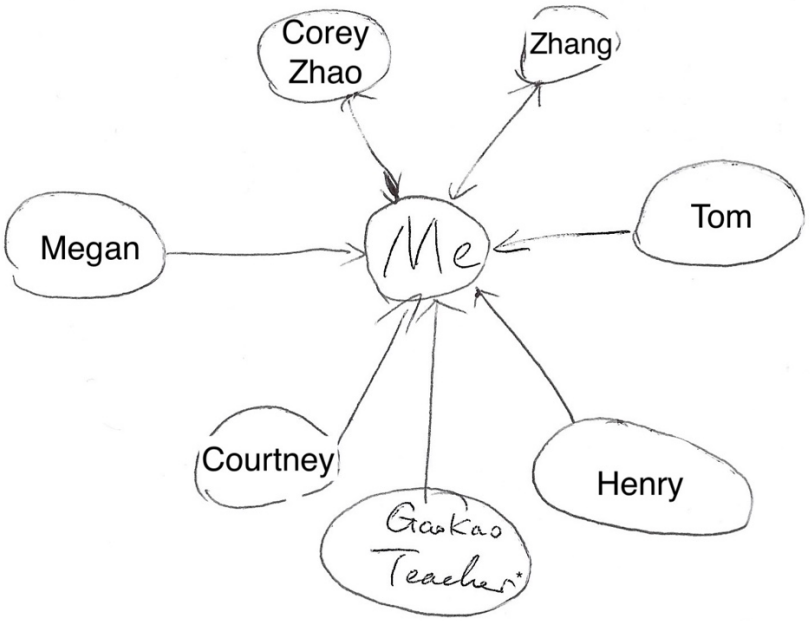


*Not a member of campus community; excluded from analysis

8. Kai Li's Social Network Map

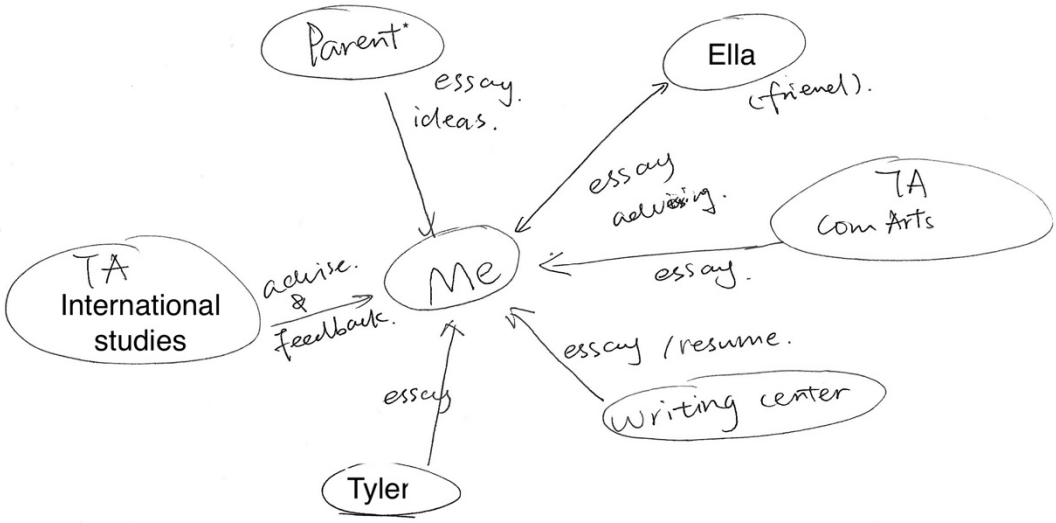


9. Peter Wang's Social Network Map



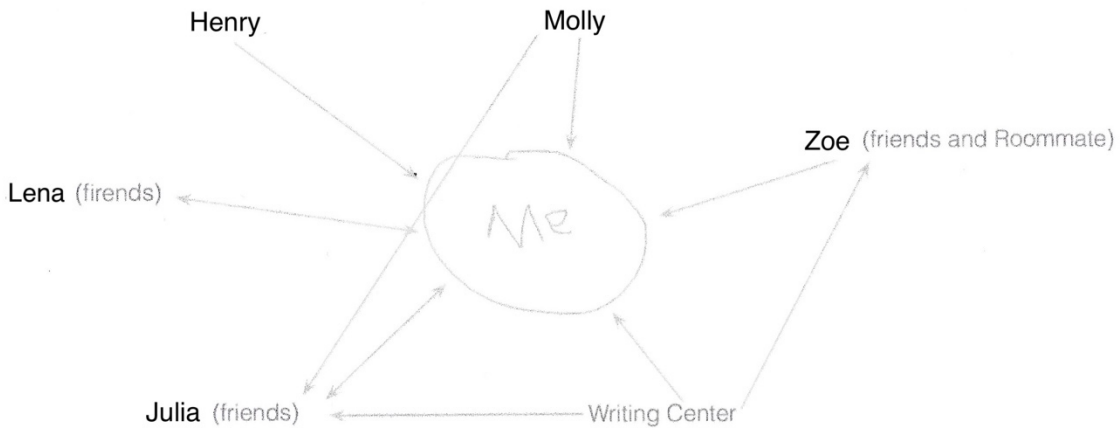
*Not a member of campus community; excluded from analysis

10. Scarlett Li's Social Network Map

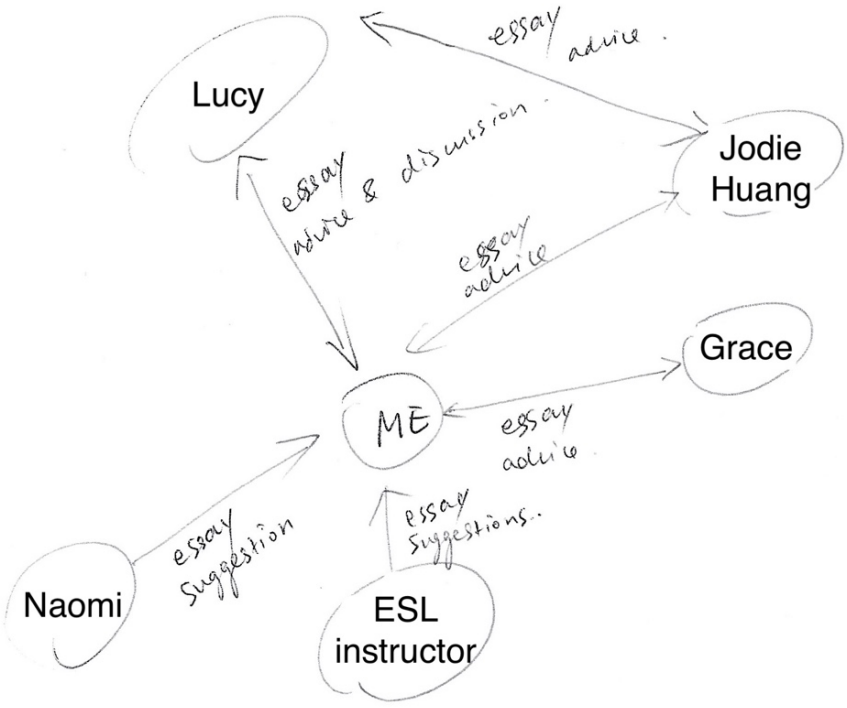


*Not a member of campus community; excluded from analysis

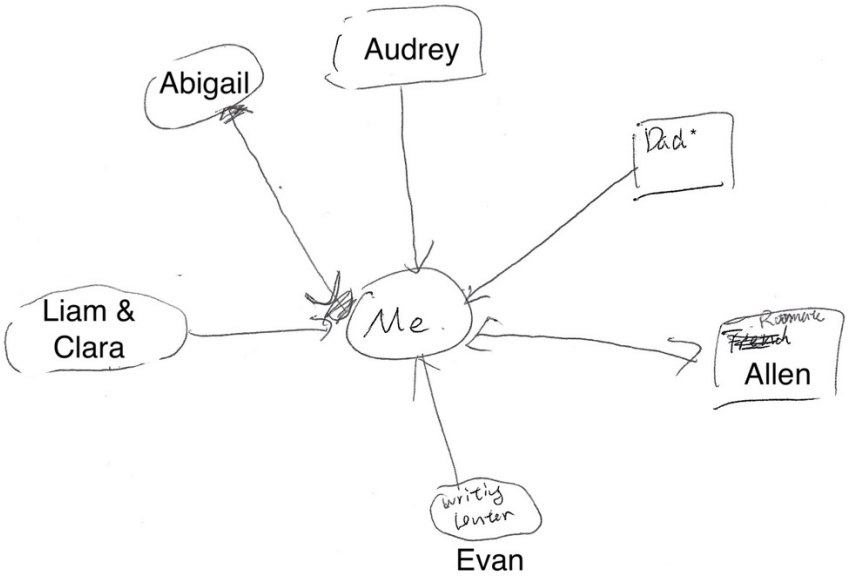
11. Sofia Liu's Social Network Map



12. Vivian Wu's Social Network Map

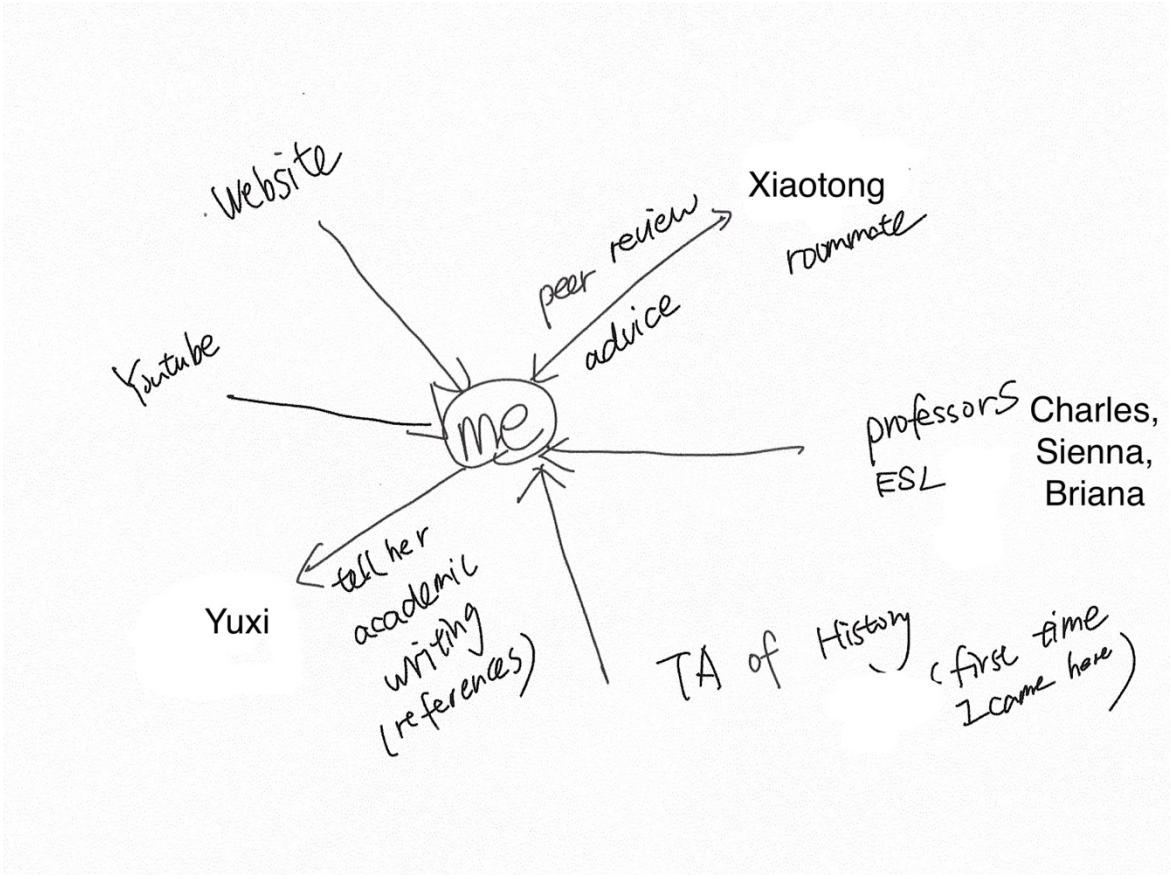


13. Yifeng Yang's Social Network Map



*Not a member of campus community; excluded from analysis

14. Yiying Sun's Social Network Map



Appendix C: Master Language-Ideological (Mis)Alignment Chart

Below, I present my analysis of every Chinese international student's own language-ideological alignments, and (where possible) the language-ideological alignments of every campus community member they discussed during interviews.

Chinese international student	Chinese international student's language-ideological alignments	Writing-Related Social-Network Map Member	What the Chinese international student said about each person's language-evaluative criteria	What each person said about their own language-evaluative criteria	Note on language-ideological transmission
Ava Chen	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Believed "good" academic writing must follow specific grammar norms: "[there] are […] few, like, grammar mistakes." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Believed "good" academic writing should have clarity ("a good academic writing essay would be, like, is accurate to express your, like, ideas"), objectivity ("it's not so subjective"), and precise expression ("the word should not be too strong"). **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • First learned academic writing in the context of standardized testing focusing on "like grammar and some of the sentence and give tons of the models, samples, questions to practice."	Blake (economics professor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • "[T]he professor will not give me some grammar, like, advice, because he's not a ESL professor. So it's more like a reasoning, and some logical."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Economics teaching assistant	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Did not give grammatical feedback to Ava. Assessed based on content and correctness of paraphrasing.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		ESL Classmates	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on content: "I remember one of the good advice is that I used to make one mistake. Usually, I will put the evidence in the middle of my just body paragraph, and each body paragraphs. So I used to explain the example to just, like, paraphrase what the idea, and one of my classmates told me that I can, like, give more of my own analyze and my own thinking based on that example." • According to Ava, did not give her grammatical feedback.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Frank Yang (friend)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Gave Ava feedback on grammar. ("If we have enough time, I will say, like, 70% of the advice, were logic, and 30% is grammar. But if we cannot have enough time, I would say 100% grammar.") **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on content/logic: "Usually just after I submit my essay, and I will, like, want some advice from him to, like, check out my essay by—because I will say his writing skill is much higher than me. And maybe because he, of course, he went to US much earlier than me. And his logic is clear. So he will also taught me a lot about, like, the logic […]"	(See the appropriate quotes in column 2 from this participant.)	**Language-ideological misalignment:** Where Frank himself did not value grammar as an end in itself (he said, "I don't think grammar matters that much"—signaling alignment with progressive multilingualism), he provided Ava with extensive grammatical feedback, especially early in her university enrollment (signaling alignment with aggressive monolingualism).
		Livia (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Did provide grammatical feedback: "Livia also needs some, like, correct grammar, but it's not so strict to be perfect, I would say."" **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on fluency and clarity: "Like fluent, it's just like, we cannot use some of the evidence that's not mentioned before in the thesis statement. I mean, like, for some of the separate statement in each paragraph, so and fluent, I would say, [Alter 2c], might think it's better to use some, like, connection words." • Provided grammatical feedback for clarity's sake: "Um, I would say most of the grammar mistakes not so like grammar, it's like, like natives, native people, like how they express their ideas. And for Livia it's maybe, like, for international students it's good to be that way. But for Livia, she gave me tons of the ideas of the more like some tense grammar to be more convincing, and more, like, clear."	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "I think [ESL instructors] as individuals who are comfortable with language and grammar, and we know a bit and you learn as you go, like what things are called, and so we can, like, read a paper and kind of help students navigate like, yeah, you know, I'm noticing lots of subject-verb agreement issues, that's something you might want to work on. Or like, you know what, look, when you write, when you're writing long sentences, and this isn't every student, but some students, when you're writing long sentences, I'm noting lots and lots of grammar [issues]." • Believed some grammatical feedback is acceptable and necessary in some contexts: "I think also in there, I think I do want permission for some instructors and people to say, like, in my discipline, in my course—not inside a course—but in this discipline, in this field, students need to have very good grammar, it's important. And I want there to be permission for that, 'cause I don't, I feel like you don't want to get to a place where we are so dogmatic about one thing that we don't allow for another. Like anyone that teaches grammar is evil, and is trying to be imperialistic, and, you know, so, but it does seem better. I think, maybe welcoming is a good term. Like students would just feel a little less pressure, perhaps, if there was this kind of language. Here's a couple ways you can improve, there are some things you should work on, you might want to work on. Here's some tools to get you there. In this discipline we need, this, this is important." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on critical thinking, research, and organization over issues of grammaticality: "overall I view our role [as ESL teachers] as teaching academic writing, which is research and organization and critical thinking." • Frames differences between Englishes not in terms of "good" or "bad" but in terms of linguistic variation: "So I do a workshop now that is not just for ESL writers, it's for everyone, called, like, Linguistic Features of Professional Research Writing, and we look at things like noun chains, like how in many disciplines, they string, like, five nouns together 'cause it makes it more dense. And, like, people are, like, I never realized that."	No evident misalignment

		Megan (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided feedback to make students' language more "native": "Um, I would say most of the grammar mistakes not so like grammar, it's like, like natives, native people, like how they express their ideas." • Gave more grammatical feedback than Livia. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on content/communication: "For Megan, I would say the, the most important thing is the essay can convince her. Yes, maybe convince the readers is the most important thing. And the other, like, if the examples in each paragraph can, like, perfect[ly] support the statement in your paragraph?"	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback in some cases: "But sometimes [a student's grammar is] way off. And you have to correct." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described "good" academic writing as "Clear and persuasive." • Acknowledged linguistic variation between disciplines: "I often feel like I don't know what the rules are for different fields. I think those rules probably vary quite a bit and I just don't have that background knowledge." • Described grammatical instruction as necessary for clarity: "It all leads to meaning, meaning underlies everything, right?" • Did not believe "nativelike" grammar is necessary for academic writing: "[Students] can get their point across with a lot of minor mistakes and some odd word choices." • Focused on clarity over "nativelike" grammar: "I think it's unrealistic for 99% of my students. I'm amazed at what they can do in English. I think English is a tough language and they're still quite young. So I try to work with what they have and improve their clarity." • Described plagiarism as a kind of "cultural competence"—i.e. framing language difference as variation rather than as "right" or "wrong."	No evident misalignment
Corey Zhao	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Believed "good" academic writing has complex vocabulary ("the vocabulary that used in the essay are like, are not the easy ones") and "nativelike" language ("[t]hey are much related to, like, they are trying to close—as close as to the native speakers' level")—i.e. there are strict linguistic requirements. • Believed Chinese English is "definitely not" acceptable in English academic writing, and it must be "grammarly correct." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Believed "good" academic writing must have logical structure ("the structure of the essay is very, it's logically structured")—i.e. it must communicate effectively. **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • N/A	Courtney (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "Sometimes it [her feedback] is about the grammar." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on content: "It is like, we need to write an essay about the topic. And the topic, at the—and we need to find the research, research paper of the topic, like from the, like the CQ Researcher, this kind of website. We need to find a lot of academic papers about a topic and need to find the controversial area of the topics. And I don't, actually I think it is maybe the independent research paper." • Focused on logic: "Like, you gotta have a very, very clear logic of the essay."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Gao (classmate in ESL)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Helped Corey with organization/brainstorming: "We did have discussion. Like it about the outline of the essay that we go into."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Heidi (friend)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Did not focus on grammar in her writing or feedback: "Like, sometimes I forgot like the, like guess some gram—grammar terms, or I forgot the grammar terms about it. Like sometimes I would ask to her. But sometimes she, she didn't know about it, and sometimes she knew about it. And there's one course that I took in the first semester that, it is just one credit course but in the final we have to submit an essay. As I wrote an essay and ask her, is there any recommendations? And she gave me some advices. It is mainly about the structure of the essay. And if you want, if you want me to give like the details about it, I can barely remember it. [...] Like, just I mentioned I asked her about the grammar questions, like she was kind of surprised that I, I was so like, focused on the grammars."	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological misalignment:** Where Corey did emphasize grammaticality in his writing (signaling alignment with aggressive monolingualism), Heidi did not care about grammar (signaling alignment with progressive multilingualism).
		Jack (friend)	N/A (Corey did not remember).	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Peter Wang (friend)	N/A ("I would say a lot of advices that I got from Peter, like, to be honest, I didn't find it very helpful. […] Like, it is just like minor errors. It is like sometimes it is not even errors? So I didn't like, take his advice.")	(See the appropriate quotes in column 2 from this participant.)	**Discrepancy**: Corey saw Peter's feedback as "minor" or "not even errors" and did not take Peter's advice.
David Luo	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Believed Chinese English is not acceptable in "professional" settings or for "publishing some article." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Believed language is "more like a tool" for a communication when discussing the acceptability of Chinese English. • Believed that Chinese English was acceptable (in informal contexts). **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Stated that Chinese English is acceptable only in "not *professional* or not really serious, like, content" (emphasis mine). • Referred to preparing for a standardized test when I asked him about his high school academic writing instruction ("Yeah, 'cause, like, I remember at first I was taking IGCSE.")	Courtney (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Requested students to speak English in class: "Mrs. Courtney said, like, just try to speak more English during the class, like, we speak a lot of Chinese during the time." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on paraphrasing: "Yeah, the one thing they've, they've, like, what they will do first is let us brainstorm and think about thesis statement at first. Yeah, so that's, that sentence is kind of the one, like the key of the, of the whole essay. And then also like they taught, they taught us about how to paraphrase. Yeah. 'Cause, 'cause we are just, like, nearly copy down the sentence or just change a one to single word. Yeah, so I think they told us, they told me to change, like, there should not be like three words, like, same as like the original sentences, things like that."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Elias (economics professor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Used AI-driven assessment software to grade students' grammar: "[The software, Packback] will grade how your grammar is." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Did not assess students' grammar: "Like for economic it's more about, you like, present the right, or a new idea. Like, it's not about like grammar or things like that." • Used AI-driven assessment software to grade various other aspects of students' writing: "How's your, like, topic? How's your connection? [...] How is your source? So and then in the end, [Packback] will give you a grade out of 100. [...] It will give you like, scaling? Like, in which section is, like great, medium. It's good or medium. Or, like, need to	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Assessed student writing with Packback, an AI-based writing-assessment software package, which assesses, in part, based on grammar: "It [Packback] kind of checks for syntax." • Emphasized that students in the (more writing-intensive) honors program are assessed more strictly based on their grammar. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Used Packback to check for writing-related concerns including citations, use of graphics, and paragraphing: "It checks whether or not you're citing a source. It checks if you're using tables or graphs to illustrate your point. […] So this, here's, here's something that's well-organized, there's paragraphs, versus something that's just kind of a stream of consciousness. So	**Language-ideological alignment:** Elias himself indicated a rather strong alignment with progressive multilingualism (noting that students in the economics program were not strictly assessed on grammar unless they were in the more writing-intensive honors track), but David did not seem aware of language-evaluative criteria—he only knew that he was being assessed based on grammar, along with other criteria. In other words, the nuance of Elias's approach to language-evaluative criteria was lost on David.

			improve. And then it will, like, list on some advice. […] One is like the source, about source. Whether the source is like, reliable. Also for grammar. I think there's like for content. Like it, like, basically, at first it counts how many you write. It should be like in a appropriate length. And then it will see the content. And also, like, whether it's easy to read, like easy to understand. Things like that."	it kind of gets the broad outlines right. […] It's like, you know, they [students] figure out like, organizing in paragraphs gives you a better score." • Did not emphasize strict grammatical assessment in his course: "I don't think [grammaticality] matters a great deal as such […] I think you can, you can, you know, you can graduate and do well with, with somewhat limited language skills, both in writing and in spoken language."	
		Reuben (classmate)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • According to David, thought that "good" academic writing was "simple" and "straightforward," with "No, like, super fancy and complicated […] phrases. Yeah. I think what [he], like, express, like, is also easy to understand somehow. Yeah, I think that's pretty good."	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological alignment**: David expressed agreement with Reuben's focus on simplicity ("I think that's pretty good").
		Tiffany (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Assessed students' grammar: "Yeah, so yeah, she, she's really, like, strict and really, like, patient. She, like, just go through all the details. And, and just like line, like line out, or, like circle out a lot of even some grammar mistake or some, some way that you didn't phrase correctly." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on communicating effectively: "I think at first I got a really, not really low, but quite low score. [...] So the reason for that is I think there's a one paragraph that wasn't understand enough." • Assessed students based on whether or not they understood course readings: "Like, like the, like, I would say the whole point. I will say just like the reading problem. Like I will just misunderstand the articles in some ways." • Focused on content: "Like she really just taught us from the hook and thesis statements, or every single sentences, and then to each part."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Tony (Writing Center instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided whatever feedback students asked for.	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Valued clarity and simplicity above all in academic writing: "I think that good academic writing is direct and clear about its goals and intentions. I think the thing that bothers me most in academic writing is unnecessary complexity and like, a lack of clarity about what it intends to accomplish." • Described learning academic writing in terms of learning another language—i.e. acknowledging linguistic difference as variation rather than as "right" or "wrong": "I think, I mean, I think it's partly for me, it's largely an issue of access. Like, I think that I come from a working-class background, I grew up in a single parent home, my mom is a mail carrier. Like, education was never something that really seemed likely for me. And when I finally did get it, it was like learning another language." • Did not believe grammaticality is important in academic writing: "I don't really think [grammatical correctness matters] very much." • Understood grammaticality as important primarily for clarity, and would provide grammatical feedback, but only if students asked for it: "I think that, I think that I guess it matters to the degree that, it matters to the degree that if there are excessive grammatical errors, it's hard to understand what a sentence means. . And so with thinking about like that clarity question and sort of like how, how you present an idea to your reader, I think there are some things about grammar that are important. But I think that when I'm working in sessions with students, I often signal to them upfront, you know, a lot of students come in asking for help with grammar. And I think that, for me, at least, I'll say, like, we can identify patterns here, like if they're, if there are repeating problems, if there are things that like, come up over and over again, we can talk about the rules for that." • Believed that there is no single set of rules for academic writing "But my sense is that, like, nobody really knows grammar rules that well. […] And I think that like, there's no point trying to adhere to a bunch of rules that, like, nobody agrees on." • Provided feedback on whatever students asked for: "But it, it was sort of just like whatever they, they needed help with or hoped to achieve through that conversation. I tried to do my best to make sure that they, they got what they were looking for."	**Language-ideological misalignment:** Where David stated that Chinese English is not acceptable in "professional" settings (signaling alignment with aggressive monolingualism) Tony was quite explicit in stating that he does not emphasize strict grammatical assessment in his feedback to students (signaling alignment with progressive multilingualism).
		Writing Center group members	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Answered whatever questions David had: "So I was just, like, talk, like, talking to them. Asking them about, like, future path. Like their suggestion, course selection [laughs] like that. Yeah. It's just good experience, like to know more people. Yeah. Get more, some advice." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • According to David, "the group just want us to be more pro writing. Yeah. […] Like, write as a professional or something. I wasn't sure, just getting better."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
Frank Yang	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:**	Ava Chen (friend)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • According to Frank, Ava valued grammaticality over logic: "There was once, she read a paper	(See the appropriate quotes in column 2 from this participant.)	**Language-ideological misalignment:** Where Frank himself did not value grammar as an end in itself (he said, "I don't think grammar matters that much"—

	• Gave grammar-based feedback to Ava Chen, suggesting the need to police language: "So actually, the, our parents met first and back then she was still applying for college. And I think her mom or someone came to me and asked me if I could help with her, help her daughter with personal essay writing. And I said 'sure,' and she sent me the essay. And I tried, I tried to correct the, the small errors […]" **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Put a strong emphasis on logic and organization: "when someone reads [a piece of writing], he has to be able to follow every sentence." • Said that "I don't think grammar matters that much" as long as the meaning was clear. **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • N/A		written by her friend. I was actually somewhat impressed by her friend's word choice and, just use of English language as a whole. She was, she only attended schools in China, but her writing was, appeared to be very native, to be honest. But her logic was a huge mess. [...] It was for a philosophy class and Ava read it. She told me she, she's really impressed, and she thinks her friend's going to get a good grade. After I read it, I'm like, she needs to rewrite this whole thing. Although there, the skill's really good, the whole paper makes no sense, and she was pretty much disproving her own idea." • Asked Frank for help "proofreading," which implies grammatical feedback: "And for, for Ava after that, every once in a while she would send me her essay for me to kind of like proofread."		signaling alignment with progressive multilingualism), he provided Ava with extensive grammatical feedback, especially early in her university enrollment (signaling alignment with aggressive monolingualism). Based on Frank's account, Ava valued grammaticality over logic (signaling alignment with aggressive monolingualism), whereas Frank valued logic over grammaticality (signaling alignment with progressive multilingualism).
		Diana (engineering communication instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on "readability and word choice": "She only cared about I think it was mostly about readability and word choice." • Helped students create "polished resume[s]." • Focused on clear communication: "[W]e had to study the, the, why the, why the problem exists, and why the problem matters, especially to the stakeholders, and how to trans—pretty much how to translate this problems, the solution of the problem to other people's personal interest. And also, things like the current status of the problem, whether it's been solved or what, what major steps have been taken, or what might be done in the future, what can possibly be done in the future to maybe find a better solution." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Focused on professionalization skills like writing resumes.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Engineering communication classmates	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback for clear communication in resumes: "Oh, yeah, there were a few. For instance, list for the resume, try to focus on the major accomplishments and, and to not waste too many words on the smaller ones, and maybe put them in a certain sequence. Also try to, after writing the technical title, try to explain a little bit why this will help, help you excel at this job." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Provided feedback on professionalization skills like writing resumes.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		ESL classmates (in Hossein's class)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Focused on grammatical feedback in peer review: "That one was mostly a word choice and grammar. […] But they insisted on using the strict grammar. It's not like the regular grammar they teach here in the US, but the strict grammar they learn in China. So they write in a very, very strange way." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on content: "For the, because for the bigger, bigger ideas we kind of discussed, and we got those straightened out."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Hossein (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Gave grammatical feedback: "I'm not sure if he will agree as a person, but at least for the course, he was trying to help us get, get over the grammar errors. So I think, at least in the class, he would correct those for us and try, try to make sure that the same mistake does not appear." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on structure: "Sometimes, mostly those feedbacks he gave to me were about the structure of the paper. Sometimes I, I gave myself way too much freedom, that, which makes it very hard for me to build a presentation or something or a formal essay based on the ideas I have. Sometimes it's kind of hard to see the connection, although I try very hard to pack all the ideas into it. Sometimes she, he help me, helps me organize and—oh, especially with transitions of topic sentences. He provides some very helpful advice on that." • According to Frank, Hossein believed that "good" academic writing "will be a writing with good structure overall."	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided some grammatical feedback: "because that was the expectation, students' expectations," not because of his own personal beliefs. […] we would take points off [for grammar], but I wouldn't, I wouldn't ding them very harshly for that." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Specialized in sociolinguistics: "So [my research focus is] mostly sociolinguistics broadly. And then specifically within sociolinguistics, it's the interaction of linguistic behaviors and ethnic identities." • Focused on plagiarism, paraphrasing, citations, and attribution: "We would have weekly meetings, so it was very clear what to expect of the students, and also in what timeline because we had weekly topics, we were working on a specific project. Mostly expectation was on originality, or maybe on an avoidance of plagiarism. So that's, I think that's the heaviest focus of the work. That was the heaviest focus of the ESL program, that we want them to write, not to copy. So there was a lot of focus on paraphrasing, and a lot of focus on what they call attributed language, or citation." • Focused on structure: "And then on a structure as well. So I would say the second heaviest focus of the program was structure."	No evident misalignment
Holly Ma	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • When asked about Chinese English, said, "I think it's better to, like, write something that's, that's suits American style kind of writing." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Stated that "good" academic writing must be logical ("you need to write an essay that's logical"), consider one's audience ("you have a specific target population for	Courtney (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "Yeah. Sometimes she will, like mention some grammar problem. Just, just like you said, like because like, so that kind of stuff." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Helped students achieve detailed understanding of specific word choices: "I think she usually, she really try, try to make us like, to remember the meaning of a specific word. So every time, every time we have some problem with a word, she will like, describe it. Like, use her body like—so, she, I remember when she was saying, she was saying, like explaining the word pivot? She will, like, turn around. Like, tell us like that's the pivot. You just, yeah. Yeah. Yeah, I	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment

	your reading"), and overall easy to understand for the reader ("I think is easy understanding as possible, as you can"). • Stated that "for casual style," non-American Englishes were acceptable. • Provided feedback to make classmates' writing easier to read: "Yeah, I would just like provide some suggestion to a specific sentence because sometimes, you know, when you're not native speaker some sentence is just hard to read, and it's not logical. So I will provide some, my advice to the, to change, like the sequence of those words, like to help, help it make, make it easy to read. [...] Yeah, and sometimes also the article structure. Yeah." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Had early academic writing experiences preparing for standardized testing: "[W]hen I was preparing for, like, the language test, you know, the TOEFL, you have to also do some writing stuff and at that time, I tried to learn by myself. Yeah, I obtained some materials online and listening to some online courses to try to learn how to write American-style essays."		think she's very kind and very willing to offer help. Yeah." • Provided instruction on the conventions of summarizing in academic writing: "Yeah, so I really don't know what, what should be a summary, what should be an essay, that kind of stuff. And Courtney helped me to like, to differentiate between these two kind of writing. Like a summary you are more focused on the writer's opinions. You cannot like, you cannot involve your own emotions, your own, like, explanation, your own opinions into your summary. And like an essay, you just, you can express whatever you want. […] like is related to a topic you're writing about."		
		Derrick (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • "Yeah, I think he is, he really sticks to American style of writing. […] Yeah. Like, I remember very clearly, like, we need to use like, when we mentioned something like the US writer, we need to like U, like, period S period and both are capitalized. Really like remember that because it's really like, just strike me." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on which essay topics would be successful in his class: "Like, like, when I was taking [his class], like I really want to pick a topic, but that topic's banned by my Derrick, because it's not, it's very hard to write about that. You cannot write like, nine pages essays about that. Or it's, he just want to make it easy for us, so. And he, and he said you have to, you have to stop this for, or otherwise you will get a very low grade or you will not pass this class." • Provided feedback on transitions: "He just tell, told me to pay attention to all the transition."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Kiara (roommate)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Modified her writing approach based on different instructors' standards (i.e. there is not one "correct" way to write): "Maybe also, like, her writing style needs to like, suit, like the grader's of—the grader's style. So maybe she'll like, he or she will give—grade you higher, that kind of stuff."	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological misalignment**
		Pharmacy Professor	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided content and formatting advice for resume-writing: "Yeah, I don't know how to write at first but like, the courses provided a lot of materials, like some sample, for you to like, to read, how to, how—what a good resume is you can like, reference from that. And, and after I upload my first version of resume, like, our professor provides me with advice. Like, sound like you need to like number, like you need to list all your experience, like the most recent at top, and later on, like, at last. And something like you need to, like customize your resume to a specific work. Yeah, you need to like, when you are writing an experience, you're listing all the things you were doing for this job. You need to—you also can adjust that kind of stuff to customize your resume to a specific job." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Focused on resume writing. • "Like, so [in the Pharmacy class] I think the writing style, style has to be more *professional*." (Emphasis mine.)	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Rachel (friend)	N/A: Holly gave Rachel advice, did not indicate what Rachel's language-evaluative criteria are.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
Jinglei Zheng	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Focused a particular "standard" for language: she valued feedback to help her "fix [writing] to make it more, like, sound locally […]," which I took to mean adhering to "American" grammar norms. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Indicated that standards for assessing "good" academic writing are inconsistent ("it's kind of hard to say, like, what is good writing"). • Focused on clear communication in English academic writing: she valued feedback to help her "fix [writing] to make it more, like, sound […] logically." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Had early academic writing experience with standardized testing ("[Prior to coming to the US for college] I can write like TOEFL or there, within, like, specific, like, guidelines. We just want to like, express your ideas, like maybe three key points, you just follow the key points.")	ESL instructor	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Would give minor grammatical feedback: "Maybe, but that won't be a major thing." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on evidence, outlining, and topic sentences: "So just like, collect evidence. Oh, and that one, they give us, the professor give us kind of outline. So it's kind of a strategy. So before writing down our draft, you will list it like, this is my, like, key point one. What's the evidence? What the citation [unintelligible] evidence to those kinds of things? This is my topic sentences. Sometimes I think that is a little tedious. [...] But, but it's really, when you really, like, put time onto that you will think that's really useful after you complete, like, complete that, like, online. You're, it's basically your rough draft. You basically just, like, expand it. Yeah. So it's kind of a new outline, map."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Friend	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • They would check each other's grammar. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Brainstormed together: they would discuss "[…] how that, how we should write about the essays and kind of share our understanding about all the things." • According to Jinglei, the friend believed academic writing is "good" "as long as you have like good grades."	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological misalignment**: While Jinglei said she was always working to "fix" her English (implying an alignment to aggressive monolingualism), Jinglei's friend did not have the same standard, seeing academic writing as "good" as long as it gets good grades (signaling alignment to progressive multilingualism and perhaps economic pragmatism).
		Naomi (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Discussed what is or is not common knowledge, and citation conventions: "I remember like my, my instructor, Naomi, I think. Naomi, a women. [...] Yeah, yeah, yeah. She is point out like, you need to kind of like these sites like, you do, you shouldn't assume like, this is a common knowledge, that is a common knowledge. But it's kind of hard, 'cause you will read, read a lot."	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described linguistic differences not in terms of "good" or "bad" but in terms of cultural differences: "I remember when I discovered that academic writing was not, didn't have the same rules across cultures. So like, cross-cultural discourse, that was when I was in graduate school. But in terms of a time when I discovered that, I don't know, I don't know. I don't have the	No evident misalignment

				same, like, I don't remember when that happened." • Described linguistic difference in terms of variation based on social class rather than it being "good" or "bad": "I think, but I think in general, just because I had always identified with writing, that academic writing also came more easily to me. Definitely, there were things pointed out when I was in college, in terms of appropriate things to say. But I feel like that's very much tied to like, class and social class and just being from a more working-class background, things like that hadn't occurred to me." • Valued clarity in academic writing: "Well, something that is well structured. And the structure seems important to me mostly in terms of clarity. Like if, you know, paragraphs or ideas are kind of jumbled without good use of signal language, that's going to impact the clarity, which, obviously, you need to connect with the reader and express yourself clearly." • Described "good" academic writing in terms of generating new ideas, argumentation, providing evidence, and using sources: "I like to look at the innovation of an idea, like the newness of an idea, that you're not just kind of restating something that's kind of basic. But once you have an idea, or, you know, a thesis that you're trying to prove, that you are using evidence to support it, that there's a clear connection between the evidence and the claims. And so then, in that evidence, you know, coming from a wealth of sources, making sure the sources are reliable. Those are the things that I think are most important." • Sought to limit how much she focuses on grammar in her feedback: "But yeah, I would say, less so than grammar. […]Well, first I need to kind of just, it'll be like with myself, like resisting the, the tendency to mark things that don't need to be marked, and to actually limit what I comment on grammatically. So that's kind of like with myself. With my students, you know, even like, in terms of teaching grammar, a lot of it is just kind of coming, like, introducing things to students so they have an awareness of it. Like not forcing them to like, do things when they haven't, when it hasn't really made sense or started to seem natural in their own heads. So you can direct their attention to something but not penalize them for it, like with your grades or something like that." • Showed awareness of English's sociolinguistic power as a global language: "But as much as I can, you know, in those first couple of weeks, I'll just use their given name if it's there on the roster. Because I think, like, a lot of the reason, like, they think that it's easier for me, and I think, you know, like, that naming issue is something else that says, you know, it has to be in English and English is kind of like, the power language in the world." • Focused on grammatical features not as an end in themselves but as features of academic writing as a genre: "You know, it's kind of more general language, and it's, it's really broken down into specific kinds of grammar. It might mention verb tense or something. But it seems to come up like, more organically, like, you know, like in [ESL Writing 2]. When we talk about how citing sources, you know, we often use the present tense. Like, it seems to arise more like, in the moment. I don't teach grammar separately in any of the classes here."	
		Nutritional Sciences Teaching Assistant)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Discussed whether or not different ideas are common knowledge and require citation: "I will tell her, like, exactly the same thing I said earlier, like, it's kind of hard to, to say like, whether this is more common knowledge or not, and she will tell me some, okay, something she think is common knowledge. Something she don't think is common knowledge. Yeah. That's why we will count bidirectional"	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Peers in various classes	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Some students focused on grammar: "For some people will talk about the grammar […]" **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Some students focused on logic: "For some people […] like, the American students, they will tell you, like, give you a suggestion on like, more, how to fix it to make it more, like, sound locally or logically." • Some students did not care about grammar: "That's what I want. But for some American students, they, they themselves even have really basic grammar mistakes, and they don't care about that. Like you, they use, like, four or five verbs with commas in that sentence. So it's kind of complicated."	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological misalignment:** While Jinglei said she was always working to "fix" her English (implying an alignment to aggressive monolingualism), some of her classmates were unconcerned about grammar (signaling alignment to progressive multilingualism).
		Classmate in psychology classes	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • "So we talk more about the, kind of, the logic here."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Psychology professor	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Focused on grammar: "I think like, one of the instructors told my friend, told the whole class to please make good use of the Writing Center. [...] Yeah. It's kind of capto—Capstone class. So we have lots of writing and group work, presentation, debate, all the things. [...] Yeah,	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological alignment**: While Jinglei said some of her classmates felt that this professor had bias against multilingual students, Jinglei described the professor's instructional method positively: "I think she is a very, really fair professor." This statement signals alignment with the psychology professor's blend of aggressive monolingualism and

			there, but there are multiple 601 professors. Yeah. And like, she would tell me to focus more on the grammar. She's so picky on the grammar." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on content: "she cares about the amount of knowledge. She will say you, you have to find a balance. You can't put everything in. You need to, like, select amount of knowledge." • Focused on logic: "So she will grade even harder and put more things on the logic." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Strictly emphasized grammaticality in terms of future career prospects: "Oh, she thinks like, for the, it's impor—the grammar is important if you just like, if you maybe just leave college and seek a new occupation she thinks you need to communicate with others. But if you have really poor grammar it's, other people we, may consider you as, like, kind of like you do not pay attention to those details. And if you go on to graduate school, there are tons of essays and research paper."		economic pragmatism in her language-evaluative criteria (i.e. the strict policing of language for reasons of future professionalization).
		Writing Center instructors: Aiden, Cal, Maala (among others)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided whatever kind of feedback Jinglei asked for: "It's more, they will ask you like, what kind of suggest you, suggestion you want. [...] Usually I will think it's kind of logic, like, sometimes let others read through it. See whether, like, they can understand this. Like, what, understand, like, why I have this idea using those kind of evidences. Yeah. [...] Yeah. And these sometimes, like I, initially, I want to, I want to have, get some feedback on like, how well I use one citation style. Yeah, they give me a few on that, how to cite."	**Aiden** **Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Taught grammar in his class: "Yeah, typically, let's see. So I taught [two English classes]. In [one English class] I did teach grammar, grammar/punctuation. So what I did is, I think there's some lists and some books somewhere about the top 20 grammar/punctuation mistakes. I think it may, it's probably in Andrea Lunsford's book now that I'm thinking about it, that students have questions about. So I would typically do maybe two, two class sessions a year on those top 20 grammar/punctuation questions. And then what I would also do is have them on the Canvas board, post any questions they had about grammar and punctuation. And then we would go over the rules of grammar and punctuation or whatever other issue they wanted to talk about. And I would actually typically have them do […] presentations on the rule, or whatever the rule was. So whatever the, whether it's like comma rule number one, you know, someone would do a short presentation on that and give some examples from printed publications." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described "good" academic writing in terms of students practicing writing, not in terms of an end product: "What's good academic writing? I think good academic writing, I think it's actually less about the writing itself, and more about just the processes of writing. And so giving students opportunities to practice in a variety of genres. And so I'm not, I'm not, for me in my own teaching, I'm not super concerned with end products at this point. Because students, I think college classes should be oriented toward giving students opportunities to be amateurs and to not have to be strong writers, you know, this is just giving them some practice." • Described "good" academic writing in terms of rhetorical awareness and effectively convincing a specific audience: "But I mean, so if I'm teaching an essay, I think what good academic writing would look like is students demonstrating that they have rhetorical awareness of the genre, and that they do the best they can to appeal to that audience based on whatever the guidelines are. […] But I, I guess I don't think there is one kind of good academic writing, kind of, it's always situational and it's always based on what the needs of the audience are. So I guess maybe I'll go back to my rhetorical point is, good academic writing is anything that's maximally persuasive to whatever the target audience is." • Described "good" academic writing in terms of coherence, style, and tone: "So I mean, writing that does a lot to have a coherent structure and interesting style and tone, and maybe, you know, interesting narrative devices, as long as it's appropriate for the audience." • Provided grammatical feedback if students asked for it, and described grammatical precision as useful not as an end in itself but as a method of convincing readers: "But if they had questions about it, I would always provide direct instruction on it. Because I mean, like, there's nothing wrong with teaching those things. It's still a rhetorical thing, so you're not going to be able to persuade your audience usually if, if what you're writing is unclear or confusing because of grammar/punctuation concerns." • Provided grammatical feedback to students in the Writing Center if students asked for it: "Yes, my teaching in the Writing Center. It also depends on what kind of teaching I was doing, whether, if it was written feedback, which I did plenty, especially toward the end. If a student asked for feedback on grammar/punctuation, I would give deep, comprehensive feedback on grammar/punctuation on a text they provided. Usually not the entire thing, but like, the first two or three pages. And every time I did have a correction, I would explain what the rule was. I think in-person sessions, there's a little less time to do that. But if it was one of those sessions,	**Language-ideological misalignment:** While Jinglei said she was always working to "fix" her English (implying an alignment to aggressive monolingualism), the Writing Center instructors aligned themselves with progressive multilingualism in respecting language variation.

				where it's maybe a English language learner, and they come in and say, I need help on grammar/punctuation, I would help them with grammar/punctuation, like I didn't have any problems with that." • Did not grade students based on grammar: "And in the classroom, like classroom instruction, I never, never made, I never assess student writing with using grammar and punctuation as, as one of the major things. So, like a student wouldn't to go from a, from a, you know, A- to a B based on grammar and punctuation. Because I also did what's called, what is called, you may know contract grading. So as long as students are making a good faith effort to achieve the goals of the assignment, they can, they know what they're gonna get when they turn in their paper. And if there are certain language-level, sentence-level issues, I'll just provide feedback on that and it's, it's a safe learning environment for them to learn those things." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Described different students' language goals in terms of their future careers: "Well, I guess it sort of also goes back to what's... So my question would be like, does the student want to have native-like competency? And I actually, I think most of them maybe would say yes. And so if a student does want to work for that goal, I think it's fine to help them work toward that goal. And I know some students, particularly in STEM fields, do face a lot of challenges because there's an expectation, I think, in STEM fields that they should have native-like competency."	
				Cal **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described academic writing in terms of communication and sharing ideas: "But yeah, I think just the process [i.e. the process of academic writing] of being able to engage with ideas and try to like, see where you fit and kind of position yourself within those conversations is, I kind of view it as like a conversation where I get to be a part of it." • Expressed awareness that different contexts require different types of language (i.e. there is not one "standard" or "correct" English): "Okay, I can understand that there will be some times when I need to write in a more kind of concrete, boring way." • Focused on providing grammatical feedback to support multilingual students in their courses rather than as an end in itself: "Yeah, yeah. I think, I think it got more nuanced. I think, this came up, I think, especially with, when I was working in the satellite locations, in the library later in the day. I worked with a number of, particularly of like, Chinese students, or students who are from China, and, who wanted me to like, check their grammar, wanted me to check their structure, like to, like, make sure that their papers were good. So thinking about, like, how do I support these students in like, passing their classes, because their professors are going to have like, specific standards that they're looking for. And often we would look at the rubrics together. It was, they're such short sessions, so I would try to get as much information as I could. But look at the rubric, we'll talk about like, what, do they know what their like, professor is expecting? Or based on other feedback they've gotten, what kinds of things they'll be looking for in that person's writing. With, so like, trying to balance that with the, like, what I believe like, there is no like one like, right way to write. • Described "good" and "bad" writing as a subjective distinction: "One way, that's good, right, like there's, yeah. Good and bad writing, I think are not helpful. It's not, not a helpful duality, and yeah, it's incredibly subjective." • Described very language-critical instructors in terms of white supremacy: "And so I wanted to, like keep their voice in their writing too, and I would talk to them about that. Like, how do we like, make sure this sounds like you wrote it instead of like, a generic human somewhere in the world wrote this, while still making sure that you, like, pass your classes based on these standards that your professor might have that like, may or may not be like, rooted in white supremacy?" • Emphasized the reality of language variation and the contextuality/subjectivity of language evaluation to students while working at the Writing Center: "I would talk about some aspects of grammar in my conversations with folks at the Writing Center, because I knew it was, like, they would get points taken off from, like, they would likely get points taken off, or gonna get feedback if they weren't following kind of what was being expected of them. And as much as I could in the, like, short sessions I had with people, try to talk about where those conventions come from, too, and really emphasize that like, this is one way of doing	

				this. And this is the way that has become kind of the, like, relatively standard, sort of can vary a little bit depending on where you are even in the US, and who, who is judging your writing. But relatively standard, like, what's expected of academic writing in a like, US higher education institution." • Described "good" academic writing in terms of clear communication: "But yeah, I think the, right now my big thing around like, what is, like, good writing is like, are you clearly commun—communicating your ideas. And so, part of that is like, writing it for yourself and thinking, okay, like, I understand what I've written here, this is clearly expressing what I was hoping to convey. And then having folks outside of you read that, too." • Provided grammatical feedback and instruction with an eye towards clarity rather than as an end in itself: "And it's just getting that kind of outside view and emphasizing in that the, the, like, if there are, I, in classes I've taught, I don't take off points for like, small like, spelling errors or like, punctuation, or even like, I'll ask questions like, give a lot of feedback around like, Hey, you didn't quite, like, this sentence doesn't quite have a, have a clear subject. Who are you talking about here? Or, even with things like passive voice or like, long sentences, I'm, I love, I love a long sentence. Just really emphasizing that, like, we want these to be intentional choices. So learning what passive voice is, so we can use it in ways that benefit our writing versus like, detract from our writing and make it less clear what we're trying to say. Or if we're writing paragraph-long sentences, making sure we don't lose people somewhere in that giant sentence." **Maala** **Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Described how she, at times, has strict grammatically evaluative criteria for academic writing: "But there have been moments, sometimes I've received, like, some feedback saying that I need to work on certain things. And then, then I wonder, Oh, is this going to be, is this a lingering problem I have that I, I have an issue with, like, what do you call them, with run-ons. And sometimes it becomes like, my problem. And something that I feel like I should work on, consciously pay attention to." • Expressed concern about writing based on specific grammatical criteria: "Yeah. I think that's the, that's the main worry. I also received this one piece of feedback from one of my former professors, and I remember, and that really stayed with me. Because she said, she gave me some feedback on the draft, and then she said, You need to maybe work on, I don't remember, I don't know what that says about me that I don't remember what the feedback was on. I think it was something like run-on sentences, something like that. She told me, You, you, you need to work on this because you are expected to teach this to undergraduate students. And that got me really worried because I feel like my writing is always connected to who I am as a teacher, because that's what I teach. [...] It makes me less credible as a teacher if my writing is not good." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described not worrying about grammaticality sometimes when doing academic writing: "Sometimes I feel like it's not something that I worry too much about, and that it's just a part of, you know, at the end of the whole, towards the end of the whole writing process now, okay, I go in, I look at to see if there are grammar errors, and I do my editing. That's just a part. But it's not something I worry about when I'm writing the essay." • Described "good" academic writing in terms of clear communication: "Yeah, I think the academic writing that I appreciate the most is when people take these really dense, complex, difficult ideas, but explain them so simply, and in a way that's so accessible and easy to understand. […] Yeah the ar—the argument? Yeah. So I think of the argument is being very conceptual, and, and that, as making some kind of conceptual intervention or shift. But the presentation I feel, like, shouldn't convey all of that difficulty to the reader." • Provided feedback on grammar, as part of her overall "holistic perspective," when students asked for it: "So, I think I like the idea of the Writing Center still being a place where students can talk about issues of grammar precisely for that reason, because then grammar doesn't become this separate thing from other writing concerns. It's all integrated. And there is an opportunity to sort of have that perspective on grammar, a sort of like a holistic perspective."	
Jodie Huang	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Indicated a preference for American English over	Courtney (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "Um, she just grade me for, yeah, I think there is a grammar part. Like the language I used in the essay."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment

	Chinese English ("[I]f you want to write about academic papers, the American grammar are important, like really important, because your readers are not Chinese anymore.") **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on clear communication: believed that "good" academic writing must have "clear logic," understandability ("you can use your language in a, in a way that people can understand"), and "clear structure." • Provided Vivian Wu feedback on APA formatting and structure: "Well, I remember that Vivian was not very familiar about APA style writing. And her instructor was not that responsible for their process of writing, but only grade for their final draft. So I helped her on her formatting. Like I tell her how to do to APA style writing, and how to improve her structure because I think I am good at writing structures and I helped her fix her first draft essay." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Stated of her own academic writing abilities: "if I want to do some research […] I am not, like, I am not a *professional*" (emphasis mine). • Valued Courtney's feedback because "Like she is a very *professional* writer […]" (emphasis mine). • Had early academic writing experience with standardized testing: when I asked her when/how she first learned academic English, she told me about her TOEFL class.		**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on organization/paragraphing: "It is like you have to be, you have to have an introductory part and three body paragraphs and a conclusion. But it is not like required, because you may have four body paragraphs and you may have a like a concession part. And, but you have to have a clear structure of your essay, the structure is important." • "I don't think she mentioned about Chinese English because we were learning about American English, but she, *she loves China, and she loves teaching Chinese students*. So she has been teaching international students for many years. I think she talked to me about that. And she thinks it is meaningful to give advice to us while we were learning English" (emphasis mine).		
		Journalism Teaching Assistant	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Required students to write with "nativelike" English: "I don't know if she, if he has some problems with me. Or it's just that my skills, my English skills are really bad. Every time he gave me advice on my essays, he says, I should go to the Writing Center, I should go to a native speaker and improve my English. And he didn't even give me any advice for my paper. And I think this is a bad, bad choice to, like not argue with him, but only listen. Yeah. And he, he gave me really low scores. Like I am always below the average. So like, the average of the essay may be eight out of 10 and I just get seven. [...] Well, he's not happy with my grammar and the language I use. And he just says that I am not that native, because he knows I am a Chinese but not an American. So he always asked me to find a American classmate and ask them about how to fix my essays. But I go to the Writing Center and those instructors, the Writing Center, they don't think my essay has a very big problem. And actually, they think they're pretty good." • According to Jodie, for the TA, "good" academic writing meant: "Well, his perspective, first of all, you have to be a native speaker. You have to be familiar with English as when you are writing your essay." • He did not provide feedback outside of criticizing her language: "he didn't even give me any advice for my paper."	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological misalignment:** Jodie did not agree with the Journalism teaching assistant's (aggressively monolingual) language-evaluative criteria: "Well, firstly, I just listened to him, because I think he's the instructor and he knows more than me. But then when I think back now, I think he is not that... I don't think I should listen to him. Because I, I fixed my essays several times, and he's still not satisfied with it."
		Lucy (roommate)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Brainstormed with Jodie.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Vivian Wu (friend)	N/A: Jodie gave Vivian feedback.	(See the appropriate quotes in column 2 from this participant.)	No evident misalignment
		Writing Center instructors: Daisy and Tony	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • According to Jodie, the Writing Center instructors believed that "good" academic writing means "good grammar": "Well, with good grammar, with good word choice, and good structures." • Provided grammatical feedback: "[Their feedback] was mainly about my grammar. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Indicated that "good" academic writing can happen in different Englishes: "[…] I once had a Indian instructor [in the Writing Center] and she thinks my language is pretty good. And she, she told me that when I—when she first came to America, and she was not that good at English, but everyone was nice to her and she can also write good essays with her not very good English." • Valued clarity: "Like I mentioned before, that your essay is understandable. […] It [makes] sense. Like, the things you're writing about is, it's correct. And the way you write about them is clear." • Provided feedback on "structure." • Provided feedback on various other aspects of writing: "some, like, topic sentences in my body paragraphs, they may be, they may be longer than, they may be a little bit long"	**Daisy** **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Defined academic writing in terms of concision, structure, argument, focus, and source usage/citation: "I would say being concise, following a particular structure, having an argument. So not just kind of, you know, going off in tangents about this and that, but you know, answering the prompt with a specific argument. And obviously, including citations and making sure to draw on sources. Yeah, those are some of the main things I would say that maybe we can map out across different disciplines." • Described academic writing in terms of plural Englishes: "I think, you know, back in the day, like when I was first an undergraduate student, I used to think that I, I have to follow the format, I have to follow the structure. And I'm still very, very much a writer who kind of follows structures, but I think I've given myself and I give my students a lot more leeway now to play with that. So like, there's no one way of writing a thesis statement or making an argument. And, you know, you can write an introduction in many different ways and still be a successful writer. So I think that's one thing I always tell my students, that there's *so many different Englishes* and so many different ways of writing that you shouldn't let, you know, these ideas about academic writing kind of restrain you" (italics mine). • Positively evaluated multilingual students' writing without critically evaluating their English as an end in itself: "I think some from the Writing Center a little bit. And then also from like, having met a lot of students, especially international students who come to me in the Writing Center, and they often tell me that they feel not as confident about their writing, or feel like they're doing something wrong, but then I read their writing and it's really beautiful and they are meeting all the criteria that they have to, it's just not, you know, how we would see a native English speaker, I guess." • Argued for evaluating student writing in terms of their ideas and not their grammar: "Yeah, I'd probably tell them that, if you can understand what the student is trying to say, even if, let's say their grammar might be just a tiny bit off, I would say, you know, give points or grade them based on your understanding of their arguments, the meaning of what they're trying to say instead of things like grammar. Obviously a certain	**Discrepancy**: According to the Writing Center instructors, they did not value grammaticality in and of itself, but in Jodie's perspective, they valued grammaticality highly and see "good" academic writing as having "good grammar." **Language-ideological misalignment:** Where the Writing Center instructors valued and accepted linguistic diversity, whereas Jodie emphasized the importance of avoiding Chinese English in academic writing.

				amount of grammar mistakes, if you make enough, something is not understandable. But I think just like, giving students the benefit of the doubt and understanding their experiences prior to coming here is really helpful." • Focused on prioritizing grammatical concerns that affect meaning: "So I think over time, I try to explain to my students, okay, this is when you should use a and the, but you know, it's fine if they make that mistake, versus bigger mistakes. I think, in terms of tenses, sometimes if you use like, future perfect instead of like, past or something that completely changes the meaning of the sentence. So prioritizing, like, which grammar issues to like, focus on and to improve, I think, is something I tell my students." • Provided whatever type of feedback students asked for: "And that's when, you know, they kind of decide, Okay, should I think about argument or grammar, and then we kind of focus on one of those topics. And if it's something like grammar, we kind of read line by line. […] Sometimes, you know, we do things like reverse outlining, and things like that just to help students figure out, okay, this is my main argument and these are all the, like, subpoints and how does this fit in." **Tony** **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Valued clarity and simplicity above all in academic writing: "I think that good academic writing is direct and clear about its goals and intentions. I think the thing that bothers me most in academic writing is unnecessary complexity and like, a lack of clarity about what it intends to accomplish." • Described learning academic writing in terms of learning another language—i.e. acknowledging linguistic difference as variation rather than as "right" or "wrong": "I think, I mean, I think it's partly for me, it's largely an issue of access. Like, I think that I come from a working-class background, I grew up in a single parent home, my mom is a mail carrier. Like, education was never something that really seemed likely for me. And when I finally did get it, it was like learning another language." • Did not believe grammaticality is important in academic writing: "I don't really think [grammatical correctness matters] very much." • Understood grammaticality as important primarily for clarity, and would provide grammatical feedback, but only if students asked for it: "I think that, I think that I guess it matters to the degree that, it matters to the degree that if there are excessive grammatical errors, it's hard to understand what a sentence means. . And so with thinking about like that clarity question and sort of like how, how you present an idea to your reader, I think there are some things about grammar that are important. But I think that when I'm working in sessions with students, I often signal to them upfront, you know, a lot of students come in asking for help with grammar. And I think that, for me, at least, I'll say, like, we can identify patterns here, like if they're, if there are repeating problems, if there are things that like, come up over and over again, we can talk about the rules for that." • Believed that there is no single set of rules for academic writing "But my sense is that, like, nobody really knows grammar rules that well. […] And I think that like, there's no point trying to adhere to a bunch of rules that, like, nobody agrees on." • Provided feedback on whatever students asked for: "But it, it was sort of just like whatever they, they needed help with or hoped to achieve through that conversation. I tried to do my best to make sure that they, they got what they were looking for."	
Kai Li	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Addressed some instructors' strict grammatical requirements ("[E]very instructor asked for different things. Some instructors look at the grammar side more"). **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Addressed some instructors' requirements for more meaning-based writing, excluding grammaticality in their assessment ("Some [instructors] say that they want you to write true to your heart"). **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Had early academic writing experiences when preparing for standardized testing	N/A: Did not include anyone on his social-network map.			

	("[T]he real first chance I've got to read, like, learn about grammatical structure was when I was prepping for my SAT. […] And that was kind of the first time I got introduced to some of them more, like, how a comma's used, how a, you know, colon's used, whatever."				
Peter Wang	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Addressed strict linguistic requirements in academic writing: stated that "good" academic writing must have "formal vocabulary." • Stated that Chinese English should be avoided in English academic writing, since "The logic of these two languages are sometimes different." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on clear meaning-making in his writing: stated that "good" academic writing must include "your personal thoughts" and must be logical. **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • N/A	Courtney (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on gathering and organizing information: "Uh—cause she—at first, she gave us a matrix, a matrix that, you know, it's just something like a sheet. You know, you'll put all the information on it, and then your academic articles you found on it. Yeah. And also, uh. Let me see. Also, like, retrieve some main ideas from those articles. That are helpful for you to write an academic essay. Yeah, yeah. So it seems like there's a lot of kind of, like information gathering and organizing. • Focused on organizing ideas to convince readers: "And I put them into, you know, one was a weak evidence. And one was a stronger evidence. From, from the beginning to the end. And I remember she said, it's, it's good for academic writing, because, you know, you go from weak to strong. And this makes your paper more, you know, persuasive to your readers." • Focused on accuracy: "But I remember she gave some suggestions for me, for example, like the beginning of the article. Because I, I believe I used some words that are not very accurate." • Valued logic over language-based concerns: "I believe she thinks the logic is, is the most important thing. Logic. Yeah. Rather, rather than language."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Henry (ESL instructor)	N/A: He had not been in Henry's class for long enough to comment on Henry's language-evaluative criteria.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Megan (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Focused on grammaticality: "Oh, at her class. I mean, it's more of like, um, how to use your grammar correctly in your article. So basically, I think it's, it's not about, you know, write a very perfect paper. […] So basically, it's just training for grammar." • "Grammarly correct. Grammarly correct. I mean, yeah, that one I think is most important in her class." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on fluency and reader's understanding: "It's about writing, you know, very fluently, and very smooth one so that reader can, can, you know, understand it very easily."	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback in some cases: "But sometimes [a student's grammar is] way off. And you have to correct." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described "good" academic writing as "Clear and persuasive." • Acknowledged linguistic variation between disciplines: "I often feel like I don't know what the rules are for different fields. I think those rules probably vary quite a bit and I just don't have that background knowledge." • Described grammatical instruction as necessary for clarity: "It all leads to meaning, meaning underlies everything, right?" • Did not believe "nativelike" grammar is necessary for academic writing: "[Students] can get their point across with a lot of minor mistakes and some odd word choices." • Focused on clarity over "nativelike" grammar: "I think it's unrealistic for 99% of my students. I'm amazed at what they can do in English. I think English is a tough language and they're still quite young. So I try to work with what they have and improve their clarity." • Described plagiarism as a kind of "cultural competence"—i.e. framing language difference as variation rather than as "right" or "wrong."	No evident misalignment
		Tom (art history teaching assistant)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Focused on grammaticality: "Because I also took Art History in my first semester. And I believe for that instructor Tom, he also requires us to have a very good grammar. Yeah." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on "everything," not just grammar: "Um, I mean, for him, everything is important. Including the grammar." • Focused on students' ideas: "So for him, he also requires us to have a very deep thought into our readings."	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Did provide grammatical feedback to students—see below. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback not as an end in itself but with an eye towards effective communication: "It's not exactly my job to teach grammar, but I recognize grammar, syntax, word choice, all those kinds of things as very valuable tools that convinces somebody of you—of your point of view. And it's one of those things that—grammar is ability to articulate something in the way that you want it to be articulated, you can always skew the rules of grammar a little bit. And you can do that purposefully for added emphasis. And it only works if everything else, like the emphasis is shown through good grammar, as it appears in the rest of the document. And so I've always valued it, but I have pushed back a little bit on valuing it so much that it takes over other things." • Valued multilingual students' various Englishes: "I've—everybody who was most significant in my life, has spoken what's called broken English. And, and so it's, it's never been an association for me. I've never formed association between somebody's ability to just speak correctly, and whatever the value of what they had to say it was." • Described grammar as a "tool" and emphasized the distinction between someone's ideas and the language they use: "And that, that aspect has no grammar, you know, there's no grammar to, to a mind. Well, there is once we when we start forming thoughts into coherent statements and, but, but, you know, that's difficult thing to put thought onto paper. And so I've always thought of it as a tool, the more I can encourage	No evident misalignment

				somebody to expand that tool set, I've always found that useful." • Respected people's various Englishes, but tried to provide feedback on grammar in a supportive way, but not as an end in itself: "And so ultimately, what it comes down to is I think like, people have a different way of phrasing things. And somewhere, somehow when they phrase things awkwardly in English, I so totally understand exactly what they mean. Because my parents are spoken that, in that way [...] all my life, right? And so I know exact—nd it's almost one of those things that I skip over, except then I take an opportunity to say, I know exactly what you mean and normally wouldn't have commented on this, but just so you know, this is this is how you rephrase that or the sentence structure, it's a little bit different in English, and so you don't do this don't do that." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • When discussing the importance of grammaticality in academic writing, emphasized it in terms of students' professional/academic goals: "But I also know that when it comes to students, when they are ambitious people who want to be successful at a business or—or whatever profession they pick, that's a valuable tool to have. And a lot of people go into the STEM fields, they don't develop very good writing skills. And it's very, sometimes the most convincing research ends up being the kind of scientist or researcher who was able to put together, yeah, convincing data on one hand, but framing it into a narrative that's also convincing. And so, so I think, I think it's incredibly important […]"	
		Zhang (friend)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on various writing-related issues: "Oh, yeah. So with him, we mainly talk about, for example, like the APA style. The writing style, the format. Other than that, I mean, yeah, it's just about some language stuff. Yeah. He didn't give me too much suggestions on what ideas should I present cause you know, the papers for myself. I don't want other people's ideas inside. So [unintelligible] just some language suggestions and format suggestions." • Focused on simplicity of word choice and expression: "Oh, yeah, I believe for him, uh, good academic writing is to like—using some very formal or formal languages, some, for example, […] it's a little bit harder to express it. For example, if you can use one word, without using a phrase then you gonna replace it with a word. To make a simplified. Yeah. I mean, for him. Those things might be important."	N/A (no interview)	**Discrepancy**: Peter disagreed with Zhang about the importance of simplicity in word choice, saying, "sometimes I think simplification is great. Because this makes your essay shorter and the reader is less stressful to read it. But it's not for all situations. Because sometimes, I believe, you know, if you use one phrase, I can make reader better understand it? Then you're gonna make—use it. It's, it's not a big problem for me." Note: I do not interpret this discrepancy as language-ideological misalignment, as both of them seem to be seeking understandability in their writing, and neither seems to be policing their own language or seeking so-called "native" grammar for its own sake.
Scarlett Li	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Indicated that Chinese English is not acceptable in the US college context ("If this is in a speaking culture in a speaking, like English-speaking country, I think it will be better if you use the American English"). **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on clear communication with readers, even those lacking background knowledge of the topic in question ("some people who doesn't know anything about this, like really in detail, and sh—he knows what you're talking about, and he knows what's your opinion about"). • Indicated that Chinese English is acceptable in some contexts ("I think it really depends on where you're studying"). **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Stated that having grammatical errors in academic writing "would just show that you are *unprofessional*" (emphasis mine). • Approached academic writing from a career-focused standpoint ("I'm in journalism but I'm not really doing the traditional journalism, like reporting or writing. I'm doing the strategic communication, so more about like advertising and marketing, like advertisement marketing, and public relations, things like that. So it's a little bit different with a traditional journalist do").	Comm Arts TA	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided resources for doing background research: "Especially about the movies and analyze, and she would give us like really helpful sources to look up and some database to look up. […] Not really like a research, research articles, but more like reviews, analyze, things like that." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Indicated that the TA's feedback sought to make students' writing more "professional": "Yeah. So she told me that, and she said we can look more things in there to have like a more diverse opinions and more professional."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Ella (friend)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "Grammar feedback, yes. She's better at grammar. So sometimes she gave me more feedback about my grammar." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Exchanged feedback focused on clarity and the reader's understanding: "So she has to do some like, research writing. So she's afraid she's like getting too fast to some point before she give all the background. So I didn't know anything about psychology, so the best way to test if it's, if you're going too fast or, like too much details, she give the paper to me to read it. If I can know what she's talking about, she says, It's good, okay, I can move on to the next part. So yeah, and for me, and I took some like, International Studies, and also my journalism classes. We learn how to write news, like breaking news and follow-up stories this semester. So I sometimes just send those stories to her, said, What's the difference with the stories you, like you see on the like, some news organizations? Yeah. And do you know exactly what I'm talking about, about those news, and some, is there any facts you are interested in and you really want to know, but I didn't include in my paper. So yeah. Last semester, I, we did those things. And we spent time to study together in our library. So it's really easy, just switch the computer." • Provided feedback on coherence: "And organization... she's really good at writing. And, so yeah, I have never found like any, like, thing like that you have to fix, it doesn't make sense or something, which is really good. So yeah. And sometimes she will find some, like co—coherent things like that—those two sentences just don't seems to go together. You want like, start like a new paragraph to stop this topic."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment

		International Studies TA	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Did not focus on grammaticality: "So it doesn't really care about your grammar or something. They more cares about your [unintelligible] about your statement." • Provided feedback on organization, flow, and formatting: "I would just sometimes to show her our group work. Like, we already have the main topic like this. Do you want to have us have like subtitles for different sections? Or it should be like a long paper, just don't have any separations? Yeah. So she gave us some advice about those structures and the flow."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Tyler (journalism teaching assistant)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Focused on strict grammatical rules: "So I, there was lot of writing in that class. And we learned AP style writing. Yeah, that's how some different grammar is with normal academic writing. Like the punctuations, and you can't put on before Monday." • "Based on the fact. That's the most important thing and *no mistakes about the grammar*" (emphasis mine). **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on appropriate information for different genres: "Like, for the breaking news you have to show how bad the thing is. Why is surprise to people, so you don't have to go that many details in who say that or who say that. And he will give some advice about this. Yeah, so he always have really long feedbacks about our writing." • Indicated that "good" writing must be "Based on the facts."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Writing Center instructors	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • "They just fix on my grammar […]" in their feedback. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on "structure or organization thing." • Focused on structure, overall focus, and supporting evidence: "like you have like a clear structure and you're not going off the topic. Yeah. Your details can support your thesis statement." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Provided resume feedback: "The second time was fixing my resume. Yeah. I didn't know they have that service before. But my boyfriend told me they have resume fixing and editing, and building. [...] Yeah. So I was really interested, 'cause I have many internships and organization experiences so I want to know, what should I show to the HR people about me if I want to get this job. But what if I want to get that job? What should I put on this one? And what should I put on?"	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
Sofia Liu	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Emphasized the importance of grammaticality in English academic writing ("[I]t's really, it's really interest—uh, important. 'Cause the grammar, sometimes I will use Grammarly for to check my grammar after I review and, review and finish my, some academic writing, and I think is really important […]" • Indicated pursuing a specific language form as her goal: talked about seeking "to transit from Chinese to English," and how she sought to "practice or write more English" in order to "revise that and you can used to this style." • Sought grammatical feedback from the Writing Center: "Yeah. I just, like, in Writing Center I asked for help about, especially in grammar and sentence. Like which sentence is weird, or is there any grammar error in my essay?" • Sought grammatical feedback from her friend Zoe: "Like when I, when I have some academic writing after I finish my first draft, I will ask her like, Can you help me to review and check this? Any grammar error or any sentence that you think is kind of weird?" **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on clear communication: stated that an academic essay must have a "reliable" argument, "a lot of solid supplement materials to support the argument," and connectedness ("each body paragraph may need to make a connection between each other").	Henry (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided minor grammatical feedback/assessment: "And also like... but after I use Grammarly to check my grammar there's like, a little bit, there's no, some big grammar error." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on evidence to support one's argument: "And the professor is really like, it's really nice, and sh—he taught me how to write, how to write an academic writing and how to make the paragraph more strong. How to make your arguments more strong with the supplement, like a sub-point, or, like, examples to support your argument. […] And after I argue, clarify my argument, I need to list either examples or some, or, like, references to support my argument. But sometimes my supplement materials cannot fully support my argument, it's kind of like, it's kind of like, you need to think into a deeper level, I think to next level or think more deeper, or I need to explain more so the reader can understand why this example or this material can support my argument." • Focused on reader understanding: "Yeah, it's really helpful 'cause it can make your argue—make your essay more, more fluent or more understandable by reader."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Julia (friend)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Exchanged grammatical feedback: "we also cross-review or cross-check our essay. Like, [unintelligible] this is gram—this grammar is not good. But both of us need to double check with the Grammarly 'cause we're not sure whether it's right or wrong." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Brainstormed and discussed what topics would be appropriate for essays: "We also chat, we also read about the content 'cause topics is very interesting. It's about gene, like, genetic. […] Yeah. And so, we will read, each of us, the paper and talk about why you choose this topic. Is this topic interesting? If it's interesting [unintelligible] I will like do more sear—I can do more research with you."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Molly (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "And yeah, and the third thing I think is grammar." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on "structure." • Provided feedback on constructing one's overall argument based on evidence: "Like, oh, Professor Molly also taught me, like, you need to research first and then formulate your essay,	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Did provide grammatical feedback (see below). **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Did not like to teach grammar, especially outside of its cultural context; sought to avoid being "prescriptive" in grammar instruction: "I'm not a fan of teaching syntax. I'm not a fan of separating it from the cultural milieu in	No evident misalignment

	• When emphasizing grammaticality (see above) did so for the sake of clarity ("If the grammar is incorrect, the user may misunderstood or misunderstand your point, or what's your meaning for this sentence. So the whole passage will, like lose connection"). • Stated that Chinese English was not necessarily a "negative thing," since "we are the Chinese and if we abandon the Chinese English is kind of hard for us." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • When I asked her about learning academic writing in high school, she talked about standardized tests ("No. No, I don't think I have learned that in, in, in junior high school. But when I take SAT or SAT test, I have to learn that by myself. But I didn't, like, learn that in junior or high school").		in your, your head. Like, sometimes you cannot think, Oh, this thing is the good thing or right thing. And then if I think this is the right thing, and we, I just find evidence online to support my thinking, we have to research, is this the good thing or right thing. And then you, after you review and check all of the online resources and, or references, so you can decide this is the good thing or right thing and also cite this references from your research." • Focused on appropriateness of evidence: "The, like, you cannot have a stereotype in your mind and find the evidence to support that."	which it exists. It gets prescriptive so fast, and, yeah." • Encouraged students to use writing as a brainstorming tool and not to worry about grammaticality in early stages of writing: "And, so I was teaching [a biotech program] and I just had them, I'd give them 10, 15 minutes in class to just write before they talk to each other. And then I'd say I want four pages of garbage on these FDA regulations and they, I said I don't care if it's like, incomplete sentences, I just want you to write what you thought, what you read, what you think you know, what you think you don't know. Well, of course, they were able to turn a lot of that into parts of the paper because they needed to do that. And I just, but the fact that I said, I don't care if it's full of mistakes, I don't care if you've put your citations, and just go, just write, just get it out of your brain and onto the paper, they made that transition." • Provided grammatical feedback when it hindered understanding: "I treat different students differently, actually. Like I've, I've had students where I sat them down, and I'm like, Look, your brain, your ideas are great. Nobody's ever gonna fucking understand them because your grammar is appalling. […] Or sometimes they're like, Yeah, I've tried and I just can't do it. And I'm like, You, look, okay, here are three things that you need to address. And it's usually something to do with tense. Like you just can't be so random in your tense selection, because it, there's meaning in what tense you've selected to represent something. Yeah, that's generally a main thing, is like verb tenses." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Personalized feedback based on students' career goals, only providing grammatical feedback when she saw it as professional relevant for them: "But if it's somebody who's, you know, they're Applied Math, a Math major, and, you know, their grammar isn't great, but they're using it to think, let the grammar go. I'm just gonna let it go. Because for that student, they're not going to be expressing themselves in words much anyway as they go forward in life. And if they're getting the thinking part of it, I'm delighted. If they're starting to be like, Oh, I can use words to think as well as math, that's great. This has a logic just like math has a logic, cool beans! So, yeah, I do I kind of tailor my approach to the student."	
		Lena (friend)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Focused on grammar. **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on content: "I think she pay more attention to the content. Like, sometimes there was a, this two paragra—body, body paragraph she think is kind of similar. Maybe you can do more research about, like, how to write another body paragraph to make this different or convey more different opinion to the same topic." • Focused on conveying original ideas: "the content may be more important like, unique, and good, a good academic writing needs to convey your own point to readers. So if you cannot convey a good content, the academic writing is nonsense."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Writing Center instructors	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • According to Sofia, the Writing Center instructors think that "good" academic writing means: "I think from my, from my experience, experiences, I think it's […] without any grammar issue." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on providing sufficient evidence: "And, and sometimes they will think, like, you need to make [unintelligible] explain more each, in each supplement evidence. Like I have the argument and I have three evidence to support my evidence—support my argument, and in each evidence I need some, I need to explain why this evidence support my argument. Maybe I need to explain more, or otherwise they cannot understand." • Valued "clear structure" in academic writing.	N/A (no interview)	**Discrepancy:** According to Sofia, the Writing Center instructors value grammaticality very highly. Based on my interviews with other Writing Center instructors, however, several of them deprioritize grammar unless a student specifically asks for grammatical feedback. **Language-ideological misalignment:** Where Sofia sought to "correct" her English grammar, aligning herself with aggressive monolingualism, the other Writing Center instructors I interviewed were much more in line with progressive multilingualism in valuing linguistic diversity.
		Zoe (roommate)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • According to Sofia, Zoe believed that "good" academic writing prioritized clarity: "I think she just think it's understandable is like the most important thing. Like some, some sentence, if she think it's not understandable, and if this is a lot of, there are a lot of sentences that they think this paper or this essay is not understandable, they think this is the bad essay 'cause the reader cannot understand. And the, the essay cannot convey its meaning."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
Vivian Wu	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Indicated pursuing a specific language form as her goal: discussed constantly "finding ways to improve my grammar […] because the way we, like Chinese thinking about how to write is very different from American students." • Was critical of a friend's (Grace's) grammar: "I just,	ESL Instructor	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided minor grammatical feedback: "Uh, a little bit? […] I will say, yeah, not so focused [on grammar]. Yeah, it's one of the part of the grade [unintelligible]. [...] But it's just a little proportion." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on paraphrasing, structure, and adding detail: "And it's more focused on your writing skills, like how, what's a good way to paraphrase your sentence. And how to like, like, how to make your academic paper looks well by like,	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment

	like I would read her essay and maybe I feel like I can like always pointing out some grammar mistakes or some like small mistakes in her essay, yeah." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on communicating and making meaning: described "good" academic writing in terms of "the development of ideas" in order to "show your opinion," "good structure," and "show[ing] your insights and your thoughts." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Emphasized the importance of using "professional words" in English academic writing.		having different structures and how to like, make your topic more specific or more detailed instead of the general idea." • Focused on helping students refine/focus their topics: "[H]e wanted me to focus more into this kind of specific aspects instead of just listing as many, like, general or, like, wider topics." • Focused on gathering sources: "Because I actually learn how to like […] select the right information from like a thousands and thousands of articles and the references."		
		Grace (friend)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided support brainstorming and finding/developing an essay topic: "Okay, so when I was writing my academic paper about how economics are affected due to COVID-19, Grace actually provided a lot of different aspects of how economics can be affected to me, which, which really opened my mind and also gave me more detail about, like, how can I develop my topic." • Discussing academic topics: "And she also like, would share how she feel when she writing her like historical or political paper or essay because I don't know any of the political or historical things. So I feel like it was very interesting and a funny conversation."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Jodie Huang (friend)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Collaborated to identify essay topics and brainstorm: "Maybe like do some brainstorm or like draw some mind map to develop our topics." • Collaborated to find essay sources: "And after we decided what topics and some aspects we should included in our essay, we will like find a different sources of articles and references." • Discussed use of sources in essays: "And we will sometimes we'll read together and, or show each other what, for example, like what I found as like in terms of the growth rate, and I will show to her and we will like discuss about this articles, which part of the articles is good for our essay and which part, like we should give up because it's not useful."	(See the appropriate quotes in column 2 from this participant.)	No evident misalignment
		Lucy (friend)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "[…] I showed my final version of my essay to her. She also pointed out some, like, grammar mistakes […]" **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on concision and appropriate level of detail: "[…] she thought my conclusion part can be further improved, because at that time my conclusion part was a little bit long. [...] And so she think, she thought it is more like maybe helpful for me to get a higher grade if I have like a more detailed and shorter conclusion."	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Naomi (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided brainstorming and critical thinking support: "Naomi always let us, like, guided us to think more or expand our thinking about different topics. Like, maybe it's kind of more help for, for me to develop my critical thinking when I'm taking [her course]." • Focused on summaries. • Focused on structure: "I feel like she focused more on organizations and structures, because at the, at the first time when I met her to talk about my essays or like, discussion papers, and she pointed a lot of issues on my structuring. Things like my structure was not so coherent and my focus is, was kind of too general instead of like pay attention to the specific topic or specific factors." • Did not focus on grammar: "Yeah, and about the grammar? I, I don't think she maybe considered so much about the grammar."	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described linguistic differences not in terms of "good" or "bad" but in terms of cultural differences: "I remember when I discovered that academic writing was not, didn't have the same rules across cultures. So like, cross-cultural discourse, that was when I was in graduate school. But in terms of a time when I discovered that, I don't know, I don't know. I don't have the same, like, I don't remember when that happened." • Described linguistic difference in terms of variation based on social class rather than it being "good" or "bad": "I think, but I think in general, just because I had always identified with writing, that academic writing also came more easily to me. Definitely, there were things pointed out when I was in college, in terms of appropriate things to say. But I feel like that's very much tied to like, class and social class and just being from a more working-class background, things like that hadn't occurred to me." • Valued clarity in academic writing: "Well, something that is well structured. And the structure seems important to me mostly in terms of clarity. Like if, you know, paragraphs or ideas are kind of jumbled without good use of signal language, that's going to impact the clarity, which, obviously, you need to connect with the reader and express yourself clearly." • Described "good" academic writing in terms of generating new ideas, argumentation, providing evidence, and using sources: "I like to look at the innovation of an idea, like the newness of an idea, that you're not just kind of restating something that's kind of basic. But once you have an idea, or, you know, a thesis that you're trying to prove, that you are using evidence to support it, that there's a clear connection between the evidence and the claims. And so then, in that evidence, you know, coming from a wealth of sources, making sure the sources are reliable. Those are the things that I think are most important." • Sought to limit how much she focuses on grammar in her feedback: "But yeah, I would say, less so than grammar. […]Well, first I need to kind of just, it'll be like with myself, like resisting the, the tendency to mark things that don't need to be marked, and to actually limit what I comment on grammatically. So that's kind of like with myself. With my students, you	No evident misalignment

				know, even like, in terms of teaching grammar, a lot of it is just kind of coming, like, introducing things to students so they have an awareness of it. Like not forcing them to like, do things when they haven't, when it hasn't really made sense or started to seem natural in their own heads. So you can direct their attention to something but not penalize them for it, like with your grades or something like that." • Showed awareness of English's sociolinguistic power as a global language: "But as much as I can, you know, in those first couple of weeks, I'll just use their given name if it's there on the roster. Because I think, like, a lot of the reason, like, they think that it's easier for me, and I think, you know, like, that naming issue is something else that says, you know, it has to be in English and English is kind of like, the power language in the world." • Focused on grammatical features not as an end in themselves but as features of academic writing as a genre: "You know, it's kind of more general language, and it's, it's really broken down into specific kinds of grammar. It might mention verb tense or something. But it seems to come up like, more organically, like, you know, like in [ESL Writing 2]. When we talk about how citing sources, you know, we often use the present tense. Like, it seems to arise more like, in the moment. I don't teach grammar separately in any of the classes here."	
Yifeng Yang	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Stated that Chinese English is unacceptable in English academic writing ("in writing, I think most student will be able to avoid that"). **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on clarity and communication: stated that "good" academic writing included "logic, structure, and […] prov[ing] or clarify[ing] your arguments," in addition to indicating one's "argument," convincing one's reader, and providing sufficient evidence for a claim. • Stated that Chinese English is acceptable in informal contexts ("when daily speaking, so we probably, we can use [Chinese English] from time to time"). **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Stated that his early academic writing instruction focused primarily on standardized tests like TOEFL and SAT.	Abigail (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback: "I don't think we had a conversation about that, but she wrote me notes on my grammar errors." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on whether specific topics were appropriate for an essay or not: "I would j—I basically just, like, for the final, final paper I was basically come up with, you know, the outline, the ideas. Like, what kind of argument I was trying to use. I think I was writing something called the transgenetic [unintelligible], something like that. […] Yeah, and I would bring those to her and she will kind of discuss with me whether it's practible and, yeah, and then I will go back to write. And, and maybe in her office hour bring my half-done paper to her, yeah, for advice, and basically just like that, [unintelligible] her help me review my paper." • Provided feedback on argumentation: "She would probably say, like, this is bias. You didn't, you didn't consider the offset counterarguments for this ar—for this argument you have here." • Focused on the appropriateness of academic sources for citation: "And she would, also this cannot serve as a reference. And, like, Wikipedia cannot serve as a reference. I was ser—I was using, yeah, that was [unintelligible]. I was using a lot of Wikipedia [both laugh] in that paper so she, you need to find out another reference for this one, and yeah, this, so maybe you want to add more, you know provement for this argument"	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Did provide some grammatical feedback (see below). • Did expect grammaticality on final drafts: "[L]ike, certainly, I would not, on the, on a final draft, I wouldn't, I wouldn't let it, it wouldn't be riddled with grammar errors." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Deprioritized grammar in her classes, and when she did focus on grammar, it was with an eye towards communication: "And grammar, not so much. Probably individuals. You know, like watch your verb tenses or, or teaching them what verb tense is appropriate for citation, or. But I didn't do grammar classes. I don't think anybody does grammar classes, but, and some students, yeah, there were some students who were very weak in their ability to communicate, they were very hard to work with in trying to teach them how to communicate clearly." • Graded "holistically," with grammar only counting as one part: "You know, and, you know, you, pointing out like, you have like, seven fragments, or you have, like, here's, here's how you don't have run-ons, or some of the bigger hitting things. […] So I definitely, I mean, I didn't ignore grammar, but I was not, it was not, I would definitely point out errors and try to make it holistic." • Focused on clear communication over grammatical purity: "Why, like, if, if you can understand their ideas. I mean, not riddled with mistakes. I mean, maybe some third person singular mistakes, or some article mistakes, or, I mean, they could pay to have somebody edit it, if that's what you want that professor, if you want that professor. However, you know, I mean, you still, their ideas are still crystal clear and compelling and interesting, even though there are these flaws. And native speakers have problems, too." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Emphasized grammaticality more for graduate students, particularly in terms of future publication (i.e. professionalism): "And I, I don't know, I mean, I guess, you know, if you think about, you know, you want students to have, our students to have the same opportunities and the same, the same chance or whatever as other students, but. […] And in with my grad students, too, but it wasn't like a focus, so. And, you know, also that's sort of something that students may need to figure out, especially grad students, what's expected in their department, and especially if they want to publish."	No evident misalignment
		Allen (roommate)	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Provided proofreading (suggesting strict evaluation of language features): "So we just, you know, we do kind of proofreading for each other." • Provided "some grammar advice." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on complexity/simplicity and logic: "[…] somewhere he would think, Oh, this thing is too long, too complicated. So maybe you want to, like divide that into two sentence, or [unintelligible] clear logic, something like that." • Provided feedback on appropriate information for different audiences: "And maybe somewhere is confused. So you didn't, so say, say when I'm writing my, when I'm writing my final research paper for the [business writing class], so I was doing a paper regarding to the actuarial science and insurance industry. So, but the audience is not people inside the field. So, so Allen studied Computer Science so he probably do not, like, be equipped with the knowledge in the, in my	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment

			field. So he will say, Oh, this doesn't make sense to me, you to explain on this, and to specify [unintelligible], what is [unintelligible]."		
		Audrey (business communication professor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on effective, concise communication: "Audrey will do, yeah, they will, she'll give us lot of advice on how to, you know, construct a good paper, a good business research paper. And she will focus more on, like, the effectiveness and efficiency on basic communication since, she said businesspeople are very busy. So they, yeah, so that this is a part she will focus on more. So, business writing is a little bit different than academic writing, like in the weight of efficiency. They do not want that much, you know, that long reading things."	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Emphasized the importance of "nativelike" grammar for "important document[s]": "But I do tell them, you know, absolutely, if there's an important document, and any document you're sharing with someone you should think of as important, have someone who is a native speaker look it over and help you, you know, don't do it on your own." **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on clarity and concision in writing: "So we want them to be able to write clearly and concisely to get to the point, to consider their audience, make sure they're giving your audience what they need. Don't tell people what they already know, don't give them a long preamble, just get down to it." • Focused on directness and concision in communication: "One of the main differences, I think, is organization. It's getting, it's doing that kind of journalistic, getting your point up front, in your first sentence, your first paragraph, whatever and then following along. So you don't have a big flowery opening. It's also really being very concise, not putting a bunch of extra fluff in there that is unneeded. And it's using plain language rather than the kind of ornate academic type language that the, and our students are all in that mode. And our big thing is to try and break them of that habit. So like, throw away the thesaurus and just say what you mean." • Acknowledged the linguistic effects of multilingualism and described language difference in those terms: "They're just, the way their languages are constructed, you know, they don't have articles, they don't have the plurals, you know, there's all kinds of things that are very different." • Acknowledge the issue of language bias against multilingual people: "So you know, but a lot of them want to work here. And so I say, if you're going to want to work here, you, you should understand that some people have a prejudice against people who have strong accents, against people who have these kind of writing tics that come from writing in a second language, and you're going to need to really work on them." • Described being highly aware of cultural and linguistic differences: "So I, I think what, what I found and what I found most from the, from the languages that were the most different from English, the non-Romance languages, is that the way a language develops and, and the way the people who speak it look at things, are very closely intertwined." • Assessed students on communicative effectiveness rather than grammaticality: "So some of my colleagues really adhere to like some of these sort of textbooks about do it this way. And they're, they, they, they lose sight of what they should be, in my opinion, doing, is sitting back and saying, is this effective? Alright, they might not have used the perfect, you know, what was it I said, bad news email organization format. But if you got that email, would it be effective? Would you say, Oh, this is a bundle of trash? Or would you say, Okay, yeah, I get it, I understand it. So I think we can, especially with that final portfolio, because we're grading it on a rubric and we, because we all have to grade things the same way, we get a little too much into the, the sort of recipe idea. You know, you have to do it this way. And I'm constantly kind of pushing back against some of my colleagues about that. Saying, you know, I think this is wrong, I don't think that we should say you, you must have, you must have headings in a research email. You should have them if it makes it easier to read. And that's, as I was saying earlier, that's where you, you step back and think about what's the purpose of this communication? What does my audience need? What's the expectation? What is going to be the best way to communicate what I need to?" **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Taught a business communication class, i.e. focusing on writing and speaking in future professional contexts. • Customized feedback, particularly her level of grammatical feedback, based on students' career goals: "We don't, kind of single out international students and do the, do things a lot differently, but we're aware that, that their, sometimes their basic writing skills or speaking skills are, are going to be different because they're working in a second language. So, what I try to do is to, you know, to let them know that I understand what some of the usual problems are going to be and, and I, sometimes I will ask, not always, but sometimes I'll ask, are you planning on working here? Or are you planning on working back in your home country? […] Because that makes a difference to me on how much I'm going to push them on, on really correct English. Because if you're gonna go back and work in, you know, in Shanghai, then you know, because the way that they approach	No evident misalignment

				business communication is different. […] That kind of depends on where they are. Some, some of them, you know, some people have a natural gift in languages, right. So some of them who've been learning English the same amount of time as others are really very adept. And some are less so. So that makes a difference. But usually, it's sort of a, it's not sitting down and like, and line editing with them or for them. It's saying, here are some things I noticed in general that you, that you often get wrong, and you need to pay attention to them."	
		Clara (philosophy instructor)	(We were unable to discuss due to time constraints.)	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Evan (Writing Center instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on structure: "The volunteer there is gave me really good advice on how to structure or restructure a sentence, and how to, you know, write some, like, someplace I don't know how to start my paper, how to grasp all those names, sub-arguments, sub-, you know, central sentence, or on the whole passage." • Provided feedback on whatever students asked for: "You can, you can let them know what kind of you, say, you can say please proofreading me and help me find my grammar error."	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on cohesion, organization, genre, and audience in academic writing: "So I think, to degree they always do, and what I'm talking about is like, what I'm thinking about is, and I'm teaching this today to students, so this is like, one of the things still on my mind, it's like, style matters in terms of like, the cohesiveness of like, a piece of writing and like, the coherence. So helping, as your, as a writer, like, making sure that readers, when they move from sentence to sentence that like, the information they're given is stuff that is already known by them, or you've established previously. So I'm thinking of like, that classic rule of like, moving from old information to new information at like, the sentence level. So just thinking like, conceptually, I think about style, in terms of like, how writers handle concepts and how they present them to readers. So that would be like, the cohesion bit. And then coherence, coherence too, I think is important in this, meaning like, within a passage or paragraph, how do you create a unity of like, this, this section is about this particular topic, and guiding readers through that in a way where they don't get lost, don't get confused. And that's hard, I think, especially for like, people who are new to academic writing, because it can make sense in their own head what they're trying to say. So I think style is important when it comes to how you're organizing information, organizing topics in the writing. I also think some of the conversations around like, genre and style are really interesting. And I think that there's definitely room for people to break out of kind of traditional academic style, depending on what their purpose is, like, what's their purpose for a particular piece of writing, so, and who's, who's their audience too, all kind of basic things that we talk about with, like, first year students." • Only focused on grammar with relation to clear communication: "And I learned a lot of this actually through, like, there was a Writing Center meeting where we had folks from the ESL program come talk to us, and then there was a workshop that I partnered with Livia, she was the ESL liaison, and we talked about sort of like, egregious errors and non-egregious errors, is what the term was, and this is probably old scholarship at this point, like in the field, but it was helpful to present to the faculty, the [Writing Across the Curriculum], the faculty from other disciplines to just give them like, a framework of understanding of like, what is helpful grammar feedback, what is unhelpful? So trying to avoid like, an obsession over like, prepositions and like, article usage, things like that. Articles in particular are very difficult for certain students who come, who have a particular background. Like, I think East Asian languages. But then things like their, and I can't remember specifically off top my head, these different like, errors, but essentially, like subject verb agreement. I think just word choice generally, it's like lexical issues, […] sort of issues that can potentially interfere with meaning. And that interfere with meaning term can be confusing and can bring up a lot of like, problems because people say, well, that did interfere with my, my understanding, like a minor thing could, but I try to think about it, not in terms of like, misplaced commas, or incorrect use of prepositions, but things at like, the word level, and also like, subject verb agreement that can be confusing if students don't, maybe aren't, aren't native English speakers, or... especially students who are hyper focused on like, misusing commas, I try to reassure them, like, here are the things that I'm going to look at when it comes to grammar. So that's how I would, how I think about it." • Conceptualized the Writing Center as a place where students can develop ideas without worrying about specific language evaluation: "For me, personally, I mean, I think it's a place for students who are looking for a reader who is not going to levy a judgment that like, is going to factor into like, their evaluation for a course. And I think that's important because people, I think, sometimes are worried about their writing being seen as like, a reflection of them, like who they are, as a person, like a core piece of who they are. And I think a Writing Center can sort of offer a support space where we, kind of, where a student can see writing as something	No evident misalignment

				different, that it's a messy process where they can come and like work out ideas, and they aren't going to be evaluated on it in a formal way. And it's a place where they can come with ideas that are incomplete, that aren't fully formed, and I think that's really important. I think oftentimes, in higher education, especially like, first generation students, I think there's an anxiety about like, how am I going to look in this class if I say something stupid, or if I don't say something right. And I think the Writing Center is a place where people can be like, I don't know exactly what I'm doing in this piece of writing, or like, I don't know how to approach this assignment, and like, that's okay. So I think it's a place where students can, I guess, for lack of a better term, it's like a vulnerability. It's like a place where you can be like, vulnerable with your language learning or learning about writing, and I think that's important."	
		Liam (literature instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Complimented positive aspects of student writing: "No, there's, no, they don't. They're, the good thing, they're more like, they wouldn't say this is pretty bad. They would say, Oh, this is good."	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Described academic writing in terms of how varied it is between genres/contexts: "Each journal seemed to kind of want its own kind of, you needed to specialize the language, change the language, tweak the language for a particular audience or particular journal. So it just kind of, you suddenly realize how not just specialized within a discipline, but specialized within a journal, within a specific audience, and suddenly writing is this thing that, that we always taught about becomes real, that you have to change for every single audience, sometimes in big ways, sometimes in small ways." • Discussed grammar with students in terms of different grammatical structures' communicative potential: "That's the question. That's a good, that's the question, I suppose. Hmm. They, they don't matter. They don't matter and I don't teach them, but they matter immensely at the same time. It's a, that's a hard question. It's a really hard question. […] And the problem, the difficulty with answering that question is that no one in my training has ever taught grammar. So it's one of those things. I had to take a linguistics course, I was required to, but outside of that, that was my only kind of exposure to kind of graduate-level grammar. And then it's, it kind of stops after that. And I don't, I don't teach grammar, but I teach style, I suppose. Yeah, yeah. And that, even that's kind of tricky. So we can talk about, like, we'll talk about something in my courses about like, passive voice and the power of that. Not that it's a rule, that it should be one way or the other, but the way it's a tool that disciplines use. So maybe we'll look at some science journals or some science articles that use, explicitly use the passive voice to eliminate the agent, to make it seem, to make this kind of, just to focus on the object, to make it seem objective, and the kind of power of that. And then we'll kind of, maybe look at something in the humanities, or psychology, or philosophy, yeah, the social sciences, that introduces the agent again, makes it active voice and kind of how that changes things. So if I talk about style or passive voice, it's to kind of make a broader point about audience, writing, purpose, argument, tone." • Described grammar descriptively to students (rather than prescriptively): "It's not to, it's not to be prescriptive or anything like that. And I have tried teaching the difference between like, say, prescriptive and descriptive grammar." • Focused on argumentation, essay sections, and thesis-centrality: "Good question. They'll leave, and this is probably why the student brought my name up, because they will leave knowing how a classical academic argument is written. And I don't spend a lot of time with it in English, English [course number]. But I do bring it up, they will understand kind of, this is the genre we work in, in the academic setting. With the introduction that builds towards the thesis statement, followed by the points, the various points that you wish to outline and defend. And then, and then conclude. And so I return to that traditional, it's not a five-paragraph essay, necessarily, but it's just a traditional thesis-driven argument in all of my coursework. And that is, so they'll leave with that sense, sense of confidence that they can apply this to other courses. But with that, because that sounds incredibly rigid and conservative, with that, most of the writing they do is a lot of creative writing." • Focused on students finding evidence for their claims: "And then, and then in a literature course, as opposed to a composition course, just what they get then is kind of finding textual evidence. And I guess we can do this in composition to a certain degree, finding textual evidence to support a particular argument. Yeah. So, yeah. I hope they leave stronger writers in a variety of genres, yeah."	**Discrepancy:** Although Liam indicated a deep awareness of linguistic issues (for example, he talked explicitly about the difference between prescriptivism and descriptivism), that language-evaluative criteria did not come across the students—in other words, while he did not strictly assess students' grammar in his class, his justifications for that choice were opaque to students.
Yiying Sun	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Stated that Chinese English is unacceptable in English academic writing ("[I]f for me, like, if I am an ESL	Briana (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on references, argumentation, and logic: "They introduce, like, references. If you like, have some mistakes in your references that will be a problem for your paper, and also how to support your paper, support your argument.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment

	instructor I will, like, hella strict. 'Cause you are here, and we would like, tell you, is like standard or academic language you should use. And that's why you should avoid, like, that problems"). **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Stated that language variation is acceptable from her elementary-school students ("we should respect all the, all the students. Yes, we should do like, culture relative teaching, culture responsive teaching, culture, like, sustaining teaching. Yeah, that's what we need to respect all these thing"). **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Stated that "good" academic writing should have "some *professional* terms or, like, *professional* terminology" (emphasis mine). • Stated that it is best to avoid grammar errors since "it's important to be *professional"* (emphasis mine). • Determined whether or not different Englishes are acceptable based on professional context: either in her elementary-school teaching or in her academic writing.		That main focus on the content of your, yeah, that's maybe the amount of some logic. Yeah, the logic of writing. How to write an argu—argumentative, or like [unintelligible], or attractive paper, yes, should be professional, and how you start your paper. How you contribute to the main idea, the main body. How you—oh, yeah, I know. Another important thing is like, I think it helps me how to select the papers I want to use in that paper."		
		Charles (ESL instructor)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Focused on plagiarism: "And also, I have already, I got a 0, 0, 0 score for my first paper in [Charles' class] because I copy all the sentences. I copy the sentences from the book, because we want to summarize things, but it's hard for me to summarize things. I don't know, I just copy the first sentence or maybe the last sentence of the paragraph."	**Indicator(s) of aggressive monolingualism:** • Did provide grammatical feedback (see below). **Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided grammatical feedback in pursuit of clear communication: "Yeah, and so grammar is, certainly I address grammar, it's important. It's, because, you know, that's related to the goal, and I always tell them, the goal in your writing is no one has a question about what you're trying to say. They may question your conclusions, but your goal is that they understand exactly what you're saying, and grammar is a, a sort of servant of that. So, yeah, I mean, I mean, I guess, I, but I, it's, except for a few points. I really don't address it in writing classes, you know, directly as a topic. You know, we may, like, if you're teaching a course in which like, if you're teaching 349 and you get to the thing where you're going to write an extended definition, then obviously, you know, the grammar of adjective clauses comes in, you know. And sometimes we'll have a lesson on something like that, but that's sort of as the need arises. Like, every, every writing class is different in terms of who's in there and what they need. […] I don't think I am [a strict prescriptivist]. I mean, some people on the other, sort of, more towards the other end of the spectrum from me may think I am. There are certain things that I think, like, I don't know, commas in adjective clauses are really important. It can really change the meaning. Sometimes it doesn't, but sometimes it does. And so for me, I tell my students, if you just follow the rule, you never have to worry about being unclear. And of course, they can't, but it's just something I tell them." • Acknowledged the plurality of Englishes to students: "Yeah. Yeah. Well I, I try to be very upfront with the students and say, this is one way of writing. It's one way of using language. And it's, it's meant to meet the expectations of the people likely to be reading your writing." **Indicator(s) of economic pragmatism:** • Described his teaching in terms of helping students "self-credentialize": "But it's also I, I'm serving my clients, who are hoping to come out of this with a sort of, a credential. It's like getting credentials in a sense. I hadn't thought of it that we before but that, I like that. I'm helping them […] self-credentialize."	No evident misalignment
		History TA	(We were unable to discuss due to time constraints.)	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Sienna (ESL instructor)	(We were unable to discuss due to time constraints.)	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment
		Xiaotong (roommate)	**Indicator(s) of progressive multilingualism:** • Provided feedback on vocabulary, fluency, and academic style: "So I just talk with her about, like, sometimes, like, the choice of vocabulary, or sentences. Is that one fluent? Or is that one seems academic? Or is that one okay to use for this paper? I will ask her like, for peer review." • Valued ease of reading and clarity: "Um, I think the academic writing is like, she, she told me is like, it should be, I don't know. It was like, clear enough just to, need to like, make your article easy."	N/A (no interview)	**Language-ideological misalignment:** Yiying disagreed with Xiaotong, perceiving a conflict between ease of understanding (i.e. the meaning-focused approach to writing characteristic of progressive multilingualism) and academic style (i.e. the strict gatekeeping style of language assessment characteristic of aggressive monolingualism), especially in terms of professionalism (economic pragmatism): "But maybe easy to understand or easy is like, is a controversial point here. Because sometimes academic paper for me, it's like, maybe you want to publish them if you have opportunity. So that should be contain some professional terms, or like, professional terminology."
		Yuxi (friend)	N/A: Yiying provided feedback to Yuxi about plagiarism; Yuxi did not provide Yiying with feedback, so Yuxi's language-evaluative criteria are unclear.	N/A (no interview)	No evident misalignment