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L2 Writing in the L1 Composition Course: A Model for Promoting Linguistic Tolerance

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L2 WRITING IN THE L1 COMPOSITION COURSE

A MODEL FOR PROMOTING LINGUISTIC TOLERANCE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor in Philosophy

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Title: L2 Writing in the L1 Composition Course: A Model for Promoting Linguistic Tolerance

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The present language attitude study documents the perception of L2 writing on the part of a group of L1 students taking composition at an American university and it inquires into the impact that learning about linguistic diversity could have on these attitudes. The participants were 202 college students divided into the experimental and the control group. The experimental group participated in a two-week intervention during which they discussed linguistic diversity and became familiar with L2 writing. The data collection consisted of pre and post-survey completed by both the experimental and the control group, pre- and post-interviews conducted with 12 volunteers from the control group, and essays written by 43 experimental group participants.

The data collected revealed the presence of an unconscious bias toward L2 writing as the participants rated L1 writing significantly higher than L2 texts when they completed the survey. The interviews and the essays provided insight into what informed this bias, such as the influence of the standard language ideology or tense past encounters with L2 users. At the same time, the post-intervention data confirmed that educating students about linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes could lead to tolerance as the experimental group provided

significantly higher scores when they rated L2 writing in comparison with the ratings of the control group.

The results of the present study suggest that the composition course could play a key role in eradicating any bias the students might have for the Englishes themselves and others used, thus promoting linguistic tolerance. Acknowledging the international development of their language could also prompt their transformation into global writers and readers by helping them to develop the strategies needed to read L2 texts and to write for both L1 and L2 audiences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing this dissertation was a long process whose success depended on the advice and encouragement I received from my committee members. Dr. Hanauer, you have helped me to think globally and you showed me how important it is to ask difficult questions. Dr. Pagnucci, your suggestions were instrumental in developing my vision and reaching my audience. Dr. Park, your thoughtful words gave me trust and direction. Thank you all.

The study could not have been done without my student participants to whom I am grateful, without the help of my colleagues Arielle, Titania, and Julius who kindly allowed me to take over their course, or without the enthusiastic assistance I received from Dr. Kevin B., the Composition Coordinator at the university where I conducted my research. Thank you.

There is one more person whose constant words of encouragement and patience helped me to pull through. Chrisu, multumesc din suflet.

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CHAPTER 1

LANGUAGE ATTIUDES IN THE COMPOSITION COURSE

I am a good example of the linguistic diversity specific to today's English-speaking world: as I go about my job as a composition instructor at a midsize urban university in the United States, I speak English. When I get home, I code-switch between English and my native language, Romanian. When I call my mom, I make sure to use the purest Romanian I can remember. Both my languages have evolved during the past eight years in the United States; my English has changed the way I speak and write Romanian and vice-versa.

The people around me get used to how I use their language; my mom sometimes helps me when I cannot remember a word or two in Romanian, and my American students invariably panic on the first day of class to hear my accented English, but eventually develop an "ear" for it. The class discussion includes explanations on how I learned their language, why people's English sometimes seems, as my students say, "broken", or how to avoid linguistic intolerance. We also discuss linguistic variation and L2[1] varieties of English and I explain Kachru's (1992d) description of the spread of English. They read my writing—the assignment sheets, the comments I type on the margin of their papers, the entries in the class blog, or the reminders I write on the whiteboard. On peer-review day, I bring in my own draft, too, and we swap papers. As we sit in groups, they read and respond to my writing as I am responding to theirs. I hope that, in addition to their own growth as writers, my course

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[1] The term L2 describes multilingual users whose dominant language is different than English as opposed to the L1 varieties employed by a monolingual or multilingual user whose dominant language is English. Traditionally, one is a L1 in the first language they acquire when they learned to talk. The concepts of L1 and L2 are widely used in applied linguistics scholarship.

helps the students to become better readers of L2 writing. I wonder, though, whether this exposure they have to L2 Englishes and L2 writing will help them become more tolerant toward varieties of English other than their own. I also wonder what happens when students engage in an organized effort to learn about linguistic diversity and alternative forms of English such as L2 Englishes. Does their attitude towards linguistic diversity remains the same, or are there significant differences in the way they perceive these varieties of English? Because I teach composition, I am mostly curious about L2 writing. Do they become more tolerant toward it after they take my course? The study I conducted during the fall 2009 and spring 2010 semester attempts to find an answer to these questions.

I am not the only researcher interested in people's perception of L2 Englishes; others have conducted extensive studies on both L1 and L2 users' attitudes, such as Kubota's (2001b) study with L1 high schools students, Paredes' (2008) dissertation work with American preservice teachers, Kachi's (2008) research with L2 users, A. Matsuda's (2002), Morrison and White's (2005), and Yoshikawa's (2005) work with Japanese L2 users, or Friedrich's (2002) article on Brazilian L2 users. What the present study brings new, however, is the focus on L2 writing and on how L1 users perceive it, something that resulted from both my interest in L2 writing and my work as a composition instructor. The existing research does not address people's attitudes toward L2 writing, although modern technology such as computers and the Internet nowadays provide Inner Circle countries instant access to L2 texts produced by writers from the Outer and Expanding Circles[2], while globalization has

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[2] Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle: Kachru (1992d) imagined the international spread of English in the form of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle placed at the very center the varieties used in countries with mostly L1 populations such as Great Britain, the United States, or Canada. The Outer Circle included multilingual former colonies such as India and the Philippines. The Expanding Circle was made up of the countries where English was

transformed communication in the academia, in the workplace, and in society in general into

a multicultural experience. My research represents a step toward filling this gap.

The present research project looks at the benefits that come with including L2

Englishes in the composition course and the next few chapters inquire into whether educating

people about linguistic variation can impact how they perceive L2 writing. Chapter 1

discusses the need for an attitude study on L2 writing and reviews the questions guiding this

project. Chapter 2 frames the issue by reviewing other attitude studies done on localized

Englishes and L2 Englishes in particular. Chapter 3 presents the methodology I used to asses

L1 users' perception of localized Englishes. Chapter 4, 5, and 6 describe and analyze the data

I collected with the help of surveys, essays, and interviews, respectively. Finally, in chapter 7

I review the main findings of the study, discuss its limitations, and suggest new directions for

research on the issues of linguistic tolerance and written L2 Englishes.

Statement of the Problem

There has always been a core of linguists and educators who valued linguistic

diversity as a source for creativity and personal expression. Smitherman (2003) explained

that the field of composition began discussing the value of different varieties of English as

early as 1950s. The conversation continues today thanks to the likes of Smitherman, Kubota,

Villanueva, P. K. Matsuda, Anzaldúa, and many other scholars. The prestigious College

Composition and Communication Conference (CCCC) has also been on the forefront of the

battle for linguistic tolerance, encouraging English instructors to be more open toward the

different kinds of English their students bring to the composition classroom, i.e. "the dialects

popular as a foreign language, such as Germany or China. When designing this paradigm,
Kachru (1992d) took into consideration "the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and
the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts" (p. 356).

of their nurture or whatever dialects in which they find their own identity and style"
("Resolution", 1974).

Despite such positive models, several studies on language attitudes (Kachi, 2004;
Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou, 2009; Kubota, 2001b; Manrique, 2002; Richardson, 2003;
Rios, 2002; Yokomizo Akindes, 2002) have suggested that L1 users in the United States can
exhibit a lack of awareness about the values inherent in varieties of English different than
their own, be it local or international varieties, and may consequently show intolerance
towards these varieties and their speakers. In "Assessing Language Attitudes: Speaker
Evaluation Studies", Giles and Billings (2006) explained that such attitudes were deeply
rooted in stereotypes and misinformed opinions about language and in people's tendency to
evaluate others socially and professionally on account of their use of English. They claimed
that "[l]isteners can very quickly stereotype another's personal and social attributes on the
basis of language cues and in ways that appear to have crucial effects on important social
decisions made about them" (Giles & Billings, 2006, p. 202). People's behavior toward
others can be thus influenced by their language attitudes.

How localized Englishes are perceived could also be the result of the emphasis the
education system puts on the variety that is considered the standard at a particular moment in
time. The composition course in particular has been shown to promote a prescriptive
approach to language (Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou, 2009; Lovejoy, 2003; Richardson,
2003; Smitherman, 2003) that encourages students to incorrectly assume that "there is only
one right way to use written language" (Lovejoy, 2003, p. 92). When it comes to writing,
especially in an academic setting, standard English takes precedence over any local or
international nonstandard varieties due to the general perception that writing has to resemble

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the acrolect more than the spoken language. Variations from this standard such as African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) or L2 Englishes are often corrected by writing instructors (Buripakdi, 2008; Richardson, 2003), despite the call for tolerance launched by CCCC and modern scholarship.

Researchers (Kubota, 2001a, b; Richardson, 2003; Smitherman, 2003) have concluded that because of this prescriptive approach to language that dismisses localized Englishes, students are at risk of developing discriminatory attitudes toward linguistic diversity and the people characterized by it. Kirkpatrick (2007), however, explained that "while prejudice against varieties is likely to occur, these prejudices are only that-prejudices" (p. 2) and can be deconstructed through knowledge. Teaching students about linguistic diversity is needed as a counter to any ethnocentric reading of L2 writing that may result in an attitude of intolerance toward L2 Englishes. Such an attitude may prevent people from properly interacting with the linguistically diverse population they are likely to meet during their academic career and later on at work and in their home communities.

Although there are several studies on language attitudes, the previous research stops short of assessing people's perception of written L2 Englishes. Moreover, it is not currently known whether certain factors, such as learning about L2 Englishes or reading L2 texts, could impact these language attitudes. Such a gap in research is problematic considering how important written communication is in today's globalized world. Assessing people's perception on L2 writing is thus necessary in order to understand how to prevent any discriminative attitudes toward L2 users that could result from bias against the writing they produce.

Main Research Questions

My experience as a L2 user has raised a series of questions regarding the way L2 writers are perceived by their L1 audience. What is the L1 users' perception of L2 writing? What informs it? And is education a factor in changing the way L1 users perceive L2 writing? The study I developed explored these questions.

The main research questions guiding my project were as follows:

1. What is the perception of L2 writing in the case of a L1 group of students taking a composition course at a state university in Ohio?

As previously stated, although several studies on people's attitudes toward L2 users and their speech had been conducted before, there is still need to assess their perception of written L2 varieties. This is especially necessary as particular factors such as technology and globalization have increased people's access to L2 writing. I hypothesize that the participants in my study will show a significant difference in how they perceive L1 versus L2 writing.

2. In what way do learning about linguistic diversity and exposure to L2 writing influence these students' attitude toward L2 writing?

Answering this question could provide some insight into what happens when discussions about linguistic diversity are combined with exposure to L2 writing and meaningful interaction with a L2 user. The participants in this research project spent two weeks learning about L2 Englishes and then several methods were used to collect data on whether this training impacted in any way their attitude toward L2 writing. The data revealed how knowledge about linguitic diversity influences the way people perceive L2 Englishes. Answering this research question could lead to recommendations on whether composition

instructors need to consider incorporating an explicit discussion of L2 Englishes and L2 writing in their teaching in order to promote linguistic tolerance. I hypothesize that learning about L2 Englishes will impact the way the participants in the experimental group view L2 writing.

3. What is the participants' response to the activities included in the intervention and how effective are they?

This final research question was necessary because the answer can provide useful information for the instructors who may consider addressing L2 Englishes when teaching writing. During data collection, the participants provided information on the impact the intervention activities had on them. I hypothesize that the participants will show preference for some of the activities used in the intervention.

Brief Description of the Study

The research took place in the L1 composition course at an American university and aimed at assessing the L1 users' perception of L2 writing in an academic setting. The study was designed during the fall 2008 semester, the pilot was conducted during spring 2009, and the research itself was done during the fall 2009 and spring 2010 semesters. About two hundred students participated in the study, half as the control group and half as the experimental group. The majority of the participants were L1 users of English and only three students identified themselves as coming from a family where English was not the primary language (personal diary, November 2009).

The experimental group participated in a two-week intervention during which they discussed variation in language, L2 varieties, the concept of native and nonnative[3] in language, standard and nonstandard English, and other issues connected to L2 Englishes and linguistic diversity. I taught class each day during the intervention in order to facilitate the students' interaction with an L2 user, i.e. me.

During the first week of the intervention, the discussion focused on the linguistic diversity the students commonly experienced in their communities. Previous language attitude studies such as Kubota's (2001b) and Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou's (2009) suggested that the participants would be more open to the variation specific to L2 Englishes if they were first made aware of the linguistic variation in their own discursive practices. It was helpful, therefore, to point out the linguistic variation in their own discourse before asking them to consider L2 Englishes. The activities used during the second half of the intervention were a continuation of the first week's discussion, but this time the participants learned about L2 Englishes. The students discussed the changes their language had undergone as a result of its international spread, addressed the issue of linguistic stereotypes

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[3] Native (NS) and nonnative (NNS) speaker. NSs users are believed to have contact with the language early on in their childhood. Traditionally, NSs of English are born and live in countries where English is the dominant language, for instance Great Britain or the United States. NNSs, on the other hand, are from multilingual households where languages other than English are dominant. This dichotomy has been at the center of much controversy because the term "nonnative speaker" was considered not only demeaning, but inaccurate as well. Cook (1999) and Kubota (2001a), for instance, have argued that the concept of nonnative speaker brings in the idea of incompleteness and inferiority, as if the NNS is missing something. Yet applied linguists such as Jenkins (2007) still use the term and it will therefore appear sporadically in the next chapters.

associated with L2 users, read and discussed L2 writing, and looked for strategies they could employ in their interactions with L2 users.

The participants' perception of L2 writing was assessed twice, two weeks apart, and both quantitative and qualitative data were collected in the form of surveys, interviews, and writing samples. Data were collected from the experimental group before and after the intervention in the form of a pre- and post-survey, and twelve students also agreed to participate in pre- and post-interview. In addition to that, approximately half of the experimental group wrote an essay on linguistic diversity. The control group only completed the pre- and post-survey. Because they did not participate in the intervention, my interaction with the control group was minimal, i.e. limited to two-fifteen minute sessions during which they completed the surveys.

Both the pre- and post-survey were designed in two parts. In the first part, I asked the students to read five excerpts taken from academic papers written by L1 and L2 writers and then rate them on a 1 to 6 scale according to how comprehensible they were, how well they were written, and how likeable the writer was. The second part of the pre-survey was used to collect demographic data and to obtain some information on the participants' previous interaction with L2 users. The second part of the post-survey contained only one open-ended question asking the participants to share their opinion on language diversity.

The participants' perception of L2 Englishes and linguistic diversity in general was also assessed during interviews conducted with twelve volunteers from the experimental group. The eight participants in the pre-interview were asked to return for a post-interview, but only three participated in both pre- and post-interviews. Four more students from the experimental group volunteered for post-interviews. In the end, there were eight pre- and

seven post-interviews. The interviewees shared with me narratives centered on their encounters with linguistic diversity and their perception of L2 Englishes. They also commented on the activities we did during the intervention.

In terms of written feedback, 43 students from the intervention group agreed to share with me a three-page essay on the linguistic diversity. They worked on these essays on their own and they submitted them after the intervention was over. For this assignment, they were asked to observe how people in their community used language and they were also encouraged to incorporate in their writing the information they had learned during the intervention. The essays were a good opportunity for the participants not only to reflect on what was happening in the classroom, but to also reconsider their own perception of linguistic diversity.

Each research instrument is thoroughly described in chapter 3 and appears in appendix 1. Besides the surveys and the essay prompt, the appendix includes a list of sample questions used during the interviews. The information collected through surveys, interviews, and the writing samples provided insight into how L2 writing was perceived by L1 users and what informed these perceptions. The research also looked at whether education could influence how people view linguistic diversity and L2 writing.

The students' participation in the study was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time, which meant that they were not obligated to either take the surveys or participate in interviews. Everybody, though, participated in the activities prepared for the intervention, regardless of whether they agreed to participate in the research or not. They were incorporated in the regular syllabus and were approved by the course instructor as meeting the course goals.

Goals and Expectations for this Research Project

The main goals for the intervention sessions were: to encourage students to acknowledge the presence of linguistic diversity in their communities and their own discursive practices; to learn about the spread of English and how the context in which it is used has led to the emergence of several Englishes; to discuss the common stereotypes about linguistic diversity and to recognize them in their own thinking; to provide meaningful exposure to L2 writing and L2 users; and to reflect on and hopefully redefine their own perception of L2 Englishes and L2 writing; and to promote linguistic tolerance toward linguistic diversity, L2 Englishes, and L2 writing.

Setting tolerance as the goal for the composition course could be questioned by linguists and educators who would like to see American schools go beyond mere tolerance. Nieto (2010), for instance, described tolerance as the first step toward a multicultural and inclusive education but she criticized the educational models whose goal is simply tolerance. She explained that "tolerance is actually a low level of multicultural support, reflecting as it does an acceptance of the status quo but with slight accommodation to difference" (p. 248) and proposed that educators should adopt a four-level model that would make the classroom community even more receptive to difference. As Nieto (2010) explained, "[t]he four levels to be considered are: tolerance; acceptance; respect; and, finally, affirmation, solidarity and critique" (p. 249). Unlike tolerance which is, according to Nieto (2010), a mere "grudging but somehow distasteful acceptance" (251) of difference, the last step of the model implies a deeper transformation of the way L1 users view multiculturalism because "the many differences … are embraced and accepted as legitimate" (p. 257). While Nieto's (2010) observations are valid, I argue that tolerance is nonetheless a very important first step that

may eventually lead to acceptance. It represents the main goal for my project, especially considering that aiming for affirmation, solidarity, and critique may be an unrealistic goal considering the limited time the students had to reflect on the issue, i.e. only two weeks.

During the two-week intervention, the students were prompted to discuss concepts such as language variation, the international spread of English, language acquisition myths, what made people believe in correct and incorrect language use, the connection between language and power, the tendency to judge people based on how they speak, and so on. The activities were designed to help them deconstruct any preconceived notions about linguistic diversity. The participants used the knowledge they gained during these two weeks to create the mental framework necessary for successful reading of L2 texts. They adjusted their expectations as potential readers of L2 texts and were encouraged to develop strategies to help them decode the writing produced in cultural contexts different than their own. The intervention opened up the discussion about the role of L2 writing in the American society and their own communities of practice and it encouraged the students to create a realistic profile of L2 users.

The intervention was designed with the idea that in order to understand and appreciate L2 writing, students need to go through a metamorphosis in that they have to leave their ethnocentric mindset behind because, as Kachru (1992b) suggested, meaningful encounters with L2 users happen when people step outside of their own culture and become "ambicultural" (p. 306). Ethnocentric readers, i.e. readers who interpret what they read solely though the perspective of the own culture, may not comprehend and appreciate the complex layers of L2 texts. The intervention thus encouraged the students to do go beyond their own

culture and consider the context in which the writing was produced in order to become more tolerant toward localized Englishes.

The present study took into account only mean scores when assessing the participants' perception of L2 writing, although some individualized responses were also made possible with the help of the interviews and the survey. The goal was to see whether educating people about L2 writing through exposure, discussion, and reflection changed their attitude toward it and it was possible that the intervention would lead, on average, to a significant increase in the experimental group's tolerance toward L2 texts. At the same time, it was possible that a certain percentage of the participants could maintain the same attitude or even become more intolerant towards L2 texts. When, in a similar study, Kubota (2001b) looked at her participants' response to L2 speech, she discovered that although the majority showed more tolerance toward L2 Englishes, some still maintained the same attitude while others increased the level of intolerance toward linguistic diversity as a result of the intervention. And Kubota (2001b) was not the only one to discover that; Yoshikawa's (2005) research with Japanese students showed that even L2 users themselves showed an increase in their negativity toward L2 Englishes after similar interventions. Considering the results obtained in these studies, it was possible that some of my participants could still have reservations and a negative reaction to L2 writing, despite the knowledge gained during the intervention. The majority of the participants, however, was hypothesized to show an increase in the level of tolerance toward L2 texts.

Significance of the Study

While there are several studies done on the impact of exposure to L2 varieties in general (Kachi, 2004; Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou, 2009; Jenkins, 2007; Kubota, 2001b;

Manrique, 2002; Rios, 2002; Yokomizo Akindes, 2002), very little is known about people's attitudes toward written L2 Englishes and in what way their perception changes as a result of an intervention. Most language attitude studies conducted so far have focused on documenting people's view on spoken L2 Englishes and on how L2 users are perceived in general. Writing, however, has gained importance as modern technology such as the Internet has increased people's access to written varieties of L2 Englishes and created a global audience for English writers from the Outer and Expanding Circles, such as users from India, Nigeria, Singapore, Japan, and so on. It is about time, therefore, to look at how people perceive L2 writing and inquire into what informs their response. This research is also important because it assesses how effective education can be in promoting tolerance toward written L2 varieties. The data collected suggested that composition courses could play a relevant role in dissipating the language myths surrounding L2 users and their writing and could prompt L1 users to increase their tolerance for read L2 texts.

This research is important not only because it addresses a gap in applied linguistics research, but also because of the social implications of the issue. It is important to educate students about L2 Englishes because lack of knowledge about L2 Englishes and of meaningful interaction with L2 users and their writing could lead to linguistic discrimination. The spread of misconceptions and myths surrounding L2 users affects how they and their writing are perceived. Education could address that; for instance, the misconception that L2 users write "broken English" could be addressed through a discussion of the elusiveness of Standard English and the difficulty of isolating a good language model, considering that in reality people in Inner Circle countries speak a wide variety of Englishes. Students could also

engage in activities of a sociolinguistic nature to better understand that language is context-dependent and it is normal to undergo changes when used in a particular environment.

While the diversification of the public discourse in the United States is now recognized as normal and even desirable by linguists (Crystal, 1997; Kachru, 1992; Graddol, Leith & Swann, 1996; Jenkins, 2003; Pennycook, 1994), the studies mentioned in this chapter have shown that people generally tend to have a strong reaction to varieties of English different than their own and to L2 Englishes in particular. In some cases, this reaction is based on stereotypes or, as Strevens (1992) said, on "ignorance—a total lack of awareness of the existence of flourishing, effective, functional, sometimes elegant and literary non-native varieties of English" (p. 37). These stereotypes can lead to discrimination and self-discrimination unless the public becomes educated about the shifting nature of languages and the changes that occur when English evolves to the status of an international language. When, however, people's perception of linguistic diversity is informed by meaningful interaction with L2 users and by documented facts about L2 Englishes, they may have a more positive reaction to language variation.

Raising awareness about the value inherent in L2 writing and fighting these stereotypes are worthwhile goals because of what can happen otherwise. Numerous studies on language attitudes, for instance Derwing and Munro's (2000) article on linguistic diversity and Jenkins' (2007) book on language attitudes have shown that people's accented speech brings about negative associations in the mind of the listeners who pass judgments on the users' whole being based solely on the way they sound. As Stubbs (2002) explained, "people judge a speaker's intelligence, character and personal worth on the basis of his or her language" (p. 67). Moreover, people not only discriminate against others who use a different

variety of English, they also end up being self-conscious about their own language and become the victims of self-marginalization.

Furthermore, when people are not prepared for linguistic diversity, they fail to learn from each other's language and culture. By dismissing the rich dialects around them, they also fail to establish a meaningful relationship with one another. They end up lacking the skills to connect with people from other cultural groups because they do not appreciate and respect their differences. This can become a serious handicap in their search for success because it is fairly impossible nowadays to isolate themselves from L2 Englishes and other varieties of English. As Cliett (2003) pointed out, the United States is becoming even more diverse into the new century as the population of color, including L2 users, has increased (p. 72). Moreover, due to linguistic outsourcing (Bolton, 2006a, p. 307) L1 users in the United States constantly interact with L2 users for around the world when they call customer service to solve issues connected to banking, IT, and so on.

It is also necessary to help people readjust their expectations when it comes to written Englishes so they can read them without bias. My students, for instance, are constantly reading L2 writing when they look at the assignments or the written feedback I prepare for them, and I am not an exception as the American academia has been welcoming international faculty for years. Technology also enables easy access to L2 writing. In their daily search for information or entertainment, people read L2 writing and in many cases they are not even aware of it. Besides having access to famous L2 writers like Rao, Oondatje, Codrescu and so on, who have become successful in the West, people in the United States are accustomed with L2 writing from browsing the Internet. A virtual *lingua franca*, English had dominated the web from its inception and many L2 users have adopted it throughout the years for online

interaction with the hope of participating in a worldwide dialogue and reaching a wider audience. Bloggers, for instance, often choose English for their postings regardless of their mother tongue because it is a way to connect with others as using English online facilitates people's access to various multilingual communities of interest. L1 users' habits thus provide access to a wide array of genuine L2 texts.

The Composition Course as a Venue for Teaching Linguistic Tolerance

Teaching for tolerance can be a worthwhile agenda for any composition instructor. Is it necessary, however, to specifically ask the students to be mindful of tolerance when it comes to language? And is the composition course the place for it? Considering how complex English has become and how little tolerance people have for those who employ language, both its verbal and written form, in a manner that is different from their expectations, it is imperative that composition instructors promote linguistic tolerance when they teach about language use.

It was important to conduct this study in connection with the composition course because of the traditional role the instructors play in molding their students' language attitudes. They are perceived as the authority when it comes to language and therefore their reaction to linguistic diversity is likely to influence their students. Traditionally, however, language variation has not received great welcome in the composition course or in school in general considering the "status-stressing environment of schools and the commonly found drive towards prescriptivism and an ideology of linguistic correctness" (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003 p. 83). Due to this preference for the standard, people of color could end up in the speech therapy course as it happened to Smitherman (2000) when she was a college student and was required to register for speech therapy in order to graduate. Should writing

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teachers choose to educate their students about the value and richness inherent in the new development of the English language, they would encourage them to accept the way themselves and those around them use English. The teachers could thus play a central role in educating their students about how diverse real Englishes are instead of referring back to the prescriptive approach in textbooks, grammars, and dictionaries. Moreover, if instructors want to teach the students to exchange meaningful prose with a real audience, then they need to incorporate linguistic diversity in their repertoire because academic and workplace writing in English is no longer the sole domain of L1 users.

To address some of the stereotypes associated with linguistic variation and L2 users, language instructors must provide a space where students can focus on understanding language diversity through meaningful interaction with L2 writing and L2 users, a space where these stereotypes are exposed and deconstructed. While universities have diversified their student and faculty body, this is not enough to address any existing bias against linguistic diversity, especially in the instances when the writing instruction the students have received so far aimed at minimizing differences and looking up to a particular language variety, i.e. the standard. The students need to reevaluate linguistic diversity so they look at the language of their home community with new eyes. They also need to become knowledgeable about L2 Englishes so they can understand the multicultural environment in which they live while preparing to interact with a diverse audience.

Composition courses have been criticized for promoting a unidirectional writing model (Horner & Trimbur, 2002; Kubota, 2001) that ignores the multicultural context in which people study and work. In order to prepare the students for the challenges of a globalized world, composition instructors should consider what Berns (2006) called "a polymodel

approach" (p. 725) to language. Horner and Trimbur (2002) described this approach as "an alternative way of thinking about composition programs, the language of our students, and our own language practices that holds monolingualism itself to be a problem and a limitation of U.S. culture and that argues for the benefits of an actively multilingual language policy" (p. 597). As Kubota pointed out, composition instructors in the United States should promote linguistic tolerance by facilitating the students' meaningful interaction with L2 users, focusing on the enriching potential of these encounters. To use Pratt's (1991) term, the composition course could be the "contact zone" where representatives of different cultures meet to exchange meaning. Through exposure to L2 writing, the students learn about the international development of their language and the importance of being linguistically flexible, i.e. able to adapt to each communication partner.

Overview of the Remaining Chapters

Chapter 2 discusses the importance of linguistic tolerance and the role English teachers have played in promoting it. It also reviews other studies on language attitudes. Chapter 3 explains the methodology used to conduct the research and provides details about the way the data was analyzed. Chapter 4 reviews the quantitative and qualitative data obtained with the help of a pre- and post-survey. Chapter 5 discusses the essays forty-three of the participants wrote about linguistic diversity, first focusing on the common themes found, and then presenting a more detailed analysis in the form of three case studies of essays E10, E15 and E29. Chapter 6 focuses on the data obtained during the fifteen interviews I conducted before and after the intervention. Finally, chapter 7 reviews the four main findings of the study and provides English teachers with a practical way of promoting for linguistic tolerance in the composition classroom.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

English, through its international varieties, brings together people from all over the world and facilitates communication in many aspects of their public and private lives. English has established itself as the main language for international business, the Internet and pop art, education, tourism, and even everyday communication among people with different mother tongues (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 163). These users adapt English to the context in which they live and consequently a multitude of varieties emerge, some more prestigious than others. The relationship L1 English users have with these emerging varieties can get very complicated at times. Language attitudes research attempts to describe the users' perception of varieties of English they and their interlocutors use and offers insight into how this perception can influence the way users are treated by those around them. Such research is important because, according to Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003), language attitudes inform how people make sense of the world around them: "Whether they are favored or prejudiced, attitudes to language varieties and their users at least provide a coherent map of the social world" (p. 3). It is thus important to study language attitudes because of the impact they can have on how users think and interact with one another.

Language attitude research has shown that when it comes to particular varieties of English, people develop strong attitudes that can influence how they perceive others in terms of intelligence, social success, friendliness, and so on (Canagarajah, 2002, 2006; Cook, 1999; Jenkins, 2007; Liang & Rice, 2006; Lindemann, 2003, 2005; Lippi-Green, 1997; Munro and Derwing, 2000; Paredes, 2008; Rankie Shelton, 2009; Wyne, 2002). Another common finding involves the existence of bias toward localized varieties of English, regardless of

whether they are used by native or nonnative speakers. Smitherman (2000) and Lippi-Green (1997) attested to the discrimination they witnessed or were subject to because of the attitudes people in their community had toward African American Vernacular English; Villanueva (1993) and Anzaldúa (1999) voiced their concern with how the English of the Hispanics population in the United States was perceived by those around them; and Kubota (2001a, 2001b) Jenkins (2007), and Kirkpatrick (2007) expanded the discussion of linguistic intolerance to incorporate L2 Englishes. These are only a small percentage of the researchers interested in the impact linguistic diversity can have on language attitudes, as numerous studies have been done on this issue so far and Outer and Expanding Circle countries heavily contributed to the research on attitudes toward L2 Englishes. Studies on L2 users' perception of either L1 or L2 Englishes come from all over the world, from Japan (A. Matsuda, 2002; Mckenzie, 2008; Morrison & White, 2005; Yoshikawa, 2005) and China (He & Li, 2009; Wang, Wei, & Case, 2010; Tsui & Bunton, 2000), to Brazil (Friedrich, 2000; Gentry El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001) or Germany (Hilgendorf, 2007; Erling, 2007).

Unlike these studies, my research focused on a particular type of discourse, i.e. written L2 Englishes, and a particular population, namely L1 users of English in the United States. Despite the considerable interest in language attitude research, little has been done specifically on written varieties. In order to properly frame my study on language attitudes, it is necessary, however, to discuss what has been done so far with American L1 users and their attitudes toward L2 Englishes, and the discussion will incorporate the research conducted by Ball and Muhammad (2003), Brown (2008), Fitch and Morgan (2003), Katz, Cobb Scott, and Hadjioannou (2009), Gruber (2006) Kubota (2001b), Liang and Rice (2006), Lindemann (2003, 2005), Paredes (2008), Rankie Shelton (2009), Richardson (2003), and Szerdahelyi

(2002). This, of course, means leaving out research of utmost importance done on L2 users' attitudes toward L2 Englishes simply because it is beyond the scope of this study.

The present chapter discusses the research done on L1 users' attitudes toward L2 Englishes. In order to better understand these attitudes, it is necessary, though, to first clarify what these Englishes are and how the standard language ideology or the native-nonnative dichotomy[4] can impact how their users are perceived. Next, the issue of linguistic tolerance and L2 Englishes comes up; this is discussed from the perspective of L1 users of English. The final section of the chapter discusses the position L2 Englishes hold in the L1 composition classroom and the need to use the space of the composition course to promote tolerance toward linguistic diversity in general and L2 Englishes in particular.

Crash Course on L2 Englishes

The concept of L2 Englishes and L2 writing has been extensively discussed by applied linguists and ESL and EFL teachers but it still seems to be a fuzzy concept for composition instructors. When I asked my colleagues in the English Department to help me conduct my research on language attitudes toward written L2 Englishes, they all expressed confusion about the concept, confessing that they have never put too much thought into it despite having L2 students in their courses over the years. They also wanted to know how L2 Englishes appeared and in what way this L1-L2 paradigm differed from the traditional

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[4] Native (NS) and nonnative (NNS) speaker. NSs users are believed to have contact with the language early on in their childhood. Traditionally, NSs of English are born and live in countries where English is the dominant language, for instance Great Britain or the United States. NNSs, on the other hand, are from multilingual households where languages other than English are dominant. This dichotomy has been at the center of much controversy because the term "nonnative speaker" was considered not only demeaning, but inaccurate as well. Cook (1999) and Kubota (2001a), for instance, have argued that the concept of nonnative speaker brings in the idea of incompleteness and inferiority, as if the NNS is missing something. Yet applied linguists such as Jenkins (2007) still use the term and it will therefore appear sporadically in the next chapters.

native-nonnative dichotomy. It is now important to answer these questions because my research has as its main audience other composition instructors who, just like my colleagues, do not always have the necessary training on linguistic diversity to understand what L2 Englishes are about (Richardson, 2003; Paredes, 2008). The chapter will, therefore, be divided in three main parts: the first third will provide basic information about L2 Englishes; the second third will review language attitude studies; and the last third will discuss the role of the composition course in fighting linguistic bias.

How Have Applied Linguists Defined L2 Englishes?

In order to understand how people perceive L2 Englishes, it is necessary to first define them. Kirkpatrick (2007) simply described them as "those indigenous, nativised varieties that have developed around the world and that reflect the cultural and pragmatic norms of their speakers" (p. 3). Particular localized varieties are more recognized than others. The concept of Thai English, for instance, creates controversy among some of its speakers who insist that they are users of British English (Buripakdi, 2008). Indian English, on the other hand, has been acknowledged as a variety in its own right although it still rated lower than Inner Circle varieties on the attitude scale (Kachru, 1992c, p. 56).

These new Englishes resulted from a process Kachru (1992) called "deculturation" followed by the "acculturation in the new context" (p. 305) which reflected "an appropriate identity in its newly acquired functions" (p. 305). Halliday (2006) pointed out the democratic nature of this process of language metamorphosis occurring in L2 environments: "Meanings get reshaped, not by decree, but through ongoing interaction in the semiotic context of daily life" (p. 363). The L2 Englishes paradigm thus resists the prescriptive approach, challenging the idea of accepting a particular standard for a language model and moving away from what

Holliday (2009) called "native-speakerist ideology" (p. 24) which "inaccurately considers 'non-native speakers' inferior" to users in Inner Circle countries, (p. 24) regardless of how well they can use the language.

The L2 Englishes ideology capitalizes on the benefits that come from encouraging users to take ownership of the language by acknowledging the legitimacy of the varieties they use. They position themselves as competent speakers of these new varieties instead of failed speakers of some Inner Circle standard. As Bolton (2006a) explained, L2 Englishes paradigm has "enabled the users of English to increasingly appropriate agency over the language and its linguistic and literary uses" (p. 305). The creativity of multilingual users plays a role in the process of enriching the language by "opening up, expanding the semiotic potential that inheres in every language" (Halliday, 2006, p. 353). These users respond to the needs of the different contexts in which they find themselves, thus creatively reinventing the language to carry new cultural meanings: "When English is adapted to other cultures— to non-Western and non-English contexts—it is understandably decontextualized from its Englishness (or, for that matter, its Americanness). It acquires new identities. In the interactional networks of its new users, English provides an additional, redefined communicative code" (Kachru, 1992a, p. 9). In terms of lexicon, for instance, the users of a new variety may develop new local meanings for particular English words or incorporate vocabulary from the local languages when English fails to properly represent an idea (Halliday, 2006, p. 357, Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 12).

How did L2 Englishes Appear?

The international spread of English prompting the appearance of L2 Englishes was initially the result of trade and colonialism, and then schools throughout the world began

introducing the study of English in the foreign language class. The business world also

promoted English as its *lingua franca* thanks to the economic power of Inner Circle counties

such as the United States or Great Britain (Bolton, 2006b). More recently, mass-media and

television contributed to the spread of English, especially its American varieties (Crystal,

1997, p. 8). Hilgendorf (2007), for instance, discussed how Germans were motivated to learn

English as a result of the constant exposure to American pop culture and media (p. 135).

Starting in the 1990s, the Internet became both a source of input for learners and a strong

motivation to study the language as much of the information available online could be

accessed only in English. These informal venues for learning the language have proved a

creative space where English "is negotiated and relearned … and new varieties emerge from

the seemingly insignificant interactions of everyday life" (Cliett, 2003, p. 71).

It is beyond doubt that people's interest in learning English as an additional language

simplified the way the world communicates nowadays. English through its varieties

facilitates the interaction among people from different parts of the world. The unprecedented

spread of the language has led to situations where L2 users with different mother tongues

employ English to communicate among themselves, as it was the case with the countries

belonging to the Association of South-East Asian Nations such as Malaysia, Philippine,

Singapore, Indonesia, and so on who chose English for communication (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p.

163). Bolton (2006b) provided another example: "when a factory manager from Vietnam

sells garments to a Singaporean merchandiser, the language of choice is usually English" (p.

201). In some situations, even L2 users who share the same L1 may choose English when

they converse, as it was the case in the business sector in Germany where L2 office workers

used English even for intra-office oral and written communication (Hilgendorf, 2007). As

the world adopted English as the language of wider communication, the L2 users overwhelmingly outnumbered the L1 users: "Being an international *lingua franca*, English is now learned and used by millions of non-native speakers (NNSs) as an additional language, outnumbering NSs by an ever widening margin" (Li, 2009, p. 81).

How Can We Classify L2 Englishes?

Kachru's classification of L2 Englishes or what he calls World Englishes was suggestive of how these varieties came about. According to Kachru (1992d), this classification was based on "the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts" (p. 356). Kachru (1992d) placed the Englishes of the world in a diagram made up of three concentric circles, allocating the centermost position, the Inner Circle, to the varieties used by the former colonial powers such as Great Britain and the United States. He positioned the English of the former British and American colonies such as India, Nigeria, or the Philippines in the second or Outer Circle. In Outer Circle countries, the Englishes left behind by the colonial era are still widely used in addition to other local languages for specialized functions such as for use in administration or education. Kachru's (1992d) third concentric circle, the Expanding Circle, incorporated the countries where English was taught in schools as a foreign language such as Germany, Japan or Brazil. For the Expanding Circle countries, English has not traditionally play much of a role in the everyday communication among locals but it nevertheless thrived in certain situations such as business transactions or travel.

By visualizing the spread of English in the form of three concentric circles, Kachru moved away from the native-nonnative dichotomy that had been widely criticized by applied linguists like Cook (1999) and Berns (2006) for imposing an unrealistic native speaker model

as the norm for the rest of the world. Kachru's (1992d) classification, however, could still raise eyebrows: as Kirkpatrick (2007) explained, although Kachru (1992d) did not intend to "suggest that one variety is any better linguistically speaking" (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 28), he nonetheless positioned the native users in the center of the circle, leaving the nonnative Englishes for the periphery, as if the Englishes used in Great Britain or the United States were somehow closer to perfection than the rest. Kachru's (1992d) diagram, however, was suggestive of the differentiated opinion people in general, regardless of their native or nonnative status, had for these Englishes. Language attitude studies confirmed that the Englishes Kachru placed at the center were received more positively than the ones on the periphery, and many still question the legitimacy of localized Englishes belonging to the Outer and Expanding Circle. Regardless of their native or nonnative speaker status, users generally fail to acknowledge the legitimacy of these Englishes, expressing a clear preference for Inner Circle varieties. Even some applied linguists question the legitimacy of these new Englishes as it was the case with Quirk's controversial assessment of L2 Englishes as "half-baked quackery".

But is the world at large ready to welcome these new varieties? The tendency to impose Inner Circle Englishes as models of correctness for the rest of the English-speaking world has successfully been questioned by applied linguistics scholarship, but what do average users think about L2 Englishes? What are the factors influencing their attitude? The rest of the chapter acknowledges this question by discussing the main factors influencing people's perception of linguistic diversity and by reviewing some of the language attitude studies published so far.

L1 Users' Perception of Linguistic Diversity and L2 Englishes

For sociolinguists, there has never been a "'superior' language variety" (Paredes, 2008, p. 57) with some kind of inherent value; one language variety may fit the context better than another for reasons specific to the context itself, the user's relationship with the context, and so on. Moreover, as Paredes (2008) explained, people's perception of language varieties is not always based on accurate information and careful observations, but on misconceptions such as the superiority of a particular standard in language or the need to default to a native language model when assessing someone's English, regardless of the communicative context. As Paredes (2008) further explained, these attitudes are "not necessarily based on current linguistic knowledge. In fact, language attitudes are sociocultural constructs that reveal sociocultural beliefs about speakers of different language varieties" (Paredes, 2008, p. 42). These social constructs influence not only how particular varieties of English are perceived, but how different language users are treated as well.

What Are the Main Factors Influencing Users' Perception of Linguistic Diversity?

Before reviewing the research done on L1 users' attitude toward L2 Englishes and L2 speakers, it is necessary to discuss how these attitudes are formed. What are the main factors influencing people's perception of linguistic diversity? Moreover, how is that perception impacting their interaction with linguistically diverse populations? The following section reviews some of the most relevant factors such as the influence of the standard language ideology, the native-nonnative dichotomy, and attitudes toward multilingualism in the United States.

Standard language ideology. The standard language ideology influences people's perception of localized varieties because it encourages them to think that only particular Englishes are correct. Jenkins' (2007) research has shown that most people cannot resist classifying language varieties in terms of better or worse based on an internalized belief in the inherent superiority of particular Englishes. When Jenkins (2007) asked the participants in her study, all L2 English teachers, to rank varieties of English, the overwhelming majority quickly obliged, listing L2 Englishes at the bottom of the linguistic pyramid and the Inner Circle Englishes in the position of power.

But which English becomes the standard? Paredes (2008) noticed that a particular standard is chosen based on the socioeconomic status of the group speaking it: "in contact situations one language or language variety is considered more prestigious" and is used by "the dominant language group or the group that holds the political, cultural, and economic power" (p. 62). Jenkins (2003) pointed out that when deciding what the standard should be, users mostly rely on non-linguistic cues. While what matters most in Great Britain is the speaker's social class with the educated middle-upper and upper class deciding the default, the linguistic hierarchy in the United States is also based on race, not just on class. As Villanueva (1993) sadly commented, "Language is also race in America" (p. xii) and the English of the White middle-class represents the standard. According to Lippi-Green (1997), race signified by a particular skin color is also the most relevant factor when L1 users in the United States respond to L2 users: it seems like "not *all* foreign accents, but only accent linked to skin that isn't white, or which signals a third-world homeland, that evokes such negative reactions" (p. 238–9, italics in original).This shows that the racial undertone behind the standard language ideology applies in the case of L2 users as well.

The standard language ideology makes it hard for most users to create a good impression on the audience, considering that only a small percentage of language users can speak it. For instance, only about 3% of the world population can speak the British standard also called Received Pronunciation or RP English (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 58). Someone born and raised in the south of England uses a completely different variety of English than someone from the north (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 10), and it is very possible that both users do not employ the Received Pronunciation standard. Despite its elusiveness, however, people believed that using the standard can aide their upward mobility while localized varieties of English could hold them back (Richardson, 2003). Pennycook (2001) explained: "Particular forms of language (standard English) can convey social and economic power" (p. 47). He also invites people to reexamine these assumptions because "the vision that access to standard forms will somehow be automatically empowering is inadequate" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 48) and may not automatically guarantee upward mobility.

The idea of standard is powerful more than ever when it comes to the written form of English. This is true despite the fact that, in reality, few, if any, people use either. General American, for instance, does not really exist: "the notion of a variety of General American is becoming ever more an idealization than a reality" (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 67). Baugh and Welborn (2009) explained that Standard English was not one particular language variety but a "range of dialects", each set apart due to "considerable regional differences in pronunciation, grammatical patterns, and vocabulary" (p. 43).

The influence the ideology of the standard has on people's perception of linguistic diversity comes out more clearly in the case of written L2 Englishes. This may have as a cause the circumstances in which writing is mostly used in L2 countries, i.e. in an academic

or professional setting. This results from the language user's tendency to assume that English can only have one meaning, namely the one his or her culture has traditionally assigned to it. As Kachru (1992b) explained, when people read a text, they presume that it follows the conventions established in the cultural background they inhabited, regardless of the context in which that particular text was produced. In reality, however, when used in a new socio-cultural context, the L2 writing goes through certain pragmatic, lexical, and grammatical gains and losses, acquiring overall "an extra dimension of meaning" (Kachru, 1992b, p. 317) that may "violate" (p. 309) the norms of the readers looking in from the perspective of their own standard. Kachru (1992) further explained that "foreign rhetoric and sequence of thought … violates the expectations of the native reader" (p. 301) and then readers end up seeing errors everywhere. L2 writing is labeled "deviant" and therefore in need of correction (Buripakdi, 2008, p. 5) when it does not follow the rules of whatever the model is, such as Received Pronunciation or General American. Kachru (1992b), however, clearly pointed out that this deviation was necessary because this was how "language acquires contextual appropriateness" (p. 309), and in order to completely understand the different varieties of new Englishes, "[t]hose who are outside these cultures must go through a variety shift in order to understand both the written and the spoken modes of such varieties" (Kachru, 1992b, p. 306). It is necessary for the English teachers to experience this shift in order to help their students do the same and thus be prepared to interact with L2 users and their writing. Smitherman (2000) expressed her frustration at how few of these instructors are open to linguistic variation and how they mostly respond to it by correcting the written texts (p. 397).

The requirement to limit written English to its standard form is seldom challenged when it comes to publishing in the academic world. Kirkpatrick (2007) explained that

"certain varieties of English are considered superior in a range of international contexts" (p. 36) such as academic journals in the United States that favor "Anglo rhetorical styles" (p. 36). Flowerdew (2005) explained that "only a small percentage of publications emanate from countries where English is not the national or official language" (p. 66), which means that they are the ones who get to decide what acceptable English looks like. This limits the researchers' access to publishing venues, regardless of the discipline to which they may belong, and it prevents them from "finding a voice" (Bolton, 2006b, p. 263). L2 researchers, for instance, often fail to publish their research on account of their English, regardless of its scientific value (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 181) and this acts as a gatekeeping force preventing particular groups from sharing their ideas on account of their English. Canagarajah (2002) explained that "academic community adopts strict gate-keeping practices in the publication of papers in the leading research journals" (p. 39) by asking authors to adhere to a particular L1 discourse, either British or American English. Consequently, "scholars from periphery academic communities, especially from non-English backgrounds, are poorly represented in many fields" (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 39). Those who do manage to publish do so because they have adopted the "empirical-scientific knowledge paradigm and … 'Anglo' rhetorical styles" (p. 181), or they manage to negotiate their right to use their own English. One of the few people who were able to successfully negotiate her way out of the traditional writing model was Smitherman (2000) whose books and journal articles stand out due to her writing style, a mix of AAVE and General American. Yet, this was not without difficulty, as she explained: "on more than one occasion I would have to battle with editors to keep the Ebonics flava in a piece" (Smitherman, 2000, p. 9).

Besides publishing, the academia represents another medium where people are influenced, to the point of indoctrination, into believing in the superiority of the standard. Graddol, Leith and Swann (1997) even defined Standard English as "the variety that is taught in schools, used in the media and codified in dictionaries and grammars" (p. 222), while McArthur (1999), while confirming that people associate Standard English with educated English, "despite the difficulty of deciding what *educated* means" (p. 167). Berns (2006) also connected the standard with the schools that are supposed to teach it and the discourse of the educated class:

> In pedagogical terms, the concept *model* implies a linguistic ideal that a learner and teacher keep in mind in the course of language instruction. The model represents a norm or standard use at all levels – from the phonological to the pragmatic. Often the terms *norm* and *standard* are used along with *model* to identify the "correct" and "acceptable" variety of the language chosen, which is based on that used by a segment of the educated population. (p. 725)

Writing, in particular, is nurtured through schooling and is therefore more likely to follow the conventions of this standard. McArthur (1998) explained that "if people have gone to school far enough years and began to move in higher social circles with enough success, they are constrained by circumstance and practice to stay close to the acrolect rather than slide back down" to mesolect or basilect" (p. 6). Because writing is learned and promoted in academic circles, it is also expected to stay close to the acrolect, i.e. the standard.

The commending power of the standard ideology in written language has been perpetuated as students look at the printed models in the composition textbooks and are rewarded when they try to rid their writing of the idiosyncrasies of their home dialects in an

attempt to master the written standard. This model is central to the writing pedagogy employed by many teachers in composition courses across the United States, as Richardson's (2003) study suggested. The English instructors surveyed by Richardson (2003) believed that their students should master the standard form of the language, and it is without doubt that in most cases, these instructors acted out of an honest desire to help their students succeed in a society that believes that "only the standard is really English … at the centre or summit of things" (McArthur, 1999, p. 165). Yet, such an attitude dismisses the students' real language and linguistic variation in general and promotes a biased view on language, leading to the development of discriminatory attitudes toward particular varieties of English such as AAVE or L2 Englishes. Lovejoy (2003) suggested that English instructors should be the first to challenge the supposed superiority of the standard: "As language educators, it is our responsibility to teach not only the language of power but also the multiplicity of ways we use language to communicate every day" (p. 94).

The native-nonnative dichotomy. Another important factor directing people's perception of L2 Englishes is the native-nonnative dichotomy, with studies (Jenkins, 2007; Lindemann, 2005) showing a clear preference for American and British varieties on the part of both L1 and L2 users. Cook (1999) explained that "a person is a native speaker of the language learnt first" (p. 187) which means that there are many proficient nonnative users who cannot escape this label regardless of how well they know the language. Jenkins (2007) explained that "nativelike English, particularly in terms of accent, is still frequently considered a prerequisite of success" (p. 68), which can be interpreted both as someone's professional and social success, on the one hand, and someone's self-perception of himself as a good language user, on the other hand. It has been argued that this attitude has deep

colonial roots (Cook, 1999), as it reflects a historical relationship of subordination between the L1 countries and their L2 colonies. In Outer and Expanding Circle countries, this preference for Inner Circle varieties is also a reflection of school-based learning considering that L2 countries still promote General American English or the British Received Pronunciation in their language course.

Moreover, the belief that native Englishes are "better" than their Outer and Expanding Circle counterparts puts the responsibility for the linguistic interaction on the L2 user. In a conversation between a L1 and a L2, for instance, it is generally expected that the L2 speaker has to accommodate the L1 English users (Cook, 1999). As Kubota (2001b) explained, there is a "one-way accommodation on Outer Circle and Expanding Circle speakers, who often receive the blame for miscommunication" (Kubota, 2001b, p. 47). This comes from the belief that Inner Circle Englishes are closer to the standard and "better" than the Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes. The L2 users are expected to make an extra effort to avoid difficulties in communication (Cook 1999; Kubota, 2001b).

Furthermore, people use the labels native and nonnative incorrectly. One cannot equate native Englishes with Inner Circle varieties from the United States or Great Britain because Outer or Expanding circle countries also host native speakers of English. Graddol, Leith and Swann (1996) pointed out that the terms native and nonnative were imprecise in contexts like India where "some (notionally) non-native speakers become familiar with English from an early age and use the language routinely" (p. 13). Linguists have shown that it would be impossible to have a clear geographical delimitation between the native and nonnative users of English that would somehow fell neatly between political borders. In

2002, for example, 8.4% of the K through 12 student population in the United States was a nonnative user of English (Koda & Zehler, 2008, p. 1).

To complicate matters more, it has been reported that people's perception of nonnative Englishes is often influenced by color. Canagarajah (2006) explained that although he was "a *balanced bilingual* who has acquired *simultaneous bilingualism"* (p. 589, italics in original), people generally labeled him as nonnative because of his origin signified by a visible marker, i.e. color: "Only the color of my skin would influence someone to call me a non-native speaker of English—not my level of competence, process of acquisition, or time of learning" (pp. 589-590). Kirkpatrick (2007) also offered a valid critique of the native/nonnative speaker model explaining that the language people use first is not necessarily the one they speak best as they may become "shifting L1" (p. 8), i.e. people who master a language they learn later in life. For these people, the "native" tongue could be the one they know least.

The participants' resistance to multilingualism. L1 users' perception of L2 Englishes can also be influenced by their resistance to multilingualism. Cliett (2003) pointed out that despite the ethnic and linguistic diversity in the United States, multilingualism is not as highly regarded here as in other parts of the world. She provided the example of the English-Plus strategy in South Africa (p. 71) where there are currently eleven official languages, including English (p. 71). In the United States, on the other hand, the English-Only movement promoting English as the only official language has been gaining in popularity, "despite or because of the huge constituency of linguistic minorities in the country" (Cliett, 2003, p. 71). Horner and Trimbur (2002) discussed the discriminatory undertones in the English-Only legislation that "has arisen as a response to immigration to

the U.S., and much of the support for English Only has been fueled by xenophobia" (p. 608). The popularity of the English-Only legislation pointed to the existence of a negative attitude toward multilingualism among people in states with high immigration rates like Arizona or California.

Why are Language Attitudes so Important?

When people's English is ranked lower on the attitude scale, they are in danger of becoming the victims of linguistic discrimination. The line between their English and the users themselves begins to fade and in the end it is not people's English that is judged as inadequate and inferior—it is the users who are labeled as such.

People discriminate against linguistic diversity when what they hear or read seems different from what they have been exposed to as a result of their membership to different social networks. This can translate into an attitude of "us" versus "them" on the part of the Inner Circle users and comes as a result of the general perception that language variation is wrong. Although linguists and well-informed teachers would agree with Cook's (1999) view that "people who speak differently from some arbitrary group are not speaking better or worse, just differently" (p. 192), the general public begs to differ. Munro and Derwing (1999), for instance, feared that foreign-sounding English is socially sanctioned as there is a "general bias against foreign accentedness in speech" (p. 287) and that has made accent reduction programs very popular.

Jenkins (2007) also discussed the connection between how particular varieties of English are perceived and people's attitudes toward the users of these varieties: "language attitudes and beliefs are implicated in complex ways in the social judgments that speakers make about other speakers both within and outside their own social groups" (p. 77). When

users discriminate against particular language varieties, they actually look down upon the speakers of those varieties as well. Wyne (2002) pointed out that the public feels entitled to pass judgments on the level of intelligence of AAVE users based solely on the way they speak and with little connection to what they have to say: to a Caucasian audience, her African American students' "speech indicated not only linguistic, but cognitive deficit" (p. 207), although such a claim had no basis in reality. Variation in speech is such an important factor in how people are perceived that their personality and intelligence get filtered through their ability to approximate a particular language variety. Rankie Shelton (2009) provided a powerful account of the race-based linguistic discrimination she witnessed while teaching in US schools:

> In the schools where I taught and witnessed prejudicial behavior towards language minority students, the offended students were overwhelmingly African-American students who spoke in one of the Southern dialects. These same students were disproportionally identified as having serious academic weaknesses and were referred for special education. (p. 118)

Wheeler (2009) also witnessed instances when the instructors' linguistic intolerance landed their students of color in language therapy courses or, worse yet, labeled them as "disabled" on account of their accent: "[u]nderprepared to understand the language of their African-American students, teachers disparaged children, suspended them diagnosed kids as learning disabled, and banished them to speech pathology remediation labs. For talking while Black, children suffered teachers' disdain and low, low expectations" (p. 176). Smitherman (2003) explained that she was one of these students whose college experience was marked by her placement in a speech therapy class together with other users of AAVE. She was told that

if she wanted to be an English teacher, she had to "get rid" of her home dialect as if it was some horrible disease that could infect her students. It seemed like people's perception of different varieties could lead to unfounded beliefs about the speakers' intellectual endowment.

Jenkins (2007) pointed out that accent represented the most powerful factor leading to linguistic discrimination against spoken Englishes, regardless of whether the user was from an Inner, Outer or Expanding Circle country: "Accent is the most salient factor in 'evoking images' in response to speech styles and, therefore, that accent exerts the stronger influence on attitudes" (p. 78). Munro and Derwing (2000) explained that L2 Englishes in particular could make the users lose social and economic capital and are therefore treated like a disease:

> "there is intolerance for foreign accents in some circles... This discrimination appears to have acted as a catalyst for the rise of accent reduction programs which aim to reduce or eliminate foreign accents altogether. These programs inherently suggest that an accent is, in itself, a bad thing, and is subject to *treatment*, *intervention*, or even *eradication* in much the same way as a language pathology" (p. 286).

While comparing accented English with an illness may seem somewhat extreme, it nonetheless sums up reality for speakers of particular language varieties such as L2 Englishes or AAVE.

Besides the academia, negative attitudes toward language variation manifest themselves in the workplace as well. In some extreme cases, it was shown that there is only one small step from discrimination to persecution, as demonstrated in the case of the Hawaiian newscaster who was released from his job because he used Hawaiian English, the variety specific to his community, when addressing that very community (Lippi-Green, 1997,

p. 52). During the legal action to follow, the Supreme Court endorsed the TV station's decision to replace the newscaster with a speaker of standard American English, failing to recognize it as discriminative toward Hawaiian English users.

When linguistic intolerance goes unsanctioned by society, this impacts how linguistically diverse populations view themselves, too. They fall prey to the native speaker fallacy and the standard language ideology. In the United States, L2 and AAVE users have been reported to develop negative attitudes toward their own English because it differs from whatever variety may be the standard at the time, and they eventually begin looking down upon themselves as well. They judge their English against British or American standard varieties and consequently believe that their language is not as good. Discussing L2 English users, Kumaravadivelu (2003) acknowledged that "members of the dominated group, knowingly or unknowingly, legitimize the characteristics of inferiority attributed to them by the dominant group" (p. 547). Kachru (1992c) also confirmed that L2 users overwhelmingly prefer Inner Circle varieties even when the local variety has developed its own standard as "the local model is still low on the attitudinal scale, though it might be widely used in various functions" (p. 56). Kachru (1992c) used India as an example arguing that "the norm for English was unrealistic and (worse) unavailable—the British variety. In actual performance, typical Indian English was used. But to have one's English labeled Indian was an ego-cracking linguistic insult" (p. 56). Llurda (2009) compared such speakers with those who fall victim to the Stockholm syndrome (p. 119) because, although trapped by an unrealistic language model, they become "addicted" to it.

Suffering from self-marginalization, AAVE and L2 users deny themselves the right to speak up because they fear that their language is not up to par. Their voices are silenced.

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Wyne (2002) discussed the way African American students, regardless of their school performance, have "internalized notions of being linguistically inadequate" (p. 206) and avoided speaking outside of the safe environment of their own classroom. This silencing was acknowledged by Canagarajah (2002) as well when he talked about how his African-American students did not believe in using their different discourses as resources because they were aware of the perceived superiority of the standard: "Though the discourses themselves don't have greater claim for truth, social and material power are used to impose one group's discourses over others" (p. 37). Speaking for the Chicana people in the United States, Anzaldúa (1999) explained: "In childhood we are told that our language is wrong. Repeated attacks on our native tongue diminish our sense of self. The attacks continue throughout our lives" (p. 80). Under these circumstances, the internalization of discriminatory attitudes is difficult to avoid. Anzaldúa (1999) passionately described how she internalized the negative attitudes towards her language exhibited by those around her and how deeply these judgments affected her whole being:

> If you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself. Until I can accept as legitimate Chicano Texas Spanish, Tex-Mex and all the other languages I speak, I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself. (p. 81)

And although Anzaldúa (1999) chose a localized variety when writing *Borderlands: La Frontera: The New Mestiza* in a successful attempt to confer legitimacy to her English, a "illegitimate … bastard tongue" (p. 80), her struggle to come to terms with her own language is visible throughout the book.

Even expert L2 users revealed general feelings of inadequacy and self-marginalization. After in-depth interviews with seventeen L2 English instructors, Jenkins (2007) concluded that the attitudes they had toward their own English and L2 Englishes in general were of ambivalence and negativity, regardless whether these were expressed consciously or subconsciously. At a theoretical level, most of Jenkins' (2007) interviewees showed no bias toward localized Englishes, but this did not translate into tolerance when it came to practical issues such as what variety of English they taught (p. 224). Those who had been exposed to L2 Englishes and were familiar with the scholarship were trying to reconcile two opposites: the idea that only RP and GA were "real" Englishes (Jenkins, 2007, p. 218) and the feeling of attachment to their own accent. They considered their accent as an expression of their identity as Chinese, Polish, and so on, but, at the same time, they still fell for the old stereotypes that "brainwashed" them into believing in the superiority of a particular language variety. One of the participants poignantly described her ambivalence as "linguistic schizophrenia" (Jenkins, 2007, p. 214), as she felt torn between what she had been always told good English was, i.e. RP, and her need to express her Polish identity through language.

Kubota (2001a) warned that although linguistic discrimination is widespread in the United States, society is not as good at sanctioning it as in the case of other types of prejudice. Kubota (2001a) further explained that discriminating against someone based on physical attributes is rarely endorsed publicly, but people constantly show bias when it comes to language (p. 70). For example, the matched-guise studies developed in the 1960s gathered evidence that people associated nonstandard varieties of English with negative attributes as a result of socio-cultural stereotyping (Jenkins, 2007, p. 66). These studies pointed to a

widespread belief that the variety of English one uses can reveal something about that person in general, for instance how intelligent or how nice they are. According to Giles and Billings (2006), "listeners can very quickly stereotype another's personal and social attributes on the basis of language cues and in ways that appears to have crucial effects on important social decisions made about them" (p. 202). A teacher with mostly AAVE students, Wyne (2002) wrote about how historically "language … was used to bludgeon others into submission and feelings of inferiority" (p. 206). Moreover, as P. K. Matsuda (1999) explained, people's perception of others' speech impacts what they can and cannot do. P. K. Matsuda (1999) explained that linguistic intolerance in the United States has manifested itself in several ways, from acting as a gate keeping force for access to higher education to promoting feelings of self-discrimination in the representatives of those dialect groups found at the bottom of the linguistic power pyramid. This keeps both L2 and AAVE users away from education, better jobs, and better opportunities in general (P. K. Matsuda, 1999).

Surveying people's attitudes toward language is important because these attitudes determine how users are treated and what opportunities they are offered by society. Such studies are also a good source of information regarding what informs such attitudes and what kind of action can be taken to prevent discriminative attitudes. The next section of the chapter will discuss some of the language attitude studies done in the United States documenting people's perception of L2 Englishes.

When did the Language Attitude Field Emerge?

Although there is still need to research how people perceive written varieties of L2 Englishes, numerous studies have documented people's perception of language varieties. In the third chapter of *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitudes and Identity*, Jenkins (2007) traced

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the history of attitude research to a 1930 British study on how UK listeners perceived the voices they heard on the radio (p. 66). Yet the year marking the beginning of an unprecedented boost in language attitudes research was 1960, which represented the publication date of Lambert's now famous study introducing the matched guise technique (Jenkins, 2007, p. 66) that is still in use today. Another important moment for the field was marked by Ryan and Giles' publication of an edited book in 1982 that proposed an interdisciplinary approach to language attitude studies. Finally, the last decade saw the publication of a series of empirical studies on language attitudes in journals such as *World Englishes* or in edited books such as B. B. Kachru, Y. Kachru, and Nelson 's (2006) edited book *Handbook of World Englishes*. Jenkins (2007), Kachru (1992a), Kirkpatrick (2007) and McArthur (1998) were among the applied linguists who published comprehensive books on language varieties that also addressed the issue of language attitudes.

But what have these studies revealed so far? The research showed that people generally display negative attitudes toward L2 Englishes regardless of whether they are themselves users of L2 Englishes (Friedrich, 2002; Jenkins, 2007; A. Matsuda, 2002; Morrison & White, 2005; Tsui & Bunton, 2000; Der Valt, 2000; Yoshikawa, 2005) or of more established varieties like American English (Ball & Muhammad, 2003; Brown, 2008, Fitch & Morgan, 2003, Katz, Scott, & Hadjioannou, 2009; Kubota, 2001b; Lindemann, 2003, 2005; Paredes, 2008; Rankie Shelton, 2009). As Kirkpatrick (2007) explained, "all varieties of English, whether they be native speaker or non-native speaker, are subject to prejudice, often from the speakers of the varieties themselves" (p. 70).

Discriminating against one's language variety, however, is not a development of modern times; Jenkins (2007) explained that particular English accents were stigmatized as

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early as the 14th century (p. 80). Moreover, McArthur (1999) wrote that bias against certain varieties of one language or another went back in time at least as far as ancient Greece when Dionysius Thrax assigned to the written form of a language the attributes of the standard suggesting that "the spoken word can and should be judged in terms of the written word" (p. 162). This meant that a hierarchy was already established between different varieties of a particular language and that the written form was seen as superior to the spoken word.

Considering that the scope of the present research project is to assess people's perception of written L2 Englishes, it is important to review the existing research done in the United States on L1 users' attitudes toward L2 Englishes in general. There is some data on people's attitudes toward spoken varieties in the form of both dissertations (Brown, 2008; Paredes, 2008; Szerdahelyi, 2002) or articles and book chapters (Ball & Muhammad , 2003; Fitch & Morgan, 2003; Katz, Scott, & Hadjioannou, 2009; Kubota, 2001; Lindemann, 2003, 2005; Rankie Shelton, 2009). What all of these studies have in common is the site where the data collection takes place, namely the school environment. Some of the research looks at the attitudes exhibited by L1 high school and college students taking courses with international faculty or attending interventions meant to educate them about linguistic diversity. Other studies focus on in-service teachers whose language attitudes could impact how they perceive the diverse student population in the American schools. Some of these studies will be reviewed in the next section.

What is L1 Users' Perception of Localized Englishes?

The following section discusses the findings of several language attitude studies conducted with L1 users in the United States.

Undergraduate students' language attitude studies. Explaining that "we need to understand what the folk actually think about different varieties if we hope to influence folk opinion" (p. 189), Lindemann (2005) conducted several studies in which she assessed the language attitudes of college students in the United States. In "Who Speaks 'Broken English'? US Undergraduates' Perceptions of Non-native English", Lindemann (2005) asked the participants to perform particular activities such as to rate different L2 Englishes based on their recollection of the varieties used by their colleagues across campus. The variables used were friendliness, correctness, and familiarity (p. 191). When it came to preferred varieties of English, it seemed like the native varieties from Inner Circle countries were rated positively across the board (p. 193), followed by Expanding Circle countries in Western Europe. The participants showed a clear preference for the varieties of English used in developed countries in Europe from where significant immigration to the United States has stopped: "we can see that of the countries whose non-native English was most familiar, those that are rated positively are in Western Europe, have had comparatively favorable relationships with the US during the respondents' lifetimes, and do not have large populations of recent immigrants in the US" (p.193). Lindemann's (2005) research suggested that for her participants, linguistic factors such as accentedness or comprehensibility had little to do with how L2 Englishes were perceived and politics and location seemed to play a much bigger role.

What seemed to make a difference in how Lindemann's (2005) participants responded to L2 Englishes was the stigma associated in general with particular varieties as "groups that have been described as stigmatized (Mexico, Japan, China, India) were rated as less correct" (p. 193), especially those who form the bulk of recent immigrants (p. 193).

Another factor leading to lower ratings was lack of familiarity, considering that countries the participants were less likely to know such as Morocco or the Czech Republic received the lowest scores overall (p. 195). Paradoxically, the data also revealed that familiarity does not necessarily lead to tolerance (p. 193) when other factors come into play. Mexican English, for instance, received low scores in terms of pleasantness or correctness although it was rated as the most familiar variety (p. 193).

In fact, the political orientation and the geographical area of the country in which particular L2 Englishes were used seemed to influence the ratings more than how familiar the participants were with that particular variety (p. 193). Lindemann (2005) gave the example of Poland whose proximity to the Eastern Communist Bloc influenced the participants to give it lower ratings than they had for the other Western European countries. In addition to geography, politics also impacted people's perception of different Englishes. According to Lindemann (2005), the L2 Englishes with the poorest ratings were those associated with countries that have historically opposed the United States:

Political factors clearly play a role in these ratings, as many countries in this last group are much more easily classified in terms of political relationships with the US than in terms of recent immigrant groups. Several have had poor relations with the US within the respondents' lifetimes, including former communist bloc countries, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan. (p. 195)

The participants in Lindemann's (2005) study were also asked to describe the Englishes used in over fifty countries around the world. The results showed that they were more inclined to comment on the Englishes that elicited negative attitudes such as the varieties used in China, Mexico, or Russia. The participants seemed to agree that these

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varieties were hard to comprehend and unpleasant, and the qualifier "broken" came up repeatedly in their comments (pp. 202-203). Lindemann (2005) noticed that the varieties that prompted a negative response on the part of the participants were, again, those used by the largest numbers of recent immigrants to the United States: "Mexico and China were described as getting the most "wrong"; they were described the most often and in the most detail" (p. 206). The variety described using the most negative terms was Chinese English, something Lindemann (2005) linked with possible negative experiences the participants could have had with international faculty (p. 209). The varieties of English used in France and Italy, on the other hand, were described as "romantic", "pretty" or "clear" (p. 205). This second activity confirmed the findings of the first task in which the participants responded positively when rating the English of their Western European classmates, describing it as more pleasant, clear, and friendly than other L2 Englishes.

Lindemann's (2005) interest in what informs people's perception of L2 Englishes revealed important facts regarding the limited impact familiarity with particular varieties can have on language attitudes, which suggests that just encouraging the interaction between L1 and L2 users does not guarantee tolerance. What seemed to matter most for her participants was the type of social, political, and historical ties between the participants' community and the communities of the L2 users.

In her 2003 article "Korean, Chinese, or Indians? Attitudes and Ideologies about Non-native English Speakers in the United States", Lindemann (2003) discussed the benefits that come from adopting a social anthropology approach to language attitude studies versus the more common match guise studies that only inquire into how particular varieties are rated without looking into what people have in mind when they complete the rating task. As

Lindmann (2003) explained, "Such an approach considers more than just evaluations of varieties, addressing also perceptions of what constitutes these varieties and who speaks them" (p. 349). In line with these recommendations, she designed a study in which she used a match-guise technique to document the perception of Korean English by native speakers in the United States but she also inquired into what motivated these perceptions. The participants listened to several native and nonnative renditions of the same text and were asked to rate each speaker, from a scale from 1 to 7, on "six status-related and six solidarity-related characteristics" (p. 353). These characteristics ranged from positive such as intelligent, successful, helpful, friendly, to negative such as lazy, unkind, or insincere. The participants, all university students, were told that some of the speech samples were native and others were nonnative Englishes but were unaware that the L2 English they were about to hear was Korean-accented speech. Besides rating the different samples, the participants were also asked "to identify the ethnicity and native-speaker status of the speaker" (Lindemann, 2003, p. 350) in an attempt to see how important social groups were for the way the speech samples were rated (p. 350).

The findings of the study showed that the Korean English speakers were overall rated lower than the American English users in terms of status (p. 356) but received similar ratings when it came to solidarity (p. 357). Lindemann (2003) explained that several factors were likely to influence the raters, such as the standard language ideology (p. 357) and the Korean users being considered "outgroup" (p. 357) due to the participants' lack of familiarity with this particular population. Yet, despite Lindemann's (2003) claims, the ratings the participants provided did not support the idea that the ingroup/outgroup status influenced their response because all speakers were rated similarly in terms of solidarity. Moreover, the

participants did not hesitate to assign low scores to the native speaker whose English displayed the largest degree of variation, while the highly proficient Korean speaker elicited high scores.

The participants were also asked to guess whether the speaker was native or not and to even guess where he or she was from. Everybody was able to pick out the native from the nonnative speakers but they struggled to figure out where the nonnative users came from. The results confirmed Lindemann's (2003) hypothesis that people often mistake one variety of English for another. Her Korean speakers were believed to be Chinese, Japanese, or even Indian, and only 8% of the participants identified the correct population. This finding made Lindemann (2003) question whether language attitude studies correctly identify people's attitudes toward particular groups, considering that her participants were clearly unable to match the English they were rating with the correct group. At the same time, the fact that the Korean speakers were rated lower suggested the existence of what Lindemann (2003) called "foreign faultiness", meaning that once speakers were identified as nonnative, their language was automatically rated as inferior to that of native users (pp. 358-359). Lindemann (2003) explained that the ethnicity of the nonnative users did not even matter, as L2 users were clumped together as outgroup and thus likely to be stigmatized (p. 359).

Lindemann's (2003, 2005) two studies revealed the need to look more closely at what happens in people's mind when they evaluate a L2 user. Her research also pointed out the variety of factors influencing people's language attitudes, from familiarity with the language variety to recent national politics, and pointed to the complex interaction between them.

International faculty and ITA. A good source of data on L1 users' perception of L2 speakers comes from the research on international teaching assistants (ITA) and international

faculty at universities in the United States, such as Szerdahelyi's (2002) dissertation work on the interaction between herself, an ITA, and her students; Gruber's (2006) and Liang and Rice's (2006) articles reflecting on the their experience as composition instructors; or Fitch and Morgan's (2003) narrative inquiry into the students' perception of ITAs teaching different disciplines. This research revealed the strong tension between the representatives of different cultures clashing in the space of the composition course and the L2 users' awareness that their cultural makeup could hinder the interaction between themselves and their students because of the difficulties both parties encounter when they try to communicate and think multiculturally. While some of the research (Fitch & Morgan, 2003; Liang & Rice, 2006) suggested that the instructors' language elicited negative attitudes on the part of their students, other studies pointed to the differences in cultural and institutional expectations as the main cause for such attitudes (Gruber, 2006; Szerdahelyi, 2002).

Fitch and Morgan's (2003) research looked at the narratives students created about their ITAs, revealing that while the instructors were described as very intelligent, their oral skills were seen as a drawback regardless of the discipline they were teaching (p. 301). During the research, the students were asked to describe the ITAs' English and, according to Fitch and Morgan (2003), "[a] favorite phrase as tales were told was 'couldn't speak a lick of English'" (p. 302). The findings actually confirmed that the students saw the instructors as an obstacle to learning due to their English: "ITA's identity is constructed negatively—as a problem that confronts the undergraduate" (p. 303).

The students' discriminative attitudes toward their L2 instructors' English eventually take their toll on how the latter perceived themselves. A L2 user and English professor at an American university, Liang shared his story of self-doubt and self-marginalization (Liang &

Rice, 2006). Despite having an almost undetectable accent, Liang "was challenged several times by native English-speaking students who questioned both his teaching approaches and his methodological credibility as a nonnative speaker of English" (Liang & Rice, p. 175). His students' attitude made him feel like "being nonnative is equal to being pedagogically inferior, and being native is equal to being superior" (p. 177). Liang kept comparing himself with his American colleague Rice and, despite his seniority, better training, and extra years of experience, he feared that the students may avoid taking his class because he was not a native of the United States. He believed that Rice was sought after because her English was closer to what the students could identify as Standard American (Liang & Rice, 2006). His situation showed that self-discrimination starts out with language but it goes beyond that, making people feel inadequate and unable to perform their jobs properly or at least equally to an Inner Circle native.

Szerdahelyi (2002) revealed, however, how difficult it is to pinpoint the real reason for student resistance. Just like Liang (2006), she explained that when she initially realized that her students were resisting her, she automatically assumed that her English was to blame and identified being "a non-native speaker of English with mere near-native language competence" (p. 26) as the main source for the continuous conflict in her composition course. After she began to research this issue more thoroughly, though, she realized that her language proficiency was not as relevant as she thought and her attitude and self-doubt "were more harmful than [her] actual language deficit" (Szerdahelyi, 2002, p. 26). Instead of struggling to understand her English, her students resisted her teaching technique and the lack of apparent cultural connections with a teacher born and raised in Hungary. Moss and Walters (1993) would suggest that this situation was created in the first place because the course

participants did not share the rules that govern the context, rules that "usually go unstated: they are assumed to be shared and are noted only when violated" (p. 418).

Just like Szerdahelyi (2002), Gruber (2006) was a L2 user who found herself in the position of teaching composition in the United States. In "Teaching within History's Reach: Teacher Positionality, Student Identity, and Revised Classroom Practices", Gruber (2006) discussed her students' assumptions that the L2 instructor's upbringing in a different culture can negatively impact communication and make the classroom interaction difficult. She, therefore, felt the need to continually position herself in front of her students throughout the semester as a professional qualified to teach English composition because this issue had been questioned before on account of her "alien status" and, Gruber (2006) half-jokingly adds, "unfamiliarity with American movies and TV shows, and … ignorance of baseball and football" (p. 106). Although one could argue that there are plenty of Americans that choose to not to watch TV and keep up with sports, Gruber noticed that the students saw these as insurmountable differences caused by the upbringing in a different culture. The students put her in a different box than the rest of the faculty when they said she could not possibly understand them, as they expressed their concern that she "would never understand where my students were coming from…[and she] was not able to relate to [her] students' backgrounds and history the same way that the U.S. faculty could do" (p. 116).

Both Szerdahelyi (2002) and Gruber (2006) were accused of missing out on the larger context of the American culture. In both cases, it led to tension and miscommunication between the instructors and students and to an environment that was not conducive to successful learning. Having a nonnative speaker teach them composition is not among the expectations students bring with them to class on their first day of school. What they do

bring with them, in many cases, is a native-speakerist ideology, to use Holliday's (2009) term, an expectation that the instructor speaks the standard, and a limited exposure to Englishes different than their own. When the instructors are L2 users, it is not uncommon for the students to resist them, as Szerdahelyi (2002) and Gruber (2006) explained.

The difficulties caused by the students' lack of exposure to L2 Englishes can affect them beyond the interaction they have with the ITAs or foreign professors during college, as it can interfere with their performance on the job and in a society in general. According to Kubota (2001b), native speakers should "develop awareness and attitudes necessary for functioning in a culturally and linguistically diverse society" (p. 49) where the young generation is likely to "increasingly experience face-to-face communication with various WE [L2] speakers on campuses and at work places" (p. 47). Lovejoy (2003) talked about how the business world in particular already acknowledged the need to improve the language awareness and the intercultural communicative competence of its workforce: "Businesses have already begun to take steps to educate their workers about intercultural communication and language issues" (p. 94).

Getting L1 high school students to discuss L2 Englishes. Research has also been done on the role learning about language and linguistic diversity can play in promoting linguistic tolerance in a classroom setting. In "Teaching World Englishes to Native Speakers of English in the USA", Kubota (2001b) looked at whether education can promote linguistic tolerance. She identified the lack of training in multicultural communication as a serious deficit in the American students' education that may lead to discriminative attitudes on campuses and at work (Kubota, 2001b, p. 47). Her study was called for because of the

"biases against the non-mainstream forms of language" and the "racial/ethnic prejudices" (Kubota, 2001b, p. 48) affecting school and work relationships in the United States.

Like others (Kachru, 1992d, Kumaravadivelu, 2003), Kubota (2001b) acknowledged the need "for Inner Circle native speakers of mainstream English to develop critical awareness of such biases and develop empathy, tolerance, and positive attitudes toward other WE speakers" (p. 50). She suggested that these goals can be achieved when the Inner Circle users gain awareness of the values inherent in L2 varieties and make an effort to come up with strategies to improve communication with L2 users (p. 49). She called for multicultural education in public schools and exposure to L2 Englishes in order to prepare them for "functioning in a culturally and linguistically diverse society" (Kubota, 2001b, p. 49). Yet, Kubota explained that just exposing users to other varieties of English than their own did not always lead to tolerance, which was one of the findings in Lindemann's (2005) work on language attitudes. Thus Kubota (2001b) suggested that schools should educate American students about the existence and value of L2 Englishes. In order to see whether learning about L2 Englishes could impact how they were perceived, Kubota (2001b) conducted a study during which L1 high schools students participated in an intervention and completed pre- and post-questionnaires, dictation tasks, and post-interviews (p. 53).

Based on the belief that "one way to liberate people from such prejudiced discourses is to exposed them to linguistic diversity" (Kubota, 2001b, p. 49), Kubota designed an eight-week intervention during which she educated American high school students about L2 Englishes as a means of promoting linguistic tolerance. The activities were meant to raise awareness about linguistic variety and L2 Englishes while helping the students develop ways to communicate with L2 speakers (Kubota, 2001b, p. 49). Kubota (2001) also addressed the

issue of linguistic diversity in general, discussing, in addition to L2 Englishes, the local varieties of English the students were likely to be familiar with (p. 49). As exposure to real life L2 speech was important, guest speakers were also invited to talk to the class. Kubota's study focused particularly on spoken varieties of L2 Englishes and no attention was paid to the written varieties.

After the first few weeks of the study, Kubota found out that such a project proved to be an intellectual challenge for the high school students (Kubota, 2001b, p. 50). Inquiry-oriented and requiring critical thinking, the activities seemed to overwhelm some of the students who showed no interest in them whatsoever. Others performed well and when they were asked to rate L2 Englishes, they provided better scores than at the beginning of the intervention. There were several participants who understood the importance of L2 Englishes and yet maintained the same attitude as at the beginning of the session (Kubota, 2001b, p. 60). The participants explained that they maintained a negative attitude toward L2 Englishes because they feared that L2 Englishes could lead to miscommunication or saw the sessions as a waste of time (Kubota, 2001b, p. 59).

The post-intervention data revealed that while the majority of the students seemed to be more knowledgeable about L2 Englishes, they still maintained ethnocentric beliefs, for instance they believed that "everyone in the world should speak English" (Kubota, 2001b, p. 60). The survey and interviews used to collect data showed that the students' perception of L2 Englishes improved only in particular areas, but enough to prompt Kubota to continue to believe that learning can change how people view linguistic diversity. Kubota (2001b), however, suggested that, in order to be more effective, the discussion about linguistic diversity should be ongoing and should start as early as the first years of school. Kubota

(2001b) also asked that English teachers should contribute to the eradication of xenophobia by "affirming linguistic diversity at all educational levels and creating a pedagogical environment conducive to developing critical consciousness on the global spread of English" (p. 62). This can benefit the students by preparing them for interacting with L2 speakers in society as they "develop a positive attitude toward other WE speakers and skills in comprehending WE" (Kubota, 2001b, p. 47).

Kubota's (2006b) study provided valuable insight into how English courses could add another dimension to the education they provide students by raising the issue of linguistic intolerance. While Kubota's intervention did not completely yield the results she was hoping for as some of her participants maintained intolerant attitudes toward L2 Englishes, her research is important because it raises awareness about the existence of such intolerant attitudes among young L1 users and points to the lack of education about linguistic diversity. At the same time, the study challenges English instructors to come up with ways to promote tolerance in their course and develop activities that engage their students and help them transition to a more inclusive view.

In-service L1 teachers and language attitudes. Because English instructors have such a great influence on how students perceive the language they and others use (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003, p. 83), it is important to assess the level of bias toward language variety on the part of these teachers as well. This is also relevant because of the increasing diversification of American schools where, according to Louie (2009), "[b]y year 2015, the children of immigrants will likely comprise 30% of the nation's K-12 population" (p. 35). How do the teachers of these L2 users view their Englishes and how does that inform the way their students are treated?

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Paredes' (2008) dissertation work focused on pre-service teachers' attitudes toward L2 Englishes and L2 users. Paredes (2008) was particularly interested in this population because of the impact teachers have on the minds of the youth. As part of their preservice training, she designed a unit to educate these future teachers about the language of minority students. The premise was that this could make them more open-minded about linguistic diversity. Paredes (2008) explained that this education was necessary because the number of minority instructors was low and "the teaching profession is largely made up of a monocultural and monolingual population with women responsible for primary education while men dominate higher education" (Paredes, 2008, p. 19). The student population, on the other hand, incorporates an increasing percentage of L2 users. Because of the disparities between the two groups, Paredes (2008) advocated the need to educate instructors about linguistically diverse populations because this would be a way to better address the needs of those students who made up the 20%. Such education would include information about language and language acquisition that would provide the future teachers enough knowledge to debunk the myths and misconceptions about linguistic diversity.

For her study, Paredes (2008) designed an eight-hour intervention during which she taught the preservice students notions of "general linguistics, phonetics, phonology, sociolinguistics, language acquisition and bilingualism" (p. 100). She believed that lack of such knowledge was the main factor preventing these future instructors from engaging in meaningful interaction with their linguistically diverse students. The data collection took place in the form of pre- and post-surveys and online discussion board interactions. The students participating in the intervention sessions debated the idea of standard in language,

learned about local varieties of English such as AAVE, and were informed about L2 Englishes.

According to the findings, after participating in the intervention sessions, the in-service teachers became more tolerant toward other varieties of English as they revealed "more favorable attitudes toward language diversity/nonmainstream varieties of English after the intervention of the language unit than a control group who did not receive the intervention as measured by the pretest/posttest LAS" (p. 150). Despite this relevant variation found when comparing the pre and post survey, Paredes (2008) noted that, when analyzing the qualitative data obtained from the students' discussion board entries, it became evident how strong certain beliefs were. Some, for instance, maintained the importance of promoting Standard English in the classroom even after discussing during the intervention how marginalizing this can be (Paredes, 2008, p. 226). There were also comments linking nonstandard English with ignorance (Paredes, 2008, p. 231) and asserting a right or wrong way of using the language (Paredes, 2008, p. 232).

Paredes (2008), nevertheless, looked at teachers as the "force for change" (p. 23). When educated to accept linguistic diversity, they can positively influence their students to be tolerant toward the way others speak, too. She suggested using "language to explore diversity" (p. 23) not just with the English teachers, but in the case of anyone who wanted to receive the proper training to deal with an American classroom, regardless of the subject taught.

Ball and Muhammad (2003) were also interested in assessing American pre-service teachers' language attitudes toward nonstandard varieties of English. Their participants were required to take a course on literacy and language variation (p. 82). They were also asked to

act as tutors for international students, which was an opportunity for them to gain real-life exposure to L2 Englishes. At the beginning of the study, Ball and Muhammad's (2003) assessment of the participants' language attitudes was rather grim, prompting them to comment that "there may be little tolerance for language variation and for the expression of ideas from other cultures in many of your nation's future classrooms" (p. 77). They even described the participants as having "zero tolerance" (p. 77) at the very beginning when they seemed to "have accepted the myth of an idealized 'standard English' and only one 'correct' way to express ideas" (p. 77). As time passed, however, it became clear that the participants' attitudes were changing (p. 84) as the knowledge they gained during the literacy course encouraged the pre-service teachers to realize the role they played in "promoting the power and privilege that come with a particular variety" (p. 86).

Ball and Muhammad (2003) expressed their disbelief that pre-service teacher programs in general properly addressed the issue of linguistic bias (p. 78) which meant that the graduates were not prepared to teach linguistically diverse population. Because of this, the future teachers' perception of linguistic diversity was thus not informed by knowledge, but by misconceptions about language. Ball and Muhammad (2003) explained that three myths in particular fueled their participants' perception of localized Englishes: first, the misconception that "there is a uniform standard English that has been reduced to a set of consistent rules"; second, the fallacy that "these correct, consistent rules should be followed by all American English speakers"; and third, the belief that "this mythical standard English must be safeguarded by everyone connected with its use, particularly classroom teachers' (p. 77). As few pre-service programs require their students to take courses on linguistic diversity (p. 79), such myths continue to influence the way these future teachers perceived

their students. Ball and Muhammad's (2003) research with pre-service teachers revealed the powerful positive impact courses on literacy and linguistic diversity can have on their perception of localized Englishes (p. 87).

Brown (2008) also conducted a study using the same type of participants. Brown's (2008) dissertation used a mixed method approach designed to assess the language attitudes of in-service teachers enrolled in courses at different Pennsylvania universities. Brown (2008) was particularly interested in those in enrolled in Philadelphia Urban Experience (PUE), a workshop offered at Indiana University of Pennsylvania in 2007. These in-service teachers were all part of the experimental group, while other universities in Pennsylvania were part of the control group (p. 47). Brown (2008) worked with a total of 215 participants, 82 in the experimental group and 133 in the control group (p. 51).

The participants in the experimental group interacted with students from the area as they were involved in observing and teaching courses. At the end of the day, they participated in debriefing sessions during which they discussed linguistic diversity. Brown (2008) wanted to see whether the participants in the PUE workshop were likely to display an increase in their tolerance of linguistic diversity as a result of the exposure they gained from interacting with the local student population in combination with the ideas they exchanged during the debriefing sessions. With the help of pre- and post-surveys, Brown (2008) confirmed her hypothesis that teachers' bias toward linguistic diversity increased when they "received the additional hands-on experience with linguistically and culturally diverse students" (p. 65), but her findings were not statistically relevant. Moreover, Brown (2008) could not find any statistically relevant data regarding the impact the participants' personal

characteristics, such as age, gender, political orientation, certification, regional identity, and so on had on their perception of linguistic diversity.

In addition to the pre- and post-survey, Brown (2008) also used interviews to assess how prepared these in-service instructors felt for working with linguistically diverse populations after having attended the workshop. Her findings suggested that despite their education and the recent eight-day PUE workshop, the in-service instructors were far from being comfortable at the thought of teaching linguistically diverse students, especially L2 users (Brown, 2008, p. 85). They also viewed the language of these students as a handicap, particularly when it came to accent (p. 81). Considering these findings, Brown (2008) recommended that the teacher-training programs should begin incorporating more courses that would promote linguistic tolerance:

> Teacher education must inform pre-service teachers' practice with knowledge and strategies that value and celebrate differences in the student body of K-12 schools. Aspiring teachers, along with practicing teachers already, need skills and knowledge to help them take advantage of the strengths that result from diversity of culture, race, ethnicity, home and community experiences, as well as language. (pp. 93-94)

Another study on preservice teachers' language attitudes comes from Rankie Shelton (2009) whose interest in the issue was prompted by the observations she had collected over the years regarding the language-based discriminatory treatment of minority students by the school system. While her research did not address L2 users in particular, her study provided relevant knowledge about pre-service teachers' perception of linguistic diversity. In an attempt to promote the much-needed tolerance among future teachers, she designed a course during which they were made aware of their own "perception of people who speak variations

of American English" (p. 119) and "give conscious thought to" how these perceptions could influence how they treated their students (p. 119). Rankie Shelton (2009) first required the students to reflect upon their own use of English with the hope that they could thus develop empathy towards others' discourse as well: "before thinking about language diversity in others", Rankie Shelton (2009) commented, "my students would examine their own language" (p. 120). This, according to Rankie Shelton (2009), could yield several positive outcomes: first, the students would understand how language really works and how important context-driven variation could be; and second, they would begin to "understand the intricate relationship between language, culture, and power" (p. 120).

Rankie Shelton (2009) spent several weeks discussing linguistic diversity and nonstandardness in language and completed several projects meant to increase the students' awareness of how language variation manifested itself in their lives. They participated in a series of activities, from discussing the "Resolution: Students' Right to their Own Language" (1974) put forth by College Composition and Communication Conference (CCCC) to analyzing their own linguistic habits and from defining the concept of dialect to writing an essay in which they were asked to "examine … [their] own positionalities in language" (p. 133). At the end of the intervention, while a couple of preservice teachers were still adamant in supporting the superiority of the school-promoted standard, most revealed an increased tolerance towards linguistic diversity. According to Rankie Shelton (2009), they were able to recognize that the standard English is a myth and "their own experiences with language are not necessarily examples of how we can best help our students learn" (p. 127). Welcoming linguistic differences could thus allow the development of a more tolerant take on linguistic diversity that celebrated the real Englishes American students used.

NCTE & CCCC Members and Language Rights.

A comprehensive study of L1 English instructors' perception of linguistic diversity

was done by Richardson (2003) with data collected from NCTE and CCCC members. In

"Race, Class(es), Gender, and Age: The Making of Knowledge about Language Diversity",

Richardson (2003) reported that 2970 participants completed the "Language Knowledge and

Awareness Survey" designed to assess their perception of different language varieties,

namely "standard English" and "nonstandard dialects" (p. 46). The survey did not directly

address L2 Englishes, allowing the participants to define for themselves what these

nonstandard dialects may be. The findings of the survey were of utmost importance for L2

scholarship-inspired composition pedagogy and for the field of language attitudes because

they revealed the complex relationships between teachers' characteristics such as age, race,

or level of education on the one hand, and their language attitudes on the other hand.

Richardson (2003) reported some significant differences in tolerance level based on

the participants' personal attributes. These differences seemed to divide the population along

the lines of race, education level, and whether they taught post-secondary or secondary

students. When discussing non-standard dialects, the most tolerant were instructors of color

with terminal degrees teaching in post-secondary environments, while the White secondary

school instructors were at the other end of the attitude continuum, upholding the superiority

of the standard. This data made Richardson conclude that "some White instructors need more

meaningful experiences with linguistically diverse speakers in their everyday lives" (p. 62).

While it was unlikely that these teachers lacked the opportunity to interact with users of

localized Englishes, considering how diverse the student population in the United States is,

the study showed that just exposure to minority languages was not enough to promote

tolerance. Besides meaningful exchanges with speakers of localized varieties, the teachers should have undergone training on linguistic diversity.

Richardson's (2003) research confirmed that education can impact one's attitude toward language. When education opportunities are scarce in terms of courses on language diversity, teachers end up perpetuating certain language myths and misconceptions that impact the way they perceive "nonstandard varieties". For example, the participants in her study overwhelmingly agreed with the statement that "Students need to master standard English for upward mobility" (p. 45), which, if true, could justify the discriminatory attitudes against particular varieties of English. On the other hand, the instructors who had taken courses about dialects or AAVE were more tolerant of linguistic diversity, regardless of their color. Such a tolerant stance, Richardson (2003) explained, has yet to be endorsed by the majority of the composition instructors who continue to discriminate against the students' home dialects on account of the benefits that come with the use of the standard (p. 49).

Moreover, Richardson's (2003) analysis of the survey results suggested that despite the efforts put forth by CCCC to recognize the legitimacy of the students' localized Englishes ("Resolution"), the instructors who completed the survey lacked the knowledge that would allow them to understand and value their students' rich linguistic heritage: "In spoken or written contexts, though, there is still a significant percentage of educators who do not value nonstandard language variation in the classroom setting" (pp. 61-62). Richardson (2003) also pointed out that discriminating against particular Englishes was more than just a matter of language; it reinforced the social space where the "subordinated, stigmatized, or least preferred social groups" (p. 53) were confined by the privileged members of society whose English became the norm. By giving into the lure of the standard, English instructors failed

to critically address the issue, perpetuating a belief that "reproduces rather than questions relations between dominant and subordinate groups in society" (Richardson, 2003, p. 52).

The findings in Richardson's research were confirmed by a similar study conducted in 1996 and 1997 by Katz, Scott, and Hadjioannou (2009) whose results were described in "Exploring Attitudes toward Language Differences: Implications for Teacher Education Programs". Some of their 306 participants were NCTE members teaching L1 English in the United States, some were American teachers-in-training, and some were teachers of Greek as an L2 in Cyprus. They all agreed to complete a questionnaire assessing their attitude toward "Standard English" and "Standard Greek", respectively, and their attitudes toward their students' diverse languages (p. 100-101). In line with Richardson's study (2003), Katz, Scott, and Hadjioannou (2009) found that the "respondents' attitudes towards language differences were relatively negative" (p. 102), with the Midsouth population in the United States exhibiting the higher degree of bias when compared to the Midwest (p. 102). Considering that the former represented the speakers of more "marked" variety of English, it was interesting to see them exhibiting such discriminatory attitudes toward the Englishes traditionally used in their area.

Just like Richardson (2003), Katz, Scott, and Hadjioannou (2009) found that learning was conducive to promoting positive attitudes: "the more coursework participants had in diversity or multicultural education, the more sensitive they were to language differences" (p. 102). The alarming news, however, was the fact that 97.7% of the participants "reported little to no training in diversity or multicultural courses" (p. 102), which confirmed Paredes' (2008) and Brown's (2008) findings that that teacher-training programs did not provide their students with the opportunity to educate themselves about linguistic diversity. The role of the

school in fighting bias against linguistic diversity was vital, considering that Katz, Scott, and Hadjioannou's study (2009) revealed that other methods to promote tolerance were not as effective. They explained, for instance, that although exposure to "speakers of non-dominant language varieties positively affects language attitudes" (p. 102), having family members who used a "nonstandard" English (p. 102) did not always lead to tolerance when the theoretical knowledge about linguistic diversity was missing.

Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou (2009) concluded that people's perception of linguistic diversity was impacted by a combination of two variables, namely knowledge about linguistic diversity and exposure to localized varieties of English. Just like Richardson (2003) and Paredes (2008), they stressed the importance of maintaining a positive attitude toward linguistic diversity on the part of instructors because of the impact they can have on the minds of their students. It is not only that unbiased teachers were believed to be better at helping nonstandard English speakers succeed, but they also shaped attitudes because they influenced how the everybody else in the classroom perceived linguistic diversity.

People have strong feelings when it comes to language, especially in its written form, and language variation does not fit their desire to maintain language purity and to promote the use of a particular standard as the "proper" way to speak and write. In the United States, such an attitude is promoted by society through its academic and administrative apparatus. The aforementioned studies revealed that English teachers are often trained to instruct their students to avoid deviations from standard in an attempt to instruct them to write "proper" English. This, however, does not value the way language is used in real life and it may lead to a discriminatory mindset toward large percentages of the population whose language is diverse.

Is Linguistic Tolerance on the English Teachers Agenda?

In the United States, the movement to stop linguistic discrimination through learning is not new. One of the consequences coming from the Civil Rights era was the recognition of value in diversity, including linguistic diversity (Smitherman, 2003). College English instructors were asked to reevaluate their attitude of linguistic bias as early as the 1950s (Smitherman, 2003), and organizations such as the College Composition and Communication Conference always encouraged its members (mostly college English professors) to maintain an ongoing debate on issue of "student language rights" (Smitherman, 2000, p. 378). These debates led to CCCC passing the "Resolution on Students' Right" in the early 1970's, a document described by Smitherman (2000) as "a bomb being dropped right in the midst of the English profession" (p. 376). Initially no longer than a paragraph, the "Resolution" (1974) encouraged educators to allow their students to use "the dialects of their nurture or whatever dialects in which they find their own identity and style" when they wrote. Smitherman (2000), who was part of the committee responsible with drafting the "Resolution", explained that the position statement was meant to educate the English teachers who "held a variety of myths and misconceptions about language and dialects" (p. 385). This was necessary in order to combat any discriminative attitudes they may have toward their students' language (p. 385). Encouraging the writing instructors to recognize the value of the Englishes their students brought to the composition course, the "Resolution" "positioned the standard dialect—the language of the schools—in the context of other dialects" (Lovejoy, 2003, p. 92).

According to Smitherman (2000), the 1974 "Resolution" had three main goals: "(1) to heighten consciousness of language attitudes; (1) to promote the value of linguistic diversity;

and (3) to convey facts and information about language and language variation that would enable instructors to teach their non-traditional – and ultimately all students" (p. 386). Reading the expanded version of the "Resolution" could prepare English instructors to understand and respect their students' choice of language and encouraged them to replace correction with meaningful content-geared feedback and multicultural awareness. Yet not many CCCC members and, as Smitherman (2000) sharply noted, even less members belonging to the National Council of Teachers of English, put these ideas into practice: "the bicultural, bilingual model has *never* really been tried. Lip-service is about all most teachers have given this model" (p. 398). Discussing this very issue, Lovejoy (2003) pointed out that the "Resolution" failed because it did not provide a clear direction as to what teachers should do in the classroom and even the instructors who believed in it did not understand "how this policy would affect classroom practice" (p. 92). This was confirmed by the aforementioned survey CCCC conducted with CCCC and NCTE members in 1996-1997 whose findings were analyzed by Richardson (2003). According to Richardson (2003), most of the participants were not even aware of the "Resolution", let alone followed its recommendations, and revealed a clear preference for the standard.

Besides L2 Englishes, other localized varieties of English are yet to be met with a positive attitude in the English course. In the case of the African-American varieties, the existence of discriminatory views has been documented by the American legal system. Perry and Delpit (1998) recorded the controversy surrounding the Oakland school board who was sued because it moved towards allowing AAVE to be used by minority students in their classroom in addition to the standard. This decision caused a public uproar as people assumed that the trial was about making the AAVE compulsory for everybody. While this

was only a misperception of the Board's intentions, it nevertheless revealed the attitude users of the prestige variety would be likely to have when asked to become familiar with a variety of English different than their own. At the same time, users of AAVE and L2 Englishes had always been expected to adopt the language variety of the more powerful group, although this has contributed to the lack of academic success in the case of minority students who developed self-discriminatory attitudes toward their home language (Kumaravadivelu, 2003; Rankie Shelton, 2009; Wyne, 2002).

The negative perception of localized Englishes is emphasized especially when it comes to writing. Even those who are willing to accept linguistic variation in speech are reluctant to acknowledge it as proper when it comes to written English. The standard is believed to promote upward social mobility (Richardson, 2003, p. 51) because of its association with "cultural and economic capital" (Richardson, 2003, p. 49) and formal settings such as college, so many teachers insist on a prescriptive approach to teaching English (Richardson, 2003, p. 46). Teachers can reinforce the students' bias against certain varieties of English when they disregard the rules governing their students' home language and instead insist on them using the grammar rules of the standard. Paredes (2008) argued that "[n]on-linguists including educators and employers view language as prescriptive" and therefore any variation from the form imposed by dictionaries and grammars ends up being sanctioned. Strevens (1992) pointed out that "many native speakers-perhaps the majority, even among the English teachers-overtly or unconsciously despise these varieties" (p. 37), warning that the prescriptive approach to language adopted by English teachers reinforces the idea of standard in language and it makes students look down on any real-life language, including their own.

Composition instructors have traditionally resisted linguistic variation (Paredes, 2008; Richardson, 2003; Smitherman, 2003), despite the CCCC recommendation to celebrate difference in language. These negative perceptions of linguistic diversity, however, have not only been found in the English course; on the contrary, schools in the United States revealed a tendency to encourage such negative attitudes. In Hawaii, for example, the school board tried to regulate which English should be used in schools in order to discourage students from using the local variety (Sato, 1991, p. 653). In an interesting twist, the community rallied against such a decision to forbid Hawaiian English from schools and the regulation was dropped. Yet this incident revealed that using a language variety different from that of the power group has often been equaled with a handicap, as Richardson's (2003) study revealed (p. 51). Pinker (1994) also talked about how the "language mavens" (p. 372) justified discrimination against the individuals or the groups employing an idiosyncratic English in the name of maintaining the purity of the language or even promoting clarity in thinking (p. 372). English instructors top the "mavens" list (Pinker, 1994, p. 372). Paredes (2008) also used the term "language mavens" in connection with the zealous adherents of prescriptive use of English who eventually end up discriminating not only against particular varieties of English, but against certain groups as well based on the way they employed language: "Language mavens explicitly tie value to the prescriptive rules of a particular language. Moreover, they make evaluations about people based on the ability to adhere to prescriptive rules" (p. 28).

Although practiced extensively, linguistic discrimination is not readily recognized as such especially as it is often associated with the expressed desire to help the representatives of underprivileged groups advance on the social ladder by teaching them the language of the

upper and middle class. In "Whose Voice is it Anyway?", Villanueva (1987) described the difficult position in which these English teachers find themselves when they have to choose between preaching the canon and encouraging students to lose their idiosyncratic self in search for better opportunities on the one hand, and allowing them to use their home dialects and thus claim their right to their own language on the other hand:

> When it comes to the nonstandard speaker, for instance, we are torn between the findings of linguists and the demands of the marketplace. Our attempts at preparing students for the marketplace only succeed in alienating nonstandard speakers, we are told. Our attempts at accommodating their nonstandard dialects, we fear, only succeed in their being barred from the marketplace. So we go back to the basics. Or else we try to change their speech without alienating them, in the process perhaps sensing that our relativism might smack of condescension. Limiting the student's language to the playground and home still speaks of who's right and who's wrong, who holds the power. I would rather we left speaking dialects relatively alone (truly demonstrating a belief in the legitimacy of the nonstandard). (p. 21)

Moreover, as Paredes (2008) warned, while helping someone advance in society would be a worthwhile goal for an English instructor, downplaying the value inherent in the students' home linguistic variety could lead to inner conflicts as the nonstandard users would be asked to choose between group solidarity and individual success (p. 30).

How Can the Composition Course Prevent Linguistic Discrimination?

As Kubota (2001) remarked "[a]lthough cultural diversity is often discussed, linguistic diversity is rarely addressed in our classrooms" (Kubota, 2001a, p. 69). The present study proposes that the composition course should contribute to developing the students'

multicultural sensitivity and linguistic tolerance by initiating the discussion about the international development of the English language and dissipating the misconceptions conducive to discriminative attitude on the part of the students. Moreover, considering the changing environment at school and work, the composition course should be the place where the students begin thinking of L2 users as a potential audience and consider what skills they need as writers in order to effectively communicate with this audience. Lovejoy (2003) pointed out that as "[i]ncreasing numbers of minorities and nontraditional students are entering the mainstream in today's classrooms, … our students will need to be prepared to interact with, work with, and respect people from many different walks of life" (p. 94).

Traditionally, the composition course has ignored the issue of linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes and focused instead on helping students trade their home discourse for the standard in the name of economic and cultural capital. This, however, is not conducive to a shift towards a multicultural approach to writing. Language attitude studies conducted with pre-service and in-service teachers revealed that the bias against localized Englishes starts with the teacher so to see a change in the way students perceive L2 Englishes, their instructors have to undergo a metamorphosis first. This, however, can be hard because of these future teachers lack the opportunity to learn about and reflect on linguistic diversity. The studies done with pre-service instructors (Brown, 2008; Paredes, 2008; Rankie Shelton, 2009) or with practicing English teachers (Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou, 2009; Richardson, 2003) revealed a gap in their preparation as the teacher training programs in the United States fail to provide them with much knowledge about linguistic diversity. Once teacher training programs address this gap, their graduates are better prepared not only to interact with their L2 and minority students, but to act as examples for their L1 students and for the

rest of the academic community. As Lovejoy (2003) explained, "Meeting the challenge of diversity means that teachers will need to rethink their pedagogy and become reflective practitioners" (p. 96) whose classroom goal is to encourage the students to develop multicultural sensitivity as readers and writers.

What applied linguists like Kubota (2001), Lovejoy (2003), and Paredes (2008) suggest is a new mission for the English instructors who need to teach the students about each other's language in order to promote linguistic tolerance. When instructors in Inner Circle schools do not teach the representatives of the mainstream culture about the language of the minority population, they encourage the students to believe in the inherent supremacy and privilege of their own position (Wyne, 2002, p. 208). Wyne (2002) warned that "this kind of unconscious intolerance of difference cuts us off from learning from one another" (p. 210). While Wyne (2002) focused mostly on attitudes toward AAVE users, she was aware of how discrimination can affect the relationship between L2 users and the US mainstream population. According to Wyne (2002), accepting someone's language led to social harmony. She pointed out how important that was especially in the United States, reminding people in general and educators in particular that "in a nation that is home to a multitude of cultures, and in a world that, through technology, has become a global village, cross-cultural respect and understanding are imperative" (p. 209).

So far, the field of composition in the United States has offered students only "unidirectional and monolingual acquisition of literate competence" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 587), something that made Canagarajah (2006) wonder how prepared these students are to interact with the majority of English users, considering that these are from Outer and Expanding Circle (p. 589) where the literate tradition is far from homogenous (p. 558). The

forces of "postmodern globalization" pushed for the recognition of L2 users in academic contexts and, as Canagarajah (2006) suggested, for a new orientation in composition that promoted "multilingual and polyliterate … writing" (p. 558). Educating the American students about L2 Englishes is important especially as diversity has become a marker of postmodern life. In the United States, "diaspora communities have brought their Englishes physically to the neighborhoods and doorsteps of American families" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 590), and the numbers are going up as the new immigrants are supposed to double by 2025 (Kubota, 2001b, p. 69). According to Villanueva (1987), while in the United States linguistic homogeneity was desired by previous generations, nowadays immigrants are more comfortable maintaining their cultural identity that has, among other markers, linguistic heterogeneity as a defining feature. And even those L1 users who come from a homogenous community are likely to encounter L2 users as they go about their day. For example, each time people living in the United States need to contact a customer service representative over the phone, email, or instance messaging, they are likely to communicate with L2 speakers because the bulk of the customer service business for the US market relocated to India and the Philippines, something Bolton (2006a) called "linguistic outsourcing" (p. 307). It is hence almost impossible for Inner Circle users to avoid encounters with L2 users.

Teaching about linguistic diversity is, by no means, an easy feat. Smitherman (2000) explained that "one cannot erase long-held attitudes and deeply entranced biases and stereotypes with the stroke of a pen—you know, go henceforth and sin linguistically no more" (p. 396). People are likely to resist any attempts to get them to change their attitude, as it was revealed by language attitude studies such as Kubota's (2001b). Studies assessing how effective learning about L2 Englishes can be in dissipating intolerant attitudes have revealed

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at least some of the participants strongly resist any attempts to promote eradicate bias towards linguistic diversity. In order to address that, both Kubota (2001) and Smitherman (2000) argued for an early intervention, especially in K-12 segment where, according to Smitherman (2000), "the classroom …is a major player in shaping language attitudes" (p. 396). Yet this education should continue in college and this is why the composition course and the English teachers are so important for promoting linguistic tolerance, considering how central this course is to the students' perception of language.

One would assume that contact with L2 users could lead to tolerance toward these localized varieties of English, but this is unlikely without the theoretical knowledge the composition course can provide. While most people in the United States have immediate access to L2 language models due to the diversified society there and the advent of communication technologies, not all these encounters have positive outcomes. Just exposure to L2 Englishes is not enough as it can lead to both tolerance and discrimination, as Kubota (2001b) and Lindemann (2003, 2005) discovered when working with students in the United States.

There are certain signs that linguistic diversity may find its place in the composition classroom. In addition to the 1974 "Resolution", the CCCC committee has released the "National Language Policy" (1992) position statement in which it celebrates the diversity of the American multilingual society and encourages schools to respect L2 users' first languages while advocating for multilingualism among monolingual L1 speakers. The "National Language Policy" explains that "even though English has become the language of wider communication, we are a multilingual society" and consequently we should display

"respect both for English, our common language, and for the many other languages that contribute to our rich cultural heritage" (CCCC, 1992).

The composition course could be the place where students across the United States are educated about the global development of their language. Moreover, considering the changing environment at school and work, it could be the place where the students begin thinking of L2 users as a potential audience and consider what skills they need as writers in order to effectively communicate with this audience. Also, learning about L2 Englishes and L2 users in a structured way within the educational context of the classroom could contribute to the dissipation of the misconceptions that often lead to negative feelings against linguistic diversity. English users need to move away from the belief that L2 Englishes are just American or British English with an accent and regard them as varieties of the language that are undergoing the necessary transformations so they are "consistent with local literacy norms of creativity and for maintaining local patterns of life" (Kachru, 1992a, p. 9). In order to understand and appreciate them fully, the users of Inner Circle varieties need to step out of their own culture or, as Kachru (1992b) says, to "go through a variety shift" (p. 306) in order to understand and celebrate diversity. The composition course could help with that. The following chapters provide composition instructors with a practical way of addressing linguistic diversity and a snapshot of what happens when linguistic tolerance becomes a course goal.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used to conduct the research. First I discuss the advantages and downfalls that come with using qualitative or qualitative research methods, and I review the benefits of combining the two. I then describe: the overall design of the study; the population participating in it; the site where the research took place; the procedure and the materials used during the intervention and for the collection of data; the procedure employed for the analysis; and the ethical considerations regarding this project.

Choosing Qualitative or Quantitative Data—or Both!

What method would work best when trying to assess the language attitudes of about two hundred college students? The number of participants suggested that I should use a quantitative approach so the project did not become overwhelming. But how clear would these voices resonate if the only instrument I used were a survey? The participants may have much more to say about their language attitudes if provided the freedom that comes with a qualitative approach. Qualitative inquiry can provide the rich description missing from quantitative data. Interviews, for instance, offer insight into issues that the survey responses may only hint at. While quantitative inquiry is generally appreciated for its "ability to produce a representative distribution or cross section, of the 'target' population" (Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007, p. 122) through the use of instruments like surveys, it has been criticized for "the removal of …individual human beings" (Northey, Tepperman, & Russell, 2002, p. 79) from the research process. Qualitative research, on the other hand, can "provide depth and detail...through direct quotation and careful description" (Patton, 1980, p. 22). In order to avoid the downfalls of one particular mode of inquiry, I decided on a

combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology, i.e. the mixed method approach, to collect different types of data and to paint a more complete image of what happened at the research site.

Although often seen as opposites, qualitative and quantitative research methods have been combined in the past in order to "reap the benefits of both and minimize the deficiencies in each" (Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007, p. 42). As Northey, Tepperman, and Russell (2002) suggested, "the quantitative and quantitative paradigms …are best when used as complements to one another" to describe the research data. The mixed method approach was considered to be best choice because it "employs multiple measures of the theoretical concepts involved" and thus "adds to the strength of the evidence" (Brewer and Hunter, 2006, p. 33). Brewer and Hunter (2006) explained the advantages of using a mixed method approach over individual methods suggesting, for instance, that the former was more successful because it combined the strengths of individual methods and because each of its components looked at the subject from a different angle and thus avoided missing out on relevant information that could not be observable through the lens of one particular method (p. 35).

I decided to approach my participants with surveys, essays, and interviews because "[h]uman beings are complex…; the more methods we use to study them, the better our chances to gain some understanding of how they construct their lives and the stories they tell us about them" (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 668). In the case of my study, combining these methods would lead to a better understanding not only of the participants' attitudes, but of how they were constructed as well. Combining qualitative and quantitative data was also a way of securing reliability for the study. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) explained that the "use

of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question" and it was "a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry" (p. 8).

Overall Design of the Study

The research design was initially tried out in Spring 2008 when I conducted a pilot study during which I tested the efficiency of the survey and I tried out the activities I was planning to use during the intervention. The kickoff for the main research project was September 2009 when the participants, all of them students taking writing courses, were divided into the control and the experimental group. For the next two weeks, the participants in the experimental group were part of an intervention aimed at educating them about linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes. The control group did not participate in the intervention and I had limited interaction with them.

The next page presents a flow chart with the steps of the project:
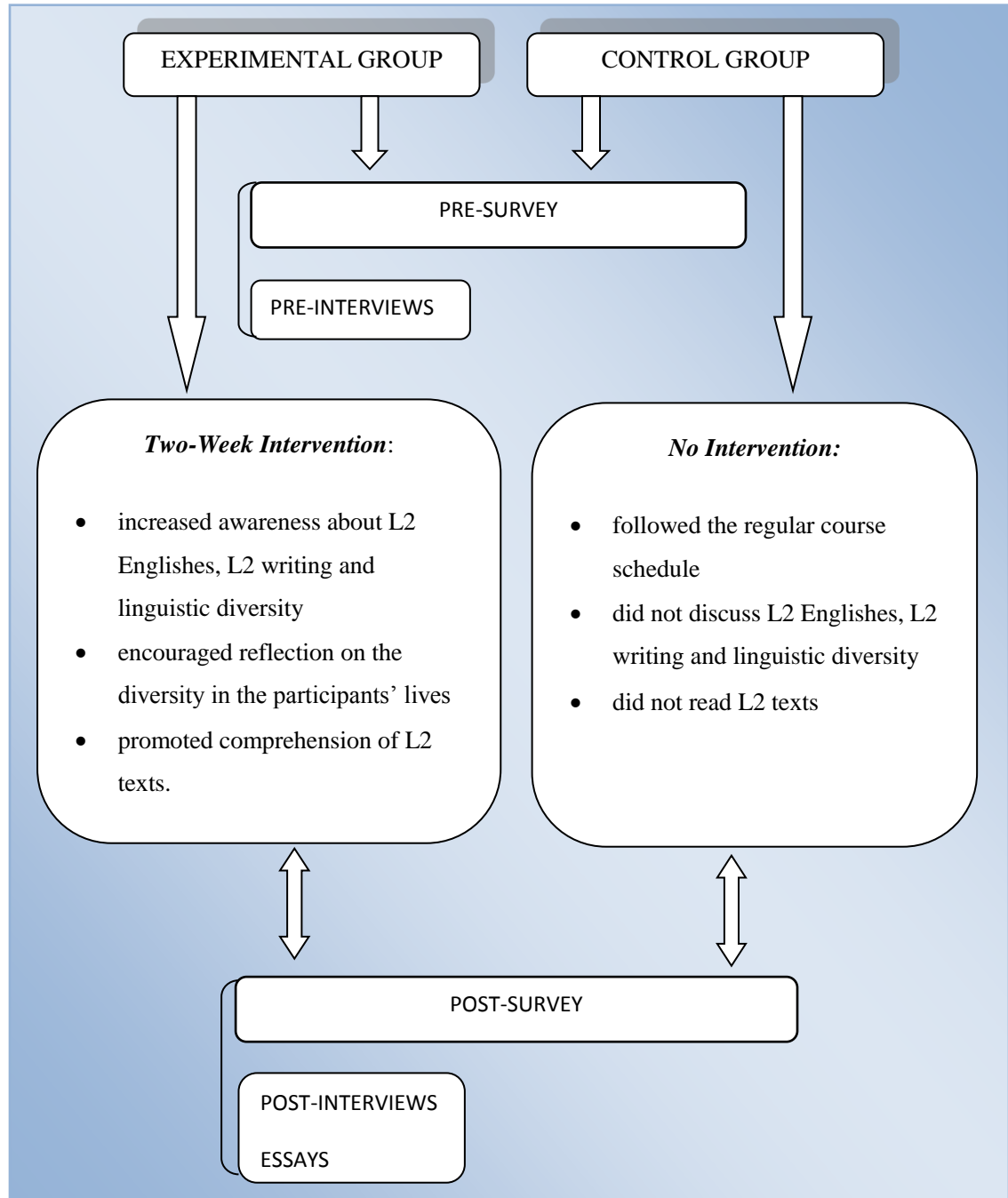
Figure 3.1. The Methodology Used to Assess the Participants' Perception of L2 Englishes.

During the two-week intervention, the experimental group participated in activities designed to educate them about the history and the body of knowledge surrounding L2

Englishes and linguistic variety in general. These participants also read and discussed samples of L2 writing. The control group, on the other hand, was engaged in activities that did not address these issues. In terms of data collection for this project, both the control and experimental groups completed a survey two weeks apart. Besides completing the survey before and after the intervention, the participants in the experimental group also did pre- and post-interviews. After the conclusion of the intervention, half of the students in the experimental group were also asked to write a three- to four-page essay on linguistic diversity. The data obtained in the form of surveys, essays, and interviews were described and analyzed in chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively. Chapter 7 also summarizes the main findings obtained with the help of the three methods, capitalizing on the connections between the three sets of data.

Site, Population, and Time Frame

The research site was a mid-size state university from an urban Midwestern region of the United States. Part of my motivation for using this particular research site was my connection with the English Department where I had been teaching for years, which represented easier access to the population I wanted to study. Yet, the main reason why I wanted to conduct the research there was the homogenous student body. Known mostly as a commuter campus, the university enrolled a majority of students from a White racial background, as over 83% of the student body was classified under this category between 2000 and 2005. Despite the city's large African-American community of 43.8% of the total population ("City Data", 2009), the number of African-American students attending courses remained around 6% during the same period ("City Data", 2009). The Asian, Hispanic, and international students were so few that they were almost invisible on campus: in 2005,

Asians made up only 1.05% and Hispanics 1.39% of the total number of students, while the percentage of international students was slightly higher at 2.29%. The homogeneity of the student body was an important element of the research design because it provided an opportunity to look at what happens when students from an overwhelmingly monocultural environment respond to L2 writing and linguistic diversity in general.

The venue chosen for the project was the composition course. Classes met twice a week for an hour and fifteen minutes, once in a lab and once in a regular classroom. The control and the experimental groups were selected from the whole student body based on their instructor's willingness to assist me with the research. During the time the pilot and the study took place, seven instructors were asked to allow their students to participate but only less than half agreed as one instructor, Sonia[5], withdrew after the pilot study, one initially agreed to participate but then changed his mind, and two did not respond to my email request altogether. Only three instructors, Arielle, Titania, and Julius volunteered their courses for the main part of the research project. The Composition Coordinator was instrumental in easing my access to one of the faculty members, Titania, whom I had never met before. The other faculty members were easier to approach as I had known them for years from working in the same department.

For the pilot study, I obtained the help of three different instructors: Arielle, Titania, and Sonia. They all agreed to allow me to conduct surveys and do the interventions with their Spring 2008 students. During the pilot, I worked with six groups of students, as each instructor taught two courses of twenty students on average. They all received the treatment specific for the experimental group and completed the pre- and post-survey. After the pilot,

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[5] Due to privacy concerns, all participant names in my study are pseudonyms.

Sonia asked to withdraw from the study, and while she did not provide an explanation for her decision, she had clearly expressed her concern regarding how her students would react to particular activities such as reading the CCCC "Resolution" (1974).

The main research project involved composition courses taught by Arielle, Titania and Julius during the Fall 2009 and Spring 2010 semesters. It was September 2009 when I began working with Arielle's students. While the project extended till February 2010 when the last of the control group completed the post-survey, my work with the experimental group was finished in November 2009 when the last post-surveys were collected from Titania's students.

For the main research project following the pilot, I divided the participants into the control and experimental group based on the instructor's willingness to allow me to take over teaching the course, a vital requirement in the case of the intervention groups. Arielle and Titania had helped me during the pilot and understood the intervention, so they were the first to volunteer their students for the experimental group during the Fall 2009 semester, which left Julius' students for the control group. I distributed the surveys to three of Julius' courses during the fall 2009 semester and another two courses took the survey during the spring 2010 semester. To balance the number of students in the control and experimental groups, I needed one more course for the control group and Arielle was willing to help me again during Spring 2010 by allowing me to administer the surveys to one of the courses she was assigned to teach. Thus the control group included three courses Julius taught during the Fall 2009 semester, two he taught during Spring 2010, and one course Arielle taught during the Spring 2010 semester.

The following table shows the composition courses who agreed to participate in the main research project. The number of students per group varied each day as some students did not make it to class, but an average of sixteen students per course was in attendance during the time I was visiting their classroom (personal diary, September 2009, November 2009, & February 2010).

Table 1. The Timeframe for the Study.

Group	Fall 2009	Spring 2010
Experimental	Arielle, 3 courses Titania, 3 courses	--
Control	Julius, 3 courses	Julius, 2 courses Arielle, 1 course

The data was collected only from the students who agreed to participate in the study. There were two main criteria for selecting the participants: they had to be over eighteen and they had to be enrolled in one of the twelve composition courses selected to be part of the study. The participation of students under 18 years of age was not considered necessary for the outcome so a decision was made to exclude this population from the study. Part of the consent form they signed prior to volunteering to participate in the survey and the interviews was about this age limit and the students were also made verbally aware of this constraint when the consent forms were distributed before the pre-survey and at the beginning of each interview. A sample consent form appears in appendix 2.

Although the study looked at the participants' perception of particular varieties of English, their language did not act as a criterion in their selection. The participants were

likely to use different varieties of English as they came from various social classes and ethnic backgrounds. Because this was a commuter campus and thus most students were from the area, they were likely to use Inner Circle varieties of English specific to north-east Ohio where the university was located. There was also the possibility of having students from the 1.5 generation registered for the course as well, and five students overall identified themselves as such. The university has separate ESL composition courses for the international students so none of them was expected to participate in the study.

The participants represented a variety of majors. At the university where the study took place, taking the writing courses was a graduation requirement, unless the students did particularly well on the placement test and were not required to take composition.

Pilot Study

I designed the pilot because I wanted to try out the activities I had planned for the intervention and I also needed to get some feedback on how effective the surveys were. I started out by obtaining the participants' informed consent, followed by a pre-survey requiring them to rate L1 and L2 writing. The next two weeks were spent doing the activities I intended to use during the intervention for the main research project. Finally, the pilot ended with the students taking a modified version of the post-survey I initially designed, as I followed their suggestion and cut in half the number of paragraphs they were asked to rate.

During the pilot study, I discussed the surveys and intervention activities with the instructors and their students in order to assess how effective they were and what modifications I needed to do to maximize the participants' response and to better their overall experience. There were some important findings resulting from the pilot, some connected

with the instructors' requests, some with the activities used during the intervention, and some with the way the survey was designed.

The instructors' cooperation was a vital component of my research project and I made sure that their concerns and requests were addressed immediately and thoroughly. When the main research project begun, Titania expressed concern over an activity requiring the students to discuss CCCC's "Resolution" (1974). Titania was worried that the statement may cause some to submit poor-quality writing for the assignments she had planned for the semester (personal diary, April 2, 2009). Sonia, too, expressed a similar concern, and although this type of misconception was exactly what the intervention was partly meant to clarify, I decided to follow their suggestions and not use the activity because I needed their full cooperation for the project. Despite this, the CCCC statement came up during the class discussion on diversity during week 1 of the intervention so the students were made aware of it anyhow.

Sonia also expressed her concern with two other activities which involved the use of texts containing profanity. She explained that some of her students were very religious and therefore they may find the texts, for example a hip-hop song, highly offensive. Sonia requested that I should let the students know in advance when a profane word would be used so they can excuse themselves and leave the classroom (personal diary, April 2, 2009). As this could be seen as a disturbance of the regular class procedures, I chose not to use these activities.

I also wanted to show the students' a four-minute clip from *American Tongues* and an eight-minute clip form Jarmusch's movie *A Night on Earth*. The documentary would have provided the participants with a way to confront the discriminatory attitudes people show

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against particular American Englishes. The movie would have also been useful because it presented a L2 user interacting with New Yorkers. Yet, the lack of easy access to a projector made it impossible to present these in each class so I decided not to use them. It was unfortunate that the classrooms were not properly equipped for these two activities.

The pilot study was very helpful because the class discussions and the answers the participants provided to the open-ended question on the post-survey helped me design the interview questions. In addition to that, the pilot helped me change the design of the survey to better engage the participants. Initially, the pre- and post-survey contained ten texts each. I had anticipated that it would take the participants about ten to fifteen minutes to complete the survey, but in reality it took closer to half an hour. Moreover, the participants explained that it was too much reading and they would have preferred a shorter survey. They explained that their interest and focus vanished halfway through reading the ten paragraphs. I followed their suggestion and eliminated five of the ten excerpts in both the pre- and post-survey.

Main Study

For the main research project, I initially visited each of the twelve classrooms to distribute the informed consent form and to briefly explain my two-week intervention. The day of the visit had been previously discussed with the course instructors and they had made the students aware of my visit. When there were only fifteen minutes remaining in the session, I was introduced to the class by the course instructor. The students were informed about the main objectives of the research project, asked to participate in it, and then instructed to read and sign the informed consent form. The students who chose not to participate in the study were told that they did not have to take the pre- or post-survey but they should expect to spend that time working on ongoing individual projects, for instance on

their essay drafts or reading responses required as homework for the composition course. Julius's students, if unwilling to participate in the survey, were asked to contribute to their online discussion board, which was something they would normally do in the last ten minutes of each course anyhow.

Intervention

The experimental group who participated in a two-week intervention engaged in a series of activities meant to raise awareness about linguistic diversity, L2 Englishes, and L2 writing. While it was still debatable how much time a composition instructor needs to dedicate to informing their students about L2 writing, I chose to limit the intervention to two weeks. Kubota (2001b) tried an eight-week session, but it may not be feasible to ask composition instructors to dedicate this much of the composition course to linguistic diversity and in most cases they may end up resisting this idea altogether. A two week session, however, may be enough to get the students to reflect on the topic and it would not interfere with other writing concerns the instructor would want to address.

The purpose of the intervention session was to educate the participants about language variation in general and L2 Englishes in particular so they developed as multicultural readers and writers. The goals of the activities derived from this overall purpose. In order to encourage the students' multicultural development, the activities informed them about the L2 Englishes and prompted them to put this knowledge into practice. They were encouraged to reframe their previous interactions with L2 users and their texts from a new, informed perspective. Some of the goals of the intervention were to help the participants to develop new strategies for reading L2 texts and writing for L2 audiences while deconstructing any stereotypes they may have had about linguistic diversity. The

activities designed for the intervention were based on what Baumgardner (2006) called "a Kachruvian philosophy of language… which (a) views English as belonging to those who use it, (b) exposes a polymodel … versus a monomodel in the classroom, and (c) recognizes that local contexts shape linguistic evolution" (p. 661). The intervention thus introduced in the composition course a polymodel approach to language by exploring linguistic diversity and L2 writing while increasing awareness about the importance of context in language use. The students were encouraged to learn from interacting with one another, to apply the knowledge gained during the intervention, and to reflect on linguistic diversity. The following chart explains this teaching model:
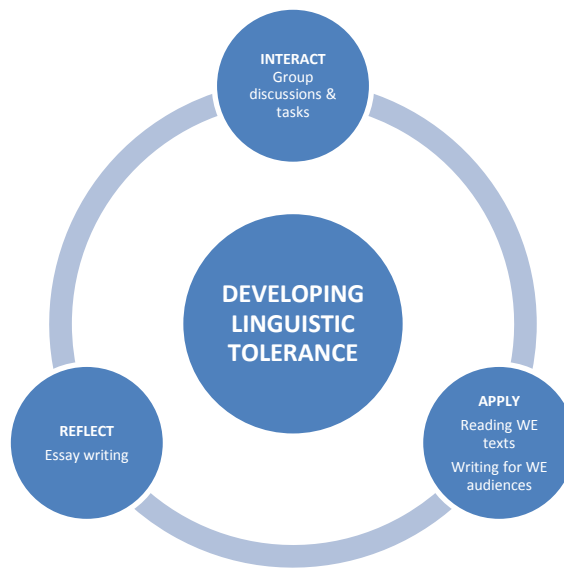
Figure 3.2. A Teaching Model for Developing Tolerance.

The activities also addressed general writing skills generally taught in composition courses. During the six intervention sessions, the students practiced freewriting, analyzing, reflective writing, summarizing, note-taking, and even creative writing. Besides raising awareness about L2 Englishes and inviting the students to practice writing, these activities

implicitly improved their understanding of some of the central concepts in composition, such as audience, tone, register, appropriateness, word choice, and so on. More importantly, they were pushed to think critically as the activities were inquiry-oriented and problem-posing. Collaborative work was encouraged and the participants worked in groups during each class session. The treatment sessions were taught by me but the classroom teacher was also present to take attendance.

The activities I used for the first week of the intervention focused on educating the students about the manifestation of linguistic variety in their life and community. They ultimately required them to reflect on their own language use with the hope that once they became aware of how diverse their own discourse practices were, they were more likely to show tolerance towards others' use of English. Other studies have explained how useful these moments of self-refection could be. Rankie Shelton (2009), for instance, explained that once she acknowledged her membership in a various communities of practice with their own specific discourse, it was easier for her to accept linguistic diversity in general: "By becoming conscious of this process in myself, I began to understand the value of language diversity in others" (p. 117).

In addition to raising awareness about the linguistic variety in the students' own written and oral discourse and discussing the issue of language variety in their community, the first week of the intervention had several other goals such as: challenging the students' attitude toward linguistic diversity; informing them about the history of American English; providing exposure to different varieties of American English; discussing the linguistic diversity specific to the United States; analyzing the impact of the socio-cultural context on language choice; and examining the concept of appropriateness in language use.

While the first week of the intervention was meant to increase the participants' awareness of the way they and their community used English, the second week challenged them to view their language from a global perspective. The activities planned for this second week provided the participants with exposure to L2 writing and the theoretical knowledge necessary to frame these texts. The theoretical discussion behind the origin, characteristics, and the value of L2 Englishes was a vital component of the intervention because just exposing the students to L2 varieties may not necessarily lead to linguistic tolerance. This was shown by Yoshikawa's (2006) research with the students at Chukyo University who, despite spending two weeks in Singapore, did not change their attitude of utter rejection of that variety English. The participants in my study, however, were not training to become English majors, so they were not necessarily interested in an in-depth explanation of L2 scholarship.

It was necessary to educate the participants about linguistic variety for several reasons:

- to provide them with enough information that they can put future encounters with language varieties in the right context;

- to challenge the preconceived notions about linguistic diversity;

- to provide them with a clear understanding of the relationship between their own language varieties and others';

- to understand the global spread of English;

- to gain exposure to L2 writing;

- to foreground the participants' previous experiences with L2 users;

- to challenge existing stereotypes about language L2 and multilingualism;

- to discuss writing for a global audience and being a global reader;

- to develop strategies that would allow them to be global readers and writers;

- and to practice communicative strategies for interacting with the world.

The handouts the students received and a brief description of each activity are included in Appendix 3 in the order in which they were used during the intervention.

Collecting Data

Administering the survey. The objective of the data collection was to assess the students' perception of written varieties of L2 Englishes and to see whether exposure to written L2 varieties and to some of the theoretical knowledge connected to it impacted the way the students perceived L2 writing. It was necessary to have both a pre- and post-survey in order to measure whether the two-week intervention made a difference in the control group's attitude toward written L2 varieties. The pre-survey assessed the students' initial attitude toward L2 Englishes. At the end of the two-week intervention, the survey instrument was administered in order to again record the students' attitude and the eventual changes in their outlook on L2 Englishes.

I opted for using surveys because they represented a quick and convenient way to collect data from a large number of participants. By the end of the study, 202 students had taken the pre-survey and 177 of them took the post-survey. Added up, these meant that a total of 379 surveys were collected from the participants. The survey was administered during their writing course so the whole procedure had to be restricted to a minimum amount of

time. Arielle, Titania, and Julius suggested that as long as the survey took less than fifteen minutes, they agreed to let the students complete it during class time.

The students took the pre and post-survey two weeks apart during the dates listed in the following table. It provides details regarding when the surveys were administered and how many students took the pre- and post-survey. For ease of identification, the names of the instructors were included as well.

Table 2. The Surveys.

Group	Course instructor	Pre-survey dates and number of collected surveys	Post-survey dates and number of collected surveys
Experimental	Arielle	9/4/2009 – 49 surveys	9/21/2009 – 51 surveys
	Titania	11/5/2009 – 53 surveys	11/24/2009 – 45 surveys
Control	Arielle	2/4/2010 – 22 surveys	2/23/2010 – 12 surveys
	Julius	10/1/2009 – 46 surveys 2/5/2010 – 32 surveys	10/20/2009 – 43 surveys 2/22/2010 – 26 surveys

In the case of the experimental group, the students who agreed to participate in the project were given a two-page written survey on the first day of the intervention. They were instructed to complete both sections in no particular order. Further instructions were given regarding Section 1 as the participants were asked to read each text carefully and then rate it on a scale from 1 to 6 in terms of incomprehensible/comprehensible, bad/good writing, and disliked/liked the writer. They were told that the whole procedure was likely to take about ten minutes. When the ten minutes expired, the students were instructed to leave the survey on

the first desk by the door. Once the survey was completed, the intervention began for the experimental group, while the control group went back to the activities the instructor had planned for the day.

Two weeks after the pre-survey, I administered the post-surveys. The students were first reminded about the objectives of the study and about the possibility to withdraw from the study at any time. Those who did not sign a consent form were asked to work on one of the ongoing writing projects required as homework for the composition course. The instructions the participants received for the first part of post-survey were identical with those for the pre-survey. The students were told that they were about to read different texts than last time, but the way they were to score them was similar with the pre-survey. They were also told that Section 2 had only one question and they were asked to write a reflective paragraph in response to that.

In the case of the control group, I only talked to the participants twice, two weeks apart. The instructor suggested that I should conduct the pre- and post-survey at the beginning of class. The pre-survey was preceded by a brief explanation of the research project and the signing of the consent form. They were given the same instructions regarding how to complete the survey as the experimental group.

Administering the other instruments. While the survey was a great tool that allowed the pooling of data from a large number of respondents in a very short amount of time, such an instrument was not meant to offer detailed individual responses. In order to address this drawback, I decide to incorporate in my research interviews and textual analysis of student writing. The participants' individual voices could thus be heard when some of the

participants from the experimental group volunteered for one-on-one interviews and Arielle's students agreed to share their essays with me.

The interviews were conducted to obtain some in-depth answers in regarding the participants' attitude toward linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes. All of the interviews had to take place right at the beginning of the intervention and right at the end. On the first day of the study, the participants were invited to volunteer for after-class twenty-minute individual interviews. I explained that I needed to interview eight students overall and that whoever volunteered for the pre-interview would be asked to come back for a post-interview as well. The students were also informed that only those who volunteered to participate would be contacted via email. They were then asked to provide their email address if they wanted to be interviewed. Some students, however, came up to me after they were done with the pre-survey and expressed their interest in being interviewed right after class, which was what I did in the end with six of them. I also made arrangements with two other students to meet them on campus later in the day for the pre-interview.

At the end of each pre-interview, I made arrangements to meet with the students for the post-interviews two weeks later, on the last day of the intervention. However, five of the students who participated in the pre-interviews did not return for the post-interview, but four other volunteered to participate in the post-interview. In the end, only fifteen interviews were collected instead of the planned sixteen.

For the pre- and post-interviews, I met individual students in a face-to-face setting at the campus library in one of the small study rooms available there. Everything was audio-recorded for accuracy. The students were told the objectives of the study, asked to sign an informed consent form, and reminded that they can withdraw from the study at any time.

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They were also told that the interview was likely to take about twenty minutes. At the end of the twenty-minute session, each interviewee received a $10 dollar gift card for a local coffee shop and was thanked for participating in the project.

In addition to the interviews granted by the twelve volunteers from the experimental group, I also collected forty-three essays Arielle's students wrote during the intervention. This was a longer piece of writing, namely two and a half to three pages in length. The students were given an assignment I created before the intervention and they were required to bring in a first draft the week after the intervention was over, a strategy meant to give them time to think about their topic and to conduct their own mini-ethnographic study of their linguistic community. Arielle guided the students through the writing process and then shared the final drafts with me. While I did not get involved in the students' writing process, the information presented during the intervention was meant to assist them, considering that the topic of the essay was linguistic diversity.

Designing the Materials for Collecting Data

The materials used during the intervention were: a pre- and a post-survey; a variety of questions for the pre and post-interview; an essay prompt; and a series of activities for the intervention. The following section of the chapter briefly describes each set of materials for which a copy was provided in Appendix 1.

Surveys. The survey was designed in two main sections. Section 1, which will be further discussed in the following paragraphs, recorded the students' perception of written L2 texts. Section 2 of the pre-survey included a set of questions whose purpose was to collect the participants' demographic data and information about the students' previous exposure to

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L2 users. The final section of the post-survey consisted of one open-ended question asking the participants to express their opinion of linguistic diversity.

Section 1 of the surveys was designed to assess the respondents' reaction to written forms of L2 Englishes used in an academic context. Each survey included five student writing samples, four from L2 users and one from a L1 student. The participants were asked to read these one-paragraph texts and then rate them on a scale according to a variety of factors connected to the communicative function of language. Eight of the ten short L2 texts used for the pre- and post-surveys came from the writing four international students submitted as part of their workload during a composition course taken at an American university during the 2008 fall semester. In order to control the factors that may influence the respondents' reaction to the writing samples during the survey, the eight paragraphs came from both female and male students. Written permission from the students was obtained prior to including their writing in the surveys. The other two texts were excerpts taken from reading responses posted on a course blog by one of my American L1 female students in 2007. The fact that the two paragraphs used in the survey came from a blog and were therefore public texts simplified the ethical issue as I did not have to request the student's approval when using the excerpts.

In order to avoid any bias, the paragraph order was switched randomly. Moreover, to make sure that it was not something about the excerpts in the pre-survey that caused particular ratings, half of the participants received a pre-survey with the excerpts the other half had in the post-survey and vice-versa. Finally, the participants were not aware of the existence of L1 writing among the L2 texts, as they had initially been told that the writing they were looking at was submitted by international students enrolled in a research writing

class. They were, however, debriefed at the very end of the intervention when they learned that the writing in the survey came from both L1 and L2 writers.

The participants were asked to rate how effective the writers were in communicating the message, something Kachi (2004) also looked at in her dissertation on language attitudes. The variables the participants had to work with were comprehensibility, quality of writing, and appreciation of the writer. Because bipolar adjective pairs are commonly used in attitude studies, the rating scale for this project was also designed in these using bipolar adjectives. The participants could mark their responses on a one-to-six scale that had at each end one opposing item from the following pairs: *incomprehensible/comprehensible*, *bad writing/good writing,* and *disliked the writer/liked the writer*. A six-rate scale was preferred because, as Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003) explained, an even number of points "forces the respondents to commit themselves one way or the other, towards agreement or disagreement with the attitude statement" (p. 41).

Besides asking the participants to be raters, the pre-survey also gathered information about the participants' previous exposure to L2 varieties and L2 users. The second section of the pre-survey asked for demographic data, namely sex and age, and the type of contact they had had with L2 users or other languages.

Here are the questions in Section 2 in the pre-survey:

1. *Circle the choice that fits your description:*   *Sex:*   *Male / Female*   *Age:*
2. *What language do you speak at home?*
3. *What other languages do you know and to what extent?*
4. *Have you ever lived abroad and for how long?*
5. *Do you have any friends who speak other languages?*

6. *Have you worked with people from different countries and for how long?*

The post-survey only requested the participants' demographic information in addition to asking the following open-ended question:

Think of the discussions that took place in the composition course this semester. In what way have the past two weeks informed your opinion on language diversity?

Interviews. Part of the interview questions were designed before the interviews took place, but as each interview went on, probing questions were also added to elicit more detailed information from respondents. Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003) described these unstructured interviews as "resembling a casual conversation" and explained that they are "based on a general notion of topics that need to be covered, a hidden agenda, but the interviewer feels 'free' to go with the tide, where interesting directions crop up of their own accord" (p. 35). The questions focused on two main directions: the participants' previous experience with L2 Englishes and their reaction to L2 users and their writing. At the beginning of the interview, the participants shared personal narratives centered on their previous experience with L2 users. They were also asked to discuss the L2 texts they read as part of the pre-survey; each interviewee was handed a card with a typed L2 paragraph taken from the pre-survey and was asked to comment in detail on the quality of writing while explaining and giving reasons for his or her assessment. In the case of the post-interview, the participants also shared their thoughts and feelings in connection with the activities used in the intervention.

In addition to the questions I designed using my observations from the pilot study, I also consulted the literature on language attitude studies and made use of some of the interview questions other researchers have used in similar studies. The following questions,

for instance, were taken from Kachi's (2004) dissertation on listeners' evaluative reaction to Japanese English:

1. *Do you feel more comfortable speaking with someone who has no accent or very little accent, or it doesn't matter?*

2. *What do you think about the international usage of English? How about foreigners speaking English?*

3. *Have you found specific texts or specific foreign English speakers more difficult to understand than others? Why?* (p. 88)

    Other items were designed specifically for this research project:

4. *Describe one instance when you interacted with a speaker of L2 Englishes.*

5. *How diverse was your high school from the point of view of language use?*

6. *How diverse is your neighborhood and workplace from the point of view of language use?*

7. *Please comment on the quality of writing in this short paragraph. Can you explain what made you describe it in this way?*

8. *Please choose an activity we did for the past two weeks and comment on it.*

There were several instances when the participants (Danny, Chase) chose to focus the discussion in a particular direction. Danny and Chase, for instance, focused mostly on the encounters with users of localized Englishes. Their narrative left little time for the other questions about L2 texts or for commenting on the intervention, but the stories they shared were so interesting that I chose not to redirect their attention.

Essay prompt. In addition to the qualitative and quantitative data obtained with the help of the surveys, I also collected longer pieces of student writing for analysis. Half of the experimental group, more precisely Arielle's students, agreed to share with me an essay they wrote while the intervention was unfolding. Arielle agreed to make the essay part of the students' regular writing load and it was due a week after the intervention. The assignment was an adaptation of an activity I had been using with my own students for about six semesters. To complete the assignment, the students were asked to turn into ethnographers, observing and documenting how they and their immediate community (family, friends, colleagues, etc.) use language. Their reflection on linguistic diversity had to be based on concrete examples they could observe every day and created space for developing a more tolerant view on deviation and nonstandardness in general.

The participants could choose from four different prompts that all required them to explore the linguistic diversity in their life. First, they could focus on their own discourse, recording and analyzing how they used different Englishes as they went about their day. Another suggestion was to write a compare and contrast essay focusing on the linguistic habits of two people in their community. The students could also look at how people around them used language to establish and maintain relationships. Finally, they could analyze the linguistic makeup of their neighborhood. None of the essay prompts explicitly required them to focus on L2 Englishes because of the possibility that some may not have much to say, especially if they came from a very homogenous environment. The issue of L2 Englishes, however, came up in several essays, which was proof of how diverse their lives were and how effective the intervention was at getting them to think about L2 Englishes.

Analyzing the Data

The following table presents the distribution of the data collected from the control and experimental groups. It quantifies all the data collected for the experimental and the control group, namely the pre- and post-survey, the pre- and post-interviews, and the essays.

Table 3. The Data Collected in the Fall 2009/Spring 2010.

Instrument:	Number of samples collected:	
	Experimental Group	Control group
Pre-survey	102	100
Post-survey	96	81
Pre-interviews	8	0
Post-interviews	7	0
Essays	43	0

Survey analysis. Once all the surveys were collected, they were coded as follows: each was assigned a four-digit code made up of the first letter of the instructor's pseudonym followed by a randomly chosen number from 001 up. The first survey on top of the stack collected from Arielle's students was A001, the one underneath A002 and so on; the surveys collected from Titania's students were coded T001, T002, and so on. I wanted the participants to be as honest as possible in their ratings, so I asked them not to identify themselves on the survey. It was, therefore, impossible to match the pre-and post-survey data for each participant, which represented quite a hurdle when trying to analyze the results. In

hindsight, the participants should have been asked to somehow identify themselves on the pre- and post-survey and the fact that they were not instructed to do so was one of the flaws in the research design.

Once the data was coded, it was analyzed with the help of SPSS Windows. Independent sample T-tests were used for analysis, comparing the pre- and post-survey average scores for comprehensibility, quality of the writing, and appreciation of the writer. Another test compared the average scores the participants assigned to the L1 and L2 writing on the three aforementioned rating scales.

The survey data was processed with the following questions in mind:

1. Did the participants rate L2 writing significantly different after the intervention when compared with their ratings before the intervention?

   - In the case of the control group, is there a significant difference in average ratings between the pre and post survey in terms of comprehensibility, quality of writing, and appreciation of the writer?

   - In the case of the experimental group, is there a significant difference in average ratings between the pre and post survey in terms of comprehensibility, quality of writing, and appreciation of the writer?

2. Did the participants rate L2 writing significantly different than they rated L1 writing? In other words, is there a significant difference between the average ratings provided by the control and the experimental group in terms of comprehensibility, quality of writing, and appreciation of the writer?

For the qualitative part of the survey, I focused most of the analysis on the open-ended question in the post-survey because of the rich array of information it provided. After reading each answer three times, I compiled a list of themes that helped me organize the information. These themes were analyzed with following research questions in mind:

1.   What is L1 users' declared perception of linguistic diversity?

2.   When assessing the participants' perception of linguistic diversity, is there a noticeable difference between the control and experimental group?

A thorough discussion of the survey data appears in chapter 4.

Essay data and case studies. A total of 43 of Arielle's students agreed to share their essays with me. In order to maintain the anonymity of the participants, I deleted any identifying information, although I noted on the essay whether the writer was male or female when such a guess was made possible by looking at the writer's first name. I assigned each essay the letter E and a random number from 01 to 43. Using Brice's (2005) suggestion to look for "a coding scheme that was less fine-grained and less functional, that related to the major questions I was asking and divided data into larger, more meaningful chunks" (p. 163), I read each essay at least five times, making a list of themes and key words.

In the end, the data from the essays was analyzed with the following research questions in mind:

1. What informs the participants' perception of linguistic diversity? How diverse is the participants' own discourse and how aware are they of its diversity?

2. What is the participants' perception of linguistic diversity? In particular, how is the

participants' experience with linguistic diversity contributing to their perception of

linguistic variation?

In addition to the analysis of the themes occurring in the 43 essays, I also singled out

and analyzed three of them as case-studies in order to provide a more complete image of the

way the participants chose to address the issue of linguistic diversity. I did not randomly

choose three essays; on the contrary, I looked for pieces that proved that the writer had

seriously considered the topic and was able to provide clear examples for his or her claim.

Both the essays and the case studies are discussed at length in Chapter 5.

Interviews. Each interview was transcribed after the intervention was over and each

interviewee was given a random pseudonym in order to ensure their anonymity. Once the

transcriptions were ready for analysis, I combed the text for salient themes and used

recurring key words and repeating patterns in order to single out the main ideas. I also tried

to establish connections between interviews based on these themes.

The interviews were analyzed with the following questions in mind:

1.   What are some of the experiences with linguistic diversity these participants

have had with L1 users in the United States, with L2 users, and as L2 users themselves? How

does this interaction inform their view of linguistic diversity?

2.   What is the participants' perception of different Englishes such as L1

Englishes in the United States, L2 Englishes, and Standard English?

3.   What activities in the intervention resonated most with the participants and

what does that say about the effectiveness of the intervention?

The interview data is further described and analyzed in Chapter 6.

Ethical Considerations and Incentives

At the beginning of the data collection process, the participants were told that the information they would provide was to remain strictly confidential. A description of the procedure and of the purpose of the study was provided in writing prior to the participants' signing the consent form. The participants were also made aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences.

The students were informed that it was not necessary to identify themselves on any of the papers collected from the site. Some of the questions in the surveys, however, asked them to provide identifying information such as the languages they used at home or whether they had ever lived abroad. The students were therefore assured that all the data collected would be kept safe in a locked case. I protected even the identity of those who chose to write their names on the essays they shared with me by number-coding all the data during the week following their submission. In order to further maintain the participants' anonymity, any identifying information they accidentally volunteered, such as fist names, was pasted over so it was no longer visible. After three years from the completion of the project, all the data was to be shredded.

All the students who participated in the research project were rewarded with cookies upon completion of the research. The students participating in the interviews received a $10 gift card to the coffee shop on campus upon the completion of the interview.

CHAPTER 4

DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS: SURVEYS

The present chapter describes and analyzes the qualitative and quantitative data collected with the help of the pre- and post-survey during the fall 2009 and spring 2010 semesters. I first describe the quantitative data from the first section of the pre- and post-surveys and then I discuss the average ratings provided by the control and experimental groups. In the second half of the chapter, I describe and discuss the qualitative data obtained with the help of the open-ended question in the post-survey.

Survey Part I: Quantitative Data

The quantitative data collected by the surveys was helpful in assessing the participants' perception of L1 and L2 writing and the impact the intervention had on the experimental group's perception of L2 writing. There were several issues of interest that came up during the analysis. Using the average scores for all of the pre- and post-surveys, I looked at whether the participants rated L1 and L2 writing differently in terms of comprehensibility, quality of writing, and appreciation of the writer. I also looked at whether there were any differences in the way the experimental group assessed the excerpts after they went through the intervention and I compared their average ratings with the ones provided by the control group. The type of statistical analysis performed on the data was limited to independent sample T-tests because of my oversight when collecting the data, as I asked the students to refrain from identifying themselves in any way when completing the survey. This made it impossible to match the pre- and post-survey and eliminated the option of running other statistical analyses.

The Participants' Perception of L2 Versus L1 Writing

The data were tallied and then analyzed using an independent sample T-test in order to see whether there was a significant difference between the ratings the participants provided for the L1 and L2 excerpts. All the pre- and post-surveys were included in the analysis regardless of whether the participants were in the control or the experimental group. The following table shows the average ratings the participants provided for L1 and L2 writing. The independent sample T-test used L1 or L2 writing as the independent variable and the rating scales Comprehension, Quality, and Like/Dislike as the dependent variables:

Table 4. The Average Scores for L1 and L2 Writing.

Excerpt	Comprehension (mean)	Quality (mean)	Like/Dislike (mean)
L2 writing	3.95	3.33	3.68
L1 writing	4.39	3.51	3.82

The quantitative data yielded some interesting results about the participants' perception of L1 and L2 texts. The ratings for both comprehension and quality of the writing confirmed that there were significant differences between the way the participants rated L1 and L2 writing. The Levene Test for Equality of Variance showed that the equal variances were assumed in the case of both comprehension (significance .432) and quality (significance .983). The two-tailed significance of the T-test for equality of means had a significance of .000 for comprehension and .027 for quality. In terms of like/dislike, however, the ratings were not significantly relevant, as the equal variances were not assumed for the Levene Test for Equality of Variance (significance .004) and the two-tailed significance of the T-test for equality of means had a significance of .088.

The results showed significantly different average scores for comprehension and quality of the writing, with the participants rating the L1 writing significantly higher than they rated L2 writing. In terms of comprehension, the average rating for L1 writing was 4.39, while the average scores for L2 writing was only 3.95. This difference seemed to suggest that the participants struggled to understand the writing produced by international students. Without even knowing whether they were reading L1 or L2 writing, they seemed to find the L2 texts more difficult to comprehend than the L1 texts. This could be explained by their lack of practice reading L2 texts, which was something the participants in the pilot study had mentioned as well. Moreover, the difficulties in comprehending L2 Englishes in their written or spoken form was later on confirmed by the interviewees who explained that they were not used to reading L2 writing and found the task challenging (Paulie). Kachru's (1992b) warned that any L2 text would always be partly "obscure or mysterious to the Western reader" (p. 317), unless the participants make an effort to prepare for such a task. In the case of my study, the participants' lower ratings for L2 writing could suggest that they had not been equipped with any reading strategies they could use to smooth the comprehension process for L2 texts and therefore found them more incomprehensible than the writing produced by the L1 writer.

For quality of the writing, the average scores for the L1 texts were 3.51 while the scores for L2 were 3.33. The gap between the ratings for L1 and L2 writing was not as wide as in the case of comprehension, but the results, nonetheless, showed a significant difference between how the participants perceived L1 and L2 writing in terms of how good the writing was. While it was impossible to determine each participant's definition of "good writing", it was interesting to see that they, on average, found L2 texts to be of lower quality than L1.

This may be explained by what Kachru (1992b) called a discrepancy in the expectations an L1 audience has when reading L2 texts because of their ethnocentric perspective on what constitutes good writing and their difficulty in making the jump from being monocultural to multicultural readers or, to use Kachru's words, from an ethnocentric reading to an "ambiligual and ambicultural" perspective on language (Kachru, 1992b, p. 306).

While the participants refrained from discussing what "good writing" was, the issue of good English came up later on in the essays and during the interviews as well. The participants seemed to agree on the superiority of a particular variety of English, i.e. the standard. It seemed like L2 Englishes were definitely not on their list of acceptable forms of expression, especially in an academic setting. The essays, for instance, confirmed the participants' awareness of how important standard English was, considering that 26 out of 43 essay writers mentioned it a preference for it. The participants, at the same time, struggled to make sense of their own understanding of and position on L2 Englishes. Memorable was the comparison one of the interviewees, Donna, made between L2 Englishes and the language of her autistic brother. This suggested that at least some of the participants perceived L2 Englishes as "broken", which was a key word that came up often during the interviews.

The third rating scale in the pre- and post-survey failed to reveal any statistically relevant differences between the average scores for L1 and L2 writers. This was surprising considering that the participants clearly revealed their preference for L1 texts: they found L1 texts easier to comprehend and they believed that L2 writing was inferior in quality to L1 writing. In other words, the participants clearly differentiated between L1 and L2 texts but refrained from showing any preference for L1 writers—although they definitely preferred their writing. It was possible that the participants' response may have been be a way for them

to avoid pointing fingers so they would not be perceived as discriminating against certain people.

What made the results even more intriguing was the fact that when the participants were using the three-item rating scale to evaluate the ten texts in the pre- and the post-survey, they were not aware that two of them were L1 writing. They were led to believe that the two surveys contained L2 academic writing because I was interested to see whether they provide similar ratings for the L1 and L2 texts without being influenced by knowing who wrote them, i.e. an L1 or an L2. Despite this, there was still a significant difference between the ratings the participants gave L1 an L2 writing in terms of comprehension and quality. The participants thus considered L1 writing easier to comprehend and of better quality than L2 writing, although they were not even aware of this.

What could explain these results? It cannot be overt bias against L2 writing because the participants were not aware that they were reading both L1 and L2 writing and were told that the pre- and post-survey included only L2 texts. Should such bias have informed their ratings, then they would have given low scores for every excerpt they read because they knew that all of them were L2 texts. It was, therefore, unlikely that they consciously and purposefully rated L1 and L2 writing differently. Yet, the results suggested that they unconsciously differentiated between L1 and L2 writing, with a clear preference for the former. It was possible that the issue resulted from the participants' lack of meaningful exposure to L2 writing and L2 Englishes in general. The lack of meaningful contact with L2 users was documented by the second half of the post-survey. Out of the 203 participants who completed the post-survey, 199 answered questions meant to assess their previous exposure to L2 users. They were asked, for instance, whether they had ever worked with a L2 user, if

they had any friends from another country, or if they had ever lived abroad. According to the results, only 28.6% of the participants, namely 57 of the 199, had some kind of exposure to L2 Englishes. This could mean that the participants struggled more to comprehend texts produced by writers who came from a different culture because they were yet to acquire the necessary skills to read and comprehend a L2 text. Canagarajah (2006) explained that monolinguals struggled to understand L2 texts because they lacked the "psychological and attitudinal resources, such as patience, tolerance, and humility, to negotiate the differences" (p. 593) between the language variety used in their community and other Englishes. In this light, it makes sense that the L2 excerpts were given lower scores than the L1 texts.

The Participants' Perception of L2 Writing Before and After the Intervention

The numerical data obtained with the help of the pre- and post-survey were also used to assess whether the intervention impacted in any way how the participants rated the L2 texts. This was done by comparing the ratings provided in the pre- and post-survey by the control and experimental groups. Only the ratings the participants provided for L2 writing were taken into account for the statistical analysis. The following table lists the average ratings for both groups.

Table 5. Average Scores for the Surveys.

Group	Pre/Post	Comprehension	Quality	Appreciation (Like/Dislike)
		Mean	Mean	Mean
Control	Pre	4.02	3.30	3.70
	Post	3.99	3.33	3.69

| Experimental | Pre | 3.85 | 3.12 | 3.45 |
| | Post | 4.31 | 3.71 | 3.98 |

The comparison of the mean scores provided by the control and experimental group can be seen in the following charts. Each chart represents one of the three rating scales: comprehensibility, quality of the writing, and appreciation of the writer.

Group 1: Control Group

Group 2: Experimental Group

Estimated Marginal Means of Comprehension

Estimated Marginal Means of Like/Dislike

Estimated Marginal Means of Quality
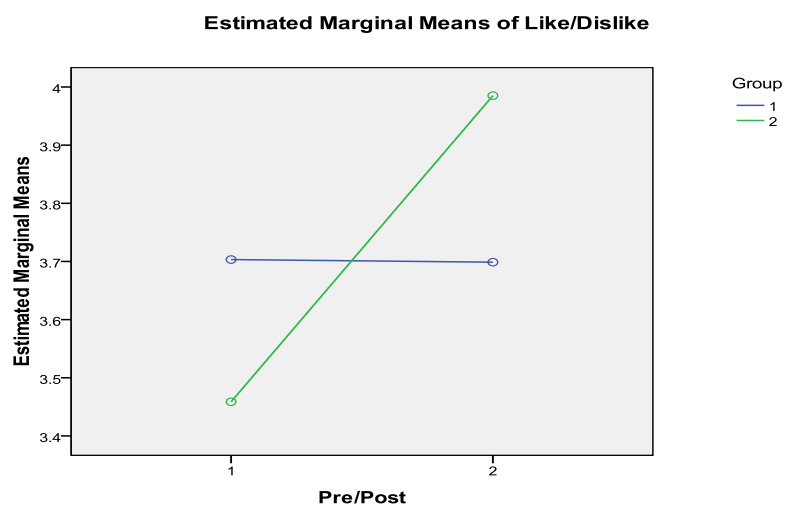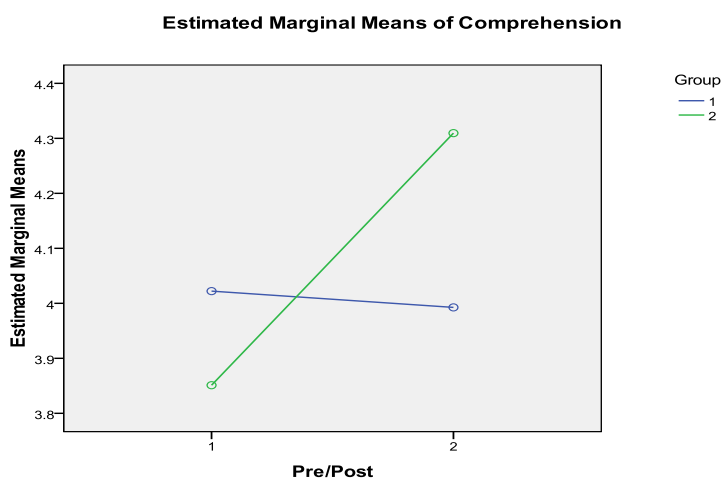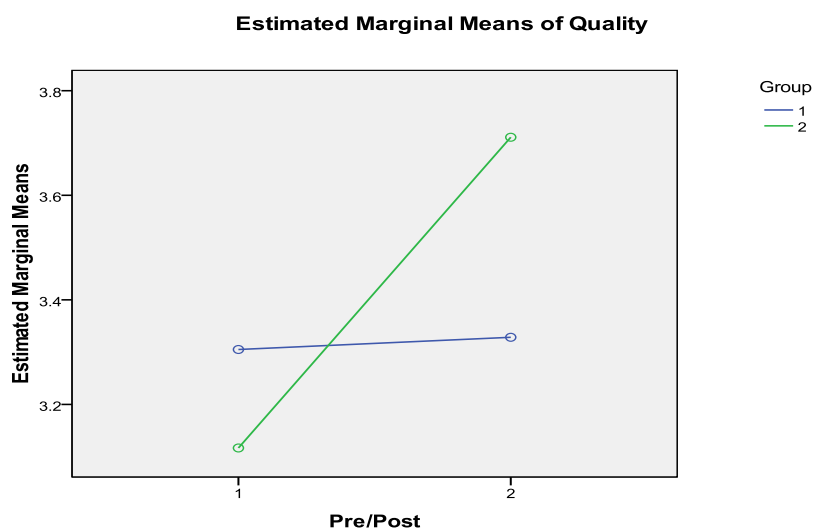
Figure 4.1. Average Ratings for the Experimental and the Control Group

Upon completion of a general linear model, there was a significant difference between the experimental and the control group from pre to post-testing in terms of average comprehension score (p<.001), average quality score (p<.002), and average appreciation of the writer score (p<.009). The ratings obtained from the pre- and post-survey will be discussed more thoroughly in the following section.

It was interesting to see that the average ratings of the control group remained remarkably similar from the pre- to post-survey and no statistically significant differences were found. In terms of quality of the writing, there's a .003 difference between the pre- (3.30) and post-testing (3.33) average scores. For the other two variables, the participants provided, on average, lower scores on the post-survey: in terms of appreciation of the writer, the average rating decreased from 3.70 to 3.69, while the average comprehension score went down from 4.02 to 3.99. These results were important because they confirmed that these participants' perception of L2 writing remained fairly unchanged from pre- and post-survey, which was expected considering that they were not likely to participate in any events

resulting in them altering their attitude, such as an intervention. Moreover, the results also suggested that the pre and post-survey were well-designed because such consistency in ratings comes only with a reliable instrument. The participants' ratings on the pre and post-surveys were not the result of chance, but the result of a careful evaluation of L2 writing on their part.

The results of the experimental group, however, revealed statistically significant differences in the way the participants scored on all of the three variables, which was unlike the control group who maintained very similar pre- and post-survey ratings. The increase in average ratings in the post-survey could be explained by the impact the intervention had on how the experimental group perceived L2 writing. The results thus suggested that only two weeks of learning about L2 Englishes could significantly increase the students' tolerance for L2 writing.

The highest difference was recorded for the average quality score that increased from 3.12 to 3.71, which was possibly a direct result of the discussions the participants had about the importance of accepting linguistic diversity. The intervention provided the participants with an opportunity to reflect on how real people all over the world used English, something that could potentially increase their awareness about the existence and value of localized Englishes. The intervention seemed successful in helping the students move away from and ethnocentric perspective, making space for an increased appreciation of localized Englishes.

The average comprehension score also went up from 3.85 to 4.31, which represented a statistically significant difference from the pre- to the post-survey. This was possibly the result of the participants' exposure to L2 writing during the intervention and of the strategies they developed together when they worked in groups reading bilingual poetry or Indian

English prose. The increase in the average scores suggested that only a few activities can train the participants to become better multicultural readers and even be more interested in L2 texts. Moreover, the intervention prompted the participants to revise their perception of L2 texts as difficult and look at them as interesting and fun instead. This was confirmed by the interviews as some of the interviewees discussed the fact that reading the excerpt from Mistry's book was entertaining and the process of developing reading strategies was fun in itself (Laurie-post, 006).

The third rating scale of the survey requiring the participants to rate how good the writers were also showed an increase from an average rating of 3.45 in the pre-survey to 3.98 in the post-survey. This meant that something happened during the two-week intervention to make the participants appreciate the writers more. It was possible that the participants understood the important role the context in which these writers lived had on the textual choices they made. It could also be a matter of the participants adjusting their expectations in the sense that they realized how diverse English can be. Moreover, after having reflected on their own use of English, they were more likely to empathize with the writers who were, just like the participants, adapting their language to their needs.

The data suggested that, on average, the students who participated in the intervention sessions displayed a clear shift in their perception of L2 Englishes, while the control group did not. By rating l2 writing higher than the control group, the experimental group showed more interest in linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes and a significant increase in their tolerance of L2 texts. Comparing the results obtained from the experimental group and the control group confirmed the importance of learning about L2 Englishes and the circumstances in which such Englishes develop as a means to counter an ethnocentric

reading of L2 texts.

There may be several reasons why the participants in the experimental group increased their ratings significantly. First, during the intervention they read several L2 texts and worked together on strategies to help them deal with the challenging parts. Second, they participated in discussions meant to raise their awareness about the value of linguistic diversity and they learned about the existence of L2 Englishes and some of their characteristics. Finally, the intervention touched upon issues of linguistic discrimination and it was very possible that the participants were simply more careful with their ratings in an attempt to avoid exhibiting any discriminatory attitudes.

Survey Part II: Qualitative Data

The qualitative data was collected with the help of an open-ended question listed at the end of the post-survey in which the participants were asked to share their opinion of linguistic diversity. The data thus obtained was used to determine their perception of linguistic diversity and whether there were any clear differences between the answers provided by the control and experimental group. Thus the quantitative data the participants provided in the first part of the survey was augmented by the information they volunteered in the second part of the post-survey.

Out of the 179 post-survey collected, 43 were left blank. The experimental group was more willing to comment as 78 of the 96 students, i.e. 81%, provided an answer or the open-ended question, while 38.6% of the control group chose to leave the space blank. As the experimental group members were at the end of a two-week long discussion on linguistic diversity, their willingness to write about this issue was not surprising. After all, it was simply an extension of the talks we had had in class. The control group, on the other hand,

did not benefit from such in-depth class discussion on the issue and it was only natural that they found themselves at a loss of words when asked to express their opinion on linguistic diversity.

There were several themes the students chose to address in their answers, and some themes appeared in the comments volunteered by both the experimental and control groups. The following table shows the most common themes and provides the number of surveys in which that particular issue came up.

Table 6. Main Themes.

	Theme mentioned by participants	Experimental	Control
	Total number of answers	**78**	**56**
1.	The participant acknowledges linguistic diversity and/or believes it is great/ positive/ important	40 (51.2%)	21 (37.5%)
2.	People should show tolerance toward linguistic diversity	16 (20%)	3 (5.3%)
3.	Both participants in the conversation should make the effort to communicate	13 (16.6%)	3 (5.3%)
4.	Linguistic diversity creates difficulty in communication	9 (11.5%)	13 (23.2%)
5.	Linguistic discrimination exists/ should be avoided	9 (11.5%)	3 (5.3%)
6.	Schools should teach about linguistic discrimination	7 (8.9%)	0

7.	My opinion about has changed to positive thanks to this course	5 (6.4%)	0
8.	There's a reason why people have an accent	5 (6.4%)	4 (7.1%)
9.	Linguistic diversity is something very American	5 (6.4%)	2 (3.57%)

Linguistic diversity was described as good, positive or important by both the experimental and the control group. This proved that the concept in itself did not necessarily generate resistance, regardless of how much or how little it was discussed in school. There was, however, a relevant difference between the control and the experimental group in terms of how much thought they put into the answer. The participants in the control group were more likely to provide very brief answers, merely confirming that linguistic diversity was a positive thing but failing to provide a clear explanation as to why that was. The experimental group, on the other hand, not only acknowledged linguistic diversity with a mere qualifier; on average, they gave more thoughtful and detailed answers. They also made a clear connection between the intervention and developing a more positive take on variety in language, as T104 explained: "My opinion on linguistic diversity has changed. It went from not caring to realizing that it actually is important and relative, especially since our world is so integrated".

A smaller percentage of participants, namely 6.4 % of the experimental and 3.57% of the control group, believed that linguistic diversity was not only something positive, but a defining feature of the American society. One of the students provided the following feedback after having attended the intervention: "I believe it is a very integral part of America. Our linguistic diversity is what makes us such a strong community" (T208). Two of the participants from the control group also commented on how very American linguistic

diversity was. Identifying himself as someone "coming from different backgrounds", J204 explained that "Linguistic diversity is crucial in our society. It allows for people to feel a sense of nationality. I agree with this completely because we should not lose our roots". This call for diversity was remarkable considering the powerful linguistic centrifugal forces that push people to fit in so they could succeed, which was something both Villanueva (1987) and Smitherman (2000) addressed in their scholarship.

A considerable percentage of the control group's response to the concept of linguistic diversity focused mostly on its negative potential. From the control group, 23.2% of the participants mentioned that when people used different Englishes, the communicative flow was interrupted. While the experimental group also discussed the possibility of difficulty in communication, the percentage of participants mentioning it was so much smaller than in the case of the control group, namely 11.5%. Moreover, instead of merely mentioning the possible problems in communication, the experimental group seemed more inclined to present the issue as a hindrance that should be overcome: "I think it is a obstacle in the workplace and at school that may cause trouble for some people but if it is handled seriously it can be overcome easily" (T111). Framing linguistic diversity in negative terms as an obstacle was a clear manifestation of linguistic bias based on the belief that only particular Englishes were "right". It was, nonetheless, encouraging to see a lower number of biased comments in the experimental group post-surveys whose members, or at least almost 90% of them, distanced themselves from perceiving linguistic diversity as a burden. It was clear that the intervention helped them understand that linguistic diversity was normal and easy to deal with.

It was interesting to see that the participants in the experimental group were still trying to make sense of all the information they had to process during the past two weeks while actively reframing their own experiences from an inclusive, multicultural perspective. One participant from the experimental group, for instance, initially wrote that "[l]inguistic diversity is essential to language and it is definitely not a negative thing" (T106), but then briefly told the story of an instance when he had "not been able to fully understand the [L2] teacher" until "overtime and with effort" the communication became easier. Finally, the participant felt the need to reiterate the idea that "[l]inguistic diversity is a good, positive thing" (T106). It seemed like the writer realized that his example contradicted his earlier claim and hoped that repeating the claim clarified his position on this issue. The answer, however, revealed the internal tension between what he used to believe, i.e. linguistic diversity was bad, and what he learned during the intervention. This tension was visible during the interviews and in the essays as well, such as in Pattie's struggle to empathize with a L2 customer whose English made her uncomfortable. While Pattie was still clearly bothered by her interaction with the L2 user, she tried to put herself in her shoes, confirming that she was aware of how difficult it must have been for the client to communicate with those around her (074). A few of the essays, for instance E10, also provided short accounts of L1-L2 encounters during which the participant felt frustration when talking to L2 users. Yet, now that they understood the biased undertones associated with their previous attitude, they tried to reframe the experience as a positive one in which the L1 user should have met the L2 halfway.

There were other participants in both groups who touched upon the idea of sharing the burden of the communication between themselves and the L2 interlocutor. The difference

between the control and experimental group, however, was relevant: while only 5.3% of the former discussed the need to go halfway in communication, 16% of the experimental group acknowledged that interacting with L2 users required an equal effort on their part.

Both groups admitted in considerable numbers that linguistic diversity existed, but the control group stopped short of suggesting that other people's varieties of English should be treated with the same as the standard. There were, however, exceptions: one of the control group participants, for instance, explained that "people should be more understanding to L2 users. We are no better than anybody else" (A202). Yet only 5.3% of the control group participants called for tolerance, while 20% of the experimental group contributed comments about the need for linguistic tolerance. This was the result of the experimental group's discussions about the existence of linguistic bias during the intervention and possibly originated in the activities they did during Week 1 when they became aware of how diverse their own language was. Although the intervention got some of the participants thinking about linguistic tolerance, it was still disconcerting to see that 80% of them chose not to discuss it in their responses.

Some of the participants, however, addressed the issue of bias head on when they commented on the existence of negative attitudes toward localized Englishes. Both the control (5.3%) and the experimental (11.5%) group mentioned it, explaining that it should be avoided because it was not based in reality and may lead to discriminative practices against others. One of the students who had participated in the intervention mentioned L2 varieties in particular, explaining that linguistic diversity was nothing but the sign of a healthy language: "linguistic diversity is something I feel is looked down upon when in fact it should be embraced. L2 Englishes may be different and various but no one is better than another.

Diversity continues to allow our language to thrive. Without it, English would be dead" (A207). This comment showed that the participant made good use of the information acquired during the intervention, developing a positive perception of L2 Englishes and linguistic diversity in general.

In the experimental group, 8.9% went as far as pointing to the need to explicitly teach about linguistic discrimination in schools and remarked on how important the intervention has been for the way they perceive it:

> Linguistic diversity is a hidden subject. We don't think about other people's language. We often at times do not respect someone with an accent very much. Especially when they are a stranger. I have learned to be more accepting to people who know other languages. I attribute this to these four courses. (T105)

It is noticeable, however, that the participant perceived linguistic diversity as the attribute of the other, the "stranger", and did not see linguistic discrimination as something any L1 user could be subjected to as well. As for the control group, there were no comments on the need to teach students about linguistic discrimination in schools, which reinforced Kubota's (2001b) concern that the educational system has failed to address this issue.

Summary

Involving schools and, more specifically, the English course, in promoting linguistic tolerance seemed to provide positive results, as the survey results confirmed. The findings of the survey showed that educating the participants about L2 Englishes led to a positive shift in the way they perceived linguistic variety and L2 writing. The significant differences between the ratings of the control and the experimental group pointed to the impact that the two-week

intervention had on the students who participated in it. The survey results suggested that linguistic tolerance could be developed in the writing course as long as the instructor and the students were willing to educate themselves and thus challenge the existing language stereotypes. During a two-week intervention, the participants began to develop the necessary flexibility to communicate with the rest of the English-speaking world.

The qualitative data collected with the help of the survey further suggested that the intervention made a difference in how the participants responded to the concept of linguistic diversity. While both groups acknowledged the existence of localized Englishes, they approached it from different angles, which pointed to the powerful impact the two-week intervention had on those attending it. The experimental groups seemed more preoccupied overall by this issue and provided answers that pointed to a more accepting attitude towards linguistic diversity than the control group.

CHAPTER 5

DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS: ESSAYS

A rich array of qualitative data was provided by the essays Arielle's students wrote as the intervention was unfolding. Because they were given three weeks to complete this longer assignment, they could explore at length the issue of linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes. As the essay prompt in Appendix 1 shows, the students were encouraged to observe the language varieties used around them while the intervention helped them develop a conceptual take on linguistic diversity and provided them with the tools to maximize their reflection. In other words, the participants were encouraged to interpret their personal observations through the lens of the class discussions. In their essays, they reflected on how diverse their own language use was and discussed the interactions they had with other speakers of localized Englishes, including L2 users. The data was helpful in piecing together a clearer image of what informed the participants' perception of linguistic diversity in terms of group memberships, daily interactions, past events, theoretical knowledge of the issue and so on. The participants were encouraged to incorporate their personal observations and experiences without which their essays would be nothing more than an academic exercise.

The present chapter discusses the main themes reoccurring in the forty-three essays submitted by Arielle's students, such as: language and context; formal and informal Englishes; code-switching; linguistic diversity; linguistic discrimination; and L1-L2 encounters. Besides discussing and exemplifying each of these themes at length, the chapter also includes the detailed analyses of three different essays. These three case-studies provided an even clearer picture of the participants' perception of linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes.

Main Themes

The forty-three essays collected from Arielle's groups were coded using a list of reoccurring themes. The purpose was to create a snapshot of the participants' response to linguistic diversity without getting lost in the data. The themes the students focused on were as follows:

1. The discourse the participants and their communities employed had to be adapted to the circumstances in which the communicative act took place.

2. The participants made a clear distinction between formal and informal varieties of English and discussed instances when they engaged in code-switching practices.

3. The participants believed that linguistic diversity was a sign of the true nature of the American society.

4. The participants expressed their fear that English users can be judged based on their language.

5. The participants had meaningful and memorable encounters with L2 users. Although in many cases the L2 users were family members, the participants still felt ambivalent about interacting with them for fear of possible miscommunication.

The participants were free to choose what they wanted to focus on and consequently there were fewer essays on L2 Englishes in comparison with those discussing L1 Englishes because the participants were overall more interested in their own use of English. Moreover, L2 writing was never mentioned by any of the participants. It was understandable that they did not give too much thought to the issue considering that they were not English majors and most of them were not in the habit of reflecting on the international development of their language in general, let alone in its written form. The data collected with the help of these

essays was nonetheless valuable because it provided a detailed image of their experiences

with language variation in general, they perception of appropriateness in language use, or

their view of linguistic intolerance.

The next section of the chapter details the five aforementioned themes. As some of

the students deleted their names before they gave Arielle my copy of their essay, it was not

possible to know whether the writer was male or female for all of the essays. For those who

listed their names and could positively be identified as male or female based on that, he or

she was used to reference them.

Language and Context

The participants revealed a realistic view of linguistic diversity, explaining that

different Englishes can be observed everywhere starting with their own discourse. Moreover,

74.4% of the essay writers mentioned linguistic diversity as the defining trait of their

community and their own life. They overwhelmingly acknowledged that they switched

among several varieties of English as they went about their day in order to meet the demands

of the communicative encounters. When talking about themselves, this diversity was not

regarded as something negative; on the contrary, they seemed to imply that a good speaker

should know how to alternate between different Englishes to fulfill their communicative

needs.

In most cases, the need to adapt one's language to the context was stated explicitly

early on in the essay. The first paragraph in several essays, such as E11, started out with a

general statement about the shifting nature of discourse, explaining how important it was for

people to establish a varied linguistic self: "Changing the way you present yourself is

something everybody must do; from your work environment, to the home, and especially

around your parents". When discussing these varieties of English, the participants chose to incorporate several examples of how the people in their families spoke or they described in detail the Englishes they heard at school or at work. Overall, 28 participants used in their essays examples of slang and 13 of "proper" phrases they might exchange with others. What made their writing interesting, however, were not the examples they pulled from their everyday interactions with others, but the ongoing commentary they provided in an attempt to make sense of the linguistic richness around them.

Despite recognizing the ubiquity of linguistic diversity, it was obvious from the essays that localized Englishes made the participants slightly uncomfortable especially when they did not share the same variety of English with their interlocutor. Fourteen out of the forty-three essay writers chose to focus part of their essay on the difficulties they experienced when discussing with someone whose English was different than theirs, as it was the case when they interacted with L2 users. More people reported having difficulties with L2 rather than with L1 users of English, as nine out of the aforementioned fourteen participants referred to L2 Englishes in their stories of language-induced frustration and linguistic mayhem. This suggested that the participants were more likely to dismiss the language of a L2 user as incomprehensible, while the language of a fellow L1 was considered easier to comprehend. These results were in line with the findings of the survey where the participants showed a statistically significant preference for L1 Englishes.

The participants also expressed preference for particular Englishes, describing language as a means to assert one's group membership and, at the same time, a way to show others that they were simply unwelcome outsiders. First, language was described an extension of the unique bond between the members of a community. E9, for instance, talked

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about the informal language his or her family has developed into a secret code. E34 also mentioned the secret language she and some of her fellow students adopted in middle school in order to show that they belonged to a particular group. Yet, while the secret language in itself was nothing but rearranging the syllable order, it was meant to make some feel part of the group and others excluded from it. E34 explained: "this acted as a sort of separation between the children who knew the secret language and everyone else who did not. It allowed those who were 'in' to have a conversation that they did not want certain others to understand". The writer thus acknowledged how powerful language choice can be in defining someone's s group membership and social identity.

Employing the discourse of the group one belonged to was also a way to avoid the stigma associated with being the "other", the outsider. E31 explained that language was a way to fit in and "if everyone in your town does one thing, you wouldn't want to be the odd one out and everyone to see you as a strange in some way". According to E31, social success depended on how fast someone could adopt the group's linguistic behavior and while language could express unity within a particular group, it could nonetheless also signal the refusal to grant someone in-group status. E29 noticed how the younger members of her family developed their own language in relation to which she felt like an outsider: "It is as if they have created their own language. They have substituted their own words that they have made up for the real words out of the dictionary. They could write their own dictionary of all the words they've made up". Thus language became more than just a creative device for expressing one's group membership: it was a way to isolate the "other", in this case the older family member.

The desire to belong to a community of practice made the participants adapt their language to each particular audience, which was an issue addressed by 32 out of the 43 essays. They described their language use with their family (24 essays), with friends (23 essays), with coworkers (22 essays), or with strangers (10 essays), pointing out that different Englishes were employed throughout the day in order to accommodate their interlocutors. They also discussed the instances when their conversational partner was a L2 user, which was mostly the case with bilingual family members. The participants were clearly willing to connect with their conversation partner by using a similar language but they presented a less accommodating attitude when the interlocutor was a L2 user. E29 and E32, for instance, were not happy to accommodate their relatives' L2 Englishes, feeling frustrated (E42) and embarrassed (E29) by their language.

Besides the audience, the participants noticed that they changed their English as a response to the location or the environment where the communicative act occurred (17 essays), the situation in which they found themselves (6 essays), the emotional load associated with the language exchange (6 essays), the education and cultural background of the language users involved in communication (7 essays), and the medium, namely whether the linguistic exchange was oral or written (5 essays). Yet, while these observations were a clear sign of their increasing interest in linguistic variation, the essays failed to address the issue from a critical perspective and the participants did not question the process that required them to use a particular variety of English in certain circumstances. They simply acknowledged the need to continuously make linguistic choices.

The participants also commented on how different Englishes signaled the type of relationship they shared with the audience. A reoccurring theme was the connection between

having an informal relationship with one's friends and using an English characterized by slang and double-meanings. E14, for example, described himself as "a jokester and a smartass about things" especially when spending time with his best friend of twelve years whom he greeted as "get the hell out of here I don't know you now leave right now!". E14 explained that his word choice was a response to the very close relationship he had with his friend, adding that otherwise he might have addressed his interlocutor with something like "Hello, nice to see you again. Please come in". E14's choice of words, however, was more appropriate considering the circumstances. While such comments provided a good example of the E14's increased awareness of his own use of language, they were nonetheless useful because they confirmed his ability to notice how real people use language and thus move away from a prescriptive take on English.

Some participants, however, engaged in a deeper commentary when they acknowledged the power structure associated with particular varieties of English although they refrained from openly criticizing it. They simply recorded their observations of how language can be used to signal one's position in a particular community of practice. They wrote about how they negotiated their own status in their community when they chose one English over another. When talking to someone in position of authority, they claimed to use the most correct and polite English they knew. For example, they acknowledged the power structure in their own family by using a more formal English with the people who held the most power. Deference toward one's parents was thus expressed through the choice of a particular variety of English. E43, for instance, explained that he showed the respect he had for his parents by selecting from the different varieties of English he knew the one that matched his parents' expectations: "I don't necessarily use the most proper English, but I

don't talk like I'm from the hood. I don't call my dad, dude, or my mom, chick". E43 went on to explain that his parents' professional life imposed a particular linguistic persona he needed to acknowledge with his language choice, implying that anything except for the "'big boy' talk" would have resonated badly with his father, the "vice-president of the HR department for Huntington Bank" (E43). The participant's words, however, should be taken with a grain of salt, considering that this could very well be a description of the ideal way to talk to one's parents and, in reality, the communication between E43 and his parents was more relaxed. Yet this was the persona he wanted to project in the essay and it was rather interesting that he was so aware of the relationship between power and language.

Overall, the participants revealed a clear interest in the issue of linguistic diversity as they observed it in their own language and in their community discourse. Moreover, they understood that each community of practice required them to adopt a particular discourse while society imposed a clear hierarchy that made certain Englishes, such as the ones taught in schools, be perceived as more prestigious than others. The participants were open about their preferences when it came to the language of their interlocutors, expressing a definite preference for L1 users, especially those who shared the same English they did, as it was the case with close friends.

Formal and Informal Englishes

The majority of the participants discussed in their essays the Englishes they used dividing their linguistic repertoire according to a somehow simplistic dichotomy between formal or, as they called it, "proper" English, and the other varieties they called "informal" Englishes. They all seemed to agree that while there was only one formal English, there were several informal varieties. The concept of proper or formal English came up in more than

half of the essays, namely 26, and informal Englishes, i.e. the varieties they shared with their families, their co-workers, or their friends, was discussed by 32 writers. The participants inadvertently revealed their enthusiasm when discussing their informal Englishes by providing lots of examples. While only 13 writers incorporated in their writing examples of formal sentences, as many as 28 had informal phrases which showed a clear preference for the latter. The participants associated these informal English with a feeling of comfort (7), described them as a more creative way of expressing their true self (5 essays) and believed that they were like a secret language shared with friends and family (15). There were only two writers who failed to find any benefits from informal Englishes, describing them as ways to butcher the language.

While the participants were willing to share with the audience examples of formal and informal Englishes, they nonetheless struggled to come up with a clear definition for them, as if they had never had the opportunity to reflect on their language use. This could be the result of the lack of attention linguistic diversity got in schools; after all, if students were not used to discussing how varied their English was, how could they articulate a thorough definition? There were, however, a few attempts: E40, for instance, talked about "'Proper English' and 'Common English'" and defined the former as "how to talk to someone of importance" and the latter as "talking to some one like a fellow friend". Another way to define formal English was to explain where this variety was used, and the participants overwhelmingly associated it with the English course. E40, for instance, explained that it was in the English course where he "learned the 'proper' way to talk". E31 also explained that "in high school … you get a feel for what you are "supposed to talk like'". E37, on the other hand, provided a negative definition when discussing "proper" English: "By proper

English I mean no slang terms, texting abbreviations, and sarcasm". While it was impossible to figure out why sarcasm was a sign of bad English for E37, the answer nonetheless pointed to the need to engage the students in more discussions of what "proper" English was so they would not confuse it with the language people speak when they are nice to one another.

One of the more interesting discussions of the language students were expected to use in school versus slang came from E38. The writer explained that the language of the English classroom should be called "Clear English", not proper English, and he defined it in opposition with the everyday language that can be "foggy" at times. He warned against making any discriminatory remarks against the latter, despite its potential lack of clarity: "not saying it's wrong or bad, just a little foggy. If you take the time to look through the fog you can see what's there instead of just wasting time to complain about it". The writer's constructive approach to language variation acknowledged that all the participants in the communicative act were equally responsible for maintaining the communicative flow and a language that was "a little foggy" should not discourage the interlocutor from engaging in conversation.

The participants acknowledged the power structure associated with different Englishes and the impact a particular audience had on what variety was used. Because "proper" English was preferred in academic and workplace writing, it was seen as the best way to communicate with other professionals. E07 explained: "I may speak all formal when I type papers or speak to my professors". E07 further detailed his preference for formal English as a way to meet the expectation of an audience that was likely to care about such an issue: "I'm going to try to be proper and seem intelligent when I'm conversing with a doctor, business owner, lawyer, or anyone else that I know is educated enough to know the

difference". By expressing his concern that slang may lead his interlocutors to doubt his intelligence, E07 acknowledged how strong negative language attitudes can be. This attitude was also observed by Wyne (2002) whose African-American students refused to speak in front of a White audience for fear they might be judged as ignorant only because they spoke AAVE (p. 206).

Another common stereotype appeared in E29's essay when she explained that people identify one's language with a sign of how well they did their job even when the job in itself did not require the use of a particular standard. She described her duties as an aide in a medical facility and remarked on the need to express herself in a very formal manner in front of the patients for fear that they may think of her as incompetent: "If I am slouched over and speaking in slang words, they may judge me as being uneducated and ignorant. They may worry about the care they are about to receive". While this stereotype had been reported in connection with L2 users (Cook, 1999; Jenkins, 2007; Liang & Rice, 2006), E29's essay showed that it nonetheless haunted L1s as well.

The participants also mentioned the connection between a particular language and respect. E37, for instance, explained that he steered clear of slang around the family "not for fear of getting in trouble, but out of respect". When the conversation occurred between a monolingual and a multilingual user, the latter's use of language was considered a matter of deference as well. The participants believed that when L2 users made mistakes when using English, they were disrespectful (E36), as if idiosyncrasies in pronunciation were intentional and not part of the process of language acquisition.

Overall, the participants' essays revealed a clear awareness of the tension between the different Englishes they knew, and although they did not specifically discuss what made one

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particular variety more powerful than others, they all expressed their belief in the superiority of the standard. They acknowledged the stigma associated with localized Englishes and claimed to favor formal English in situations when they wanted to project as smart, knowledgeable and professional. Yet, despite the perception that informal Englishes were not desirable, the participants still discussed and exemplified them at length, which was a clear sign of the hidden appreciation they had for their home languages.

Linguistic Diversity and the American Society

More than a third of the writers (14) acknowledged that the linguistic diversity around them was a sign of the very nature of the American society and something to be celebrated. E30, for instance, wrote that "a nation with many languages would be a good thing" because, as he explained, a "complex" language made society "move forward intellectually". This positive attitude on E30's part can be explained by the opportunities he had had to interact with linguistically diverse populations as part of his family and some of his friends were L2 users.

Some of the participants commented on how linguistic diversity was not only the result of the ethnic makeup specific to the society in the United States, but it also came from the natural evolution of the language. Four writers explained that language in general was bound to naturally change over time. The participants correctly identified English as a living language, although they did not have formal training as linguists. This fact, however, did come up during the class discussion on the evolution of the English language, which suggested that the participants were able to apply the knowledge they obtained during the intervention when writing their essays. E09, for instance, confessed that the class discussion about how diverse other people's language was made him become more aware of how he

used English: "When learning about different cultures and people you start to look at your own cultures and the people around you, then you will start to think about how your language and the way you use it is so different from them and why". The intervention made the participants more self-conscious about how diverse their use of language was, and that represented an important step toward recognizing the value in the linguistic diversity around them as well.

The participants understood that linguistic diversity was a complex matter and while it represented a normal outcome of language use in social settings, it could, nonetheless, present the user with certain challenges. While some acknowledged that variety in language was necessary because it kept the language alive and was a way of expressing one's creative self, twelve writers chose to focus on the difficulties that may appear in communication, especially in the case of L1 and L2 interaction. E31, for instance, initially expressed a positive view on diversity, but he also explained that when people used different varieties of English, it was possible to run into communicative breakdowns. His essay mentioned communicative failure as a potential side-effect of linguistic diversity, which was a common theme among other essay writers as well (E03, E10, E13, E18, E19, E21, E30, E31, E32, E33, E35, and E42).

The intervention and the participants' own interaction with linguistically diverse populations were the two main factors contributing to their perception of localized Englishes. They acknowledged the linguistic diversity they noticed around them and while some described it as an anomaly, others welcomed it as a normal effect of the way live languages worked in a diverse society like the United States. The essays suggested, however, that the

participants were receptive to the information discussed during that intervention which was used to reframe their past encounters with linguistic diversity.

Linguistic Discrimination

Half of the essay writers, namely 23 out of 43, acknowledged the possibility that people can be judged based on how they speak or write. Yet, although the participants seemed to agree that that linguistic discrimination occurred, they made sure to dissociate themselves from it. E27 pointed out that although the people in his home community "speak or sound like they are uneducated", he did not perceive them as such, and he was only reporting on what he had noticed around him. Most of the participants who addressed the issue of linguistic bias did so because they had witnessed instances when people were victimized because of their language, as it was the case with E28 whose brother did not refrain from using language as a weapon with a sharp hurtful edge. Yet, the most powerful accounts of linguistic intolerance came from participants who were not mere witnesses, but victims of this marginalization. E27 wrote about being a target of the linguistic bias; when he was a teenager, he transferred from one school to another and his English was derided as inadequate by his new peers. Thus E27 experienced firsthand what it meant to be an outsider because of his English: "I sometimes feel a little dumb or backward in some situations where others have a different way of speaking and I don't understand what they mean. I don't really feel too insulted, just a little out of place". Despite these feelings of self-marginalization, the writer showed signs of a superior understanding of how language varieties work. His take on formal and informal English suggested a healthy attitude toward language, as he explained that "there is a time and place for "proper English" and then for "Regular English".

The distinction between "proper" English and the other "regular" Englishes, to use E27's terms, contributed to the negative attitudes witnessed or experienced by the participants. Although they were not able to explain thoroughly why such discrimination happened, they connected it to the value society assigned to particular language varieties and to the superiority of school-sponsored varieties. For E05, for instance, it was a humbling experience to be in the English course. She felt "really stupid" (E05) because the course seemed to capitalize on how different the student's language was from the discourse used in schools. At the time, she had moved to a community with "more Caucasians than I was ever use to". She explained that the way they talked sounded "weird" to her, just like her English was perceived as "weird" by her schoolmates, too. Unlike her colleagues, though, in an attempt to gain group membership and because of feelings of self-marginalization, she was willing to give up on her English and adopt the variety of the majority. She explained: "they thought I sound weird and in my eyes they sound just as weird as I did with their proper grammar….they taught me how important it is to speak proper English …[and] let whoever you are talking to know that you were educated". Somehow E05 must have concluded that the school standard was a better choice than her own English.

Other participants, however, insisted that distinguishing between more or less valuable Englishes was impossible. E17 explained that the people in his community used varieties of English that "are not right or wrong but it's the way we chose to use it". Despite such liberating claims, the majority was keenly aware of people's tendency to rush to a negative conclusion based on their interlocutor's language. E36, for instance, commented on the negative labeling associated with localized Englishes: "people are judged not just on how they're dressed, what car they can afford, if or if not they have Blackberry or Verizon, they

are judged also on their use of words, how they speak in any given situation". It was interesting to see that the criteria listed here were all lacking any depth, which was suggestive of how superficial such judgments generally were.

E27 was a witness to such discriminative attitudes. He wrote about the people in his community, explaining that although their language was nothing like the English promoted by schools, that did not mean anything in terms of how knowledgeable they were: "where they lack in education they make up for in some major skill". The examples E27 gave were of slang-speaking neighbors whose mechanical or artistic skills impressed him. While the people in E27's neighborhood may have sounded "illiterate", they had all developed some kind of functional literacy or, as E27 explained, they were "educated in a very different way".

When discussing the connection between biased attitudes and language, the participants mentioned the hurtful potential of one particular English, i.e. slang. For E28's brother, slang was a weapon, although she tried to provide an explanation to explain or alleviate his racist discourse. The writer provide a few examples of what she considered to be "completely inappropriate" linguistic choices on the part of the brother, such as "'sh**' and 'b****'" or "n*****" (asterisks used in the original text). The writer argued that although the brother used the word "n*****", he meant it as an insult to anybody of any race and did not necessarily direct it toward the African-Americans he knew: "Although he sounds racist doing this, he has many black friends and never uses the word around them that much". E28 further argued that the brother's linguistic behavior was a reflection of the times, as the brother was older, "born in 1965", when although "desegregation started to spread through out the United States", people still used some of the terms that are not politically correct

anymore, such as "'colored' to refer to African-Americans". Thus the overt societal racism of

the 1960 and regional racism of the present time were used by E28 to justify the individual

racism witnessed in that particular family. This long and poorly crafted explanation was the

result of the writer's attempt to come to terms with instances she recognized as linguistic

discrimination while feeling reluctant to stand up against it on account of the relationship

between herself and the person discriminating.

L2 Englishes

The writers' contact with L2 users also inspired some of the essays. Fourteen writers

mentioned L2 Englishes, although they generally used other words for the concept such as

"limited" or "broken" English. Some looked at L2 Englishes as a sign of users' linguistic

creativity (5 essays), some mentioned code-switching (11 essays) or having L2 users among

their family members (7 essays), and some expressed the need to meet the L2 users halfway

when communicating (5 essays). Some focused on strategies they used when interacting with

L2 users (7 essays) or the frustration caused by this interaction (9 essays). While some

reported feelings of uneasiness when around people who code-switch, others openly

expressed tolerance towards L2 users (8 essays).

Although most participants mentioned that they used several varieties of English

themselves and code-switched frequently, they associated the diverse speech of L2 users with

difficulties in communication. E32, for instance, told the story of his aunt from Philippine

whose English made him uncomfortable. Like other participants, E32 admitted that being

around L2 users made him feel frustrated, especially when code-switching occurred, even

when the L2 user was a family member. Despite the close relationship, he felt left out and

unable to communicate properly. E32 reminisced about the time when he was babysat by his

aunt and her code-switching confused him. He even provided an example of such an instance: "she mixes the English language with the Filipino language so it's hard for me to understand what she is saying and a lot of times its 'I love you' ... but she will say 'love' in Philippines then 'you' in English". In another essay, E30 talked about how difficult it was for his father and for himself to be around the immigrant grandparents whose language was "fast paced, broken German-English". Hearing others code-switch could be intimidating for the monolingual offspring of multilingual families. E30's frustration was evident in the way he talked about how he had to listen to his grandparents code-switch: "having their little lingo phrases they would always say to each other in German when they were around other people and didn't want them to understand them". The monolingual grandson seemed to fall prey to a common misconception that people who code-switched did it to hide something, which was something E34 also believed. Moreover, E34 confessed to feeling "inferior" because she could not understand the conversation between people who code-switched. She saw code-switching as a way for multilinguals to intentionally isolate themselves from the monolinguals around them.

Even the participants who were multilingual themselves believed that code-switching complicated their life. E29, for instance, was a first generation American who attested to code-switching herself as a child. Adulthood brought about fewer opportunities for using Serbian, the language of her parents, and that led to language loss: "my Serbian is not as strong as it used to be. I can understand when someone is speaking to me but it has gotten harder for me to respond back to them". E29 provided some insight into part of the reason why she distanced herself from the only language her immigrant parents understood, namely her attempt to escape the linguistic discrimination she experienced as a child when

"neighbors and classmates would make fun of the way we spoke because of the strong accent we used".

The participants who did not have L2 family members still got exposed to L2 Englishes thanks to the diverse neighborhoods in which they lived. E10 explained that his community was very diverse: "there are some African Americans, Caucasians, Latin individuals, some people that seem like there from Jamaica, and there are some Italian and Greek People". There were times when E10 experienced difficulty when communicating with his neighbors, especially when "they get excited". Code-switching then occurred, and that made E10 feel cut off from the conversation: "first they start talking in English then they switch to Spanish when they do not want people to understand….Or they will just talk Spanish because they know that some people do not know it and they can say whatever they want" . E10's frustration was easy to understand considering that most people in the United States are monolingual and only code-switch from one variety of English to another. While more than a third of the essays discussed how the writers themselves code-switched as they went about their day, they did not perceive this as code-switching, although it was the same phenomenon as going back and forth from English to Spanish. Because they could not code-switch from English to a foreign language, they assumed that there must be something deceiving and mischievous when the multilingual interlocutor did it. Why would the multilingual switch from English to Spanish, if not to conceal something?

Not everyone expressed discomfort at hearing multilinguals code-switch. E38 described at length his interaction with his neighbors who, originally from Mexico, could be heard exchanging comments in Spanish, but this was interpreted by the participant in a positive light, as a way to "preserve their culture". The family thoughtfully switched to

English to accommodate monolinguals like E38, something the participants equaled with respect. When discussing a similar matter, E34 suggested that the accommodation should go both ways as communicating also meant constant effort on the part of everybody involved in the conversation. This required, according to E34, learning how others use English by being around them and being mindful of their idiosyncrasies, an attitude conducive to linguistic tolerance

E38's interest in interacting with L2 users went beyond saying hello to the Mexican neighbor, though. In his essay, he talked about his friendship with an exchange student from Japan. He was obviously interested in his friend's variety of L2 English, as he quoted a few phrases his friend would use when "he slipped into Japanese at times". Besides enjoying the opportunity to hear another language, E38 took his friend's code-switching as a sign of a more intimate bond. He had noticed that his Japanese's friend's English was "much more refined" when around new acquaintances, but he was comfortable using his native tongue with E38 once their friendship deepened.

Meaningful contact with multilinguals made a couple of the participants wish that they knew a second language as well. E32 explained that the conversations between his aunt and him were confusing when he was just a little boy, but once he became an adult, he wished he "would have had the time to sit down with her and ask her to teach me how to speak Pilipino so I could talk to her and know another language". Yet such an attitude was rare, as some participants seemed to suggest learning English was the responsibility of anyone who wanted to live here. E34 sharply claimed that whoever lived in the United States should make an effort to learn the dominant language: "they should take up learning if they plan on staying".

Being around L2 users also made the participants develop an interest in how languages work. E30, for instance, presented a simplified, one-paragraph explanation of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis dealing with the role culture plays in shaping particular languages. The participant explained that "one culture may have a large respect for nature, in turn they … will have many words describing nature that other culture would not understand" (E30). E30's jab at linguistics continued with an excellent point: one had to look at language within the cultural context in which it was used.

Exposure to L2 users helped E30 understand why linguistic variation occurred. He explained that his L2 relatives and friends made him realize that a multilingual may be influenced by his or her first language when speaking English (E30). Such instances of transfer were natural and therefore the language of the L2 users should not be perceived as speaking "incorrectly or … disrespectfully". Yet, E30 also acknowledged that using anything beyond what he called a "correct and proper English" generally led to being "looked or talked down upon", in addition to being perceived as disrespectful. Other participants addressed the issue of negative attitudes in relation to L2 users. E38, for instance, suggested that "some people simply have no respect for" the L2 speaker with a "thick Korean accent". The participant made reference to Amy Tan's "Mother Tongue" where the L2 user experienced discrimination first-hand just because, as E38 explained, "she couldn't speak Clear English". The participants made it very clear that they were simply witnesses of such discriminatory attitudes and they completely disapproved of them. The participants explained that observing such discrimination was in a way educative for them because it taught them how not to behave.

The participants seemed well-aware of how serious such instances of linguistic intolerance were and pointed out that even one's allegiance to the country could be questioned when L2 Englishes were heard. E32 explained that L2 users could suffer rejection on the part of their community: "to them, youre different, you're not American". E32, however, pointed out that he completely disagreed with such a view as it was not language that made one American or not—it was other values such as hard work or self-sustenance, which were both skills his L2 aunt possessed: "she may not know how to speak English like I do, but she works hard and she made a living and that's what America is all about". In the light of the English-Only controversy (Horner & Trimbur, 2002), it is encouraging to see that some refrain from associating citizenship with how well one can use a particular language.

Discussing how other languages than English are used helped some participants gain insight into how their own language works. During the intervention, the participants were asked to consider the issue of linguistic variation not only in relation to English, but in connection with other languages as well, and the example I used was my L1, Romanian, a language that also exhibits interesting variation patterns. The discussion found its way into E27's essay who mentioned how my examples of Romanian varieties helped him understand that one cannot speak only one language variety, be it Romanian or English. E27 explained: "Our language is much divided and yet we never really have taken notice to it. At least I never really have until I met Ana… She pointed out many things I have never noticed about the English language". E27's response confirmed the need to engage the students in reflective practices so they would became knowledgeable users of English.

Summary

The essays the forty-three participants submitted were an account of how they saw their daily language use. The assignment provided them with the space where they could discuss their observations and reflect on the diverse discourses in their lives. They proved that although they were aware of the linguistic power structure that guided people's perception of how others speak, in many cases they still enjoyed the creativity of localized Englishes and they took delight in providing examples of the less formal Englishes they spoke. The L1-L2 communication was seen particularly problematic, despite any family or friendship ties the L1 writers had with their L2 interlocutors.

Although there were several accounts of L1-L2 encounters, the participants collectively failed to mention ever reading L2 texts, although they had just engaged in several activities focused on L2 writing. This suggested a serious lack of long-term meaningful exposure to L2 writing and pointed to the participants' unpreparedness for dealing with it. Moreover, it was unlikely that they never read L2 texts in the part, considering how the Internet managed to bridge the distance between L1 readers and L2 texts by providing instant access to writers from all over the world—yet none of them seemed interested in reflecting on their experience as readers. The essays suggested that, at least for these 43 students, the schools system failed to turn them into multilingual readers and writers.

Case Studies

The following section of the chapter incorporates a more detailed textual analysis of three essays chosen after careful reading of all of the forty-three papers submitted by

Arielle's students. Each of the three essays appears in full in appendix 4 and was selected mainly because the writer was more thorough than others in addressing the issue of linguistic diversity. Moreover, each of the three writers discussed a particular aspect of this topic: E15 focused mostly on the Englishes she used throughout the day, E10 discussed the varieties he observed in his ethnically diverse neighborhoods, and E29 discussed workplace language and the English of her L2 family members. The writers provided examples from their own observations to illustrate their ideas.

I chose to include case studies in my research project in addition to the thematic analysis done in the first half of this chapter because case studies provide the opportunity for a more detailed account of the data. In other words, the three case studies were important for my research project because they allowed me to focus on individual accounts and thus provide a rich description of the participant's take on language variation.

Essay E15

E15's essay provided an interesting journey through a young student's daily language use. The personal information E15 scattered throughout her [6]essay suggested that she was a female student employed by Taco Bell and still living with her mother. It seemed like E15's essay had a twofold purpose: to help the writer piece together the linguistic puzzle representing her own use of English and to make sense of some language-related incidents she had witnessed at work. What made E15 stand out from the rest of the essays submitted by

[6] Each of the three essays chosen for this detailed analysis happened to still have the writer's name in the left-hand corner of the first page and this eased their identification as male or female.

the participants were her use of work-related incidents as examples for her claims and the description of the tension between what she called "proper" English and her everyday language.

Speaking the standard. E15 talked about how being around her family meant that she had to continuously monitor her speech because she was expected to use only standard English. What defined her experience with English in her home environment was correction, something she recalled in the following terms: "from the time I learned to babble I had my parents and grandparents correcting my English, fixing it to make it 'proper'". E15's description of her mom correcting her English and her use of the epithet "Nazi" in connection with the aforementioned parent could be interpreted as a means to add humor to the text or as a sign of the pressure E15 felt to maintain a particular variety of English when at home:

> While at home I might forget to switch back to the "proper English", and tend to get dirty looks from my mother, aka the English Nazi. Double negatives are a definite "no, no", no pun intended, at home so when I disregard this rule after being at work for ten or twelve hour shift, it' safe to say that my mother is less than happy.

For E15, therefore, the concept of "proper" English seemed to be always closely connected with the tension that comes with her being corrected by teachers or family members. Moreover, the word "Nazi" was suggestive of the discrimination her mother seemed to show against particular varieties of English.

The language used in the home was further developed in the school environment and early on in her essay E15 associated the standard with the English course. Moreover, she seemed to have no problem using this variety of English; her familiarity with the standard

was confirmed by her near almost error-free writing. E15 explained that the English course was meant to "allow us to 'properly' communicate with one another, hence 'proper English'". She, however, seemed to doubt the effectiveness of the school-promoted approach to helping the students master the language, as she explained in the opening sentence of the essay:

> What do we think when we hear the term English? It's that dreaded class in school in which you are forced to take part in grueling activities such a rearing apart a sentence to understand what modifies what and other seemingly trivial exercises (E15).

While associating the English language with the course was simply the result of confusing the subject matter, i.e. the English language, and the methods used to analyze it, i.e. sentence diagramming, E15's school experience seemed to further confirm her lack of enthusiasm for the standard. E15 dismissed the English learned at school explaining that this "proper English" was confined within the walls of the classroom and therefore useless: "this English which we are taught is not the one used in most people's daily lives".

E15 also associated "proper" English with being older, as if this variety was the result of aging and older people did not use slang. The presence of this common language myth in E15's paper was reinforced by her observation that the only people in her life who insisted on using the standard variety were older, such as her school teachers and her mother. In contrast with that, E15's generation, being younger, preferred what E15 called "slangs". The writer was very careful, however, to limit her statements to the local area because "I haven't seen how other area's communicate".

Despite doubting her own ability to speak English on account of her not using the educated variety of English at all times, E15 had an excellent command of the language

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because she understood when and how to change how she expressed herself: "In a split second I can determine if I need to speak 'properly' or if it's more appropriate to speak using the daily slangs". This language switch was done automatically, "without notice or regard", when the audience changed. E15 explained that this was a way to accommodate the linguistically diverse communities she belonged to.

Language and work. In contrast with the "useless" (E15) variety promoted by schools and the rule-abiding English enforced by her family, E15 described the English she had been using with her co-workers and customers at Taco Bell. For her, slang was a way to reveal her creative side and she insisted on the lack of pressure she felt when using it. The example E15 provided was part of the daily linguistic routine of the fast-food restaurant where the person waiting on the drive-thru customers was told to "go to cash or go to drawer money". She also addressed the tension between her language at home where she was expected to use the standard and at work where the coworkers and customers worried less about that.

E15's work at Taco Bell allowed her to interact with a variety of people. She talked extensively about her job and how different circumstances dictated how she used language. E15 discussed particular events that somehow increased her pragmatic awareness such as her transfer from a Taco Bell restaurant located in an affluent area to one from a poor neighborhood. E15 discussed the language she heard in the low-income neighborhood where her current position was located, expressing frustration with the way her customers and coworkers used "more and more slangs" and, at the same time, acknowledging that they employed a "more comfortable relaxed English".

In addition to commenting on how the Taco Bell customers spoke, E15 made an attempt at providing an explanation for their preference for "slangs". She thus explained that the development of this particular English came as a result of people's lack of access to education, on the one hand, and the general laid-back atmosphere specific to this particular neighborhood, on the other. E15 seemed to believe that the use of slang was not a linguistic choice on the part of the customers, but a result of the poor life choices these people made. It was interesting to see E15 struggling between her perception that this English made her more comfortable and her discriminatory take on it. She struggled as half of her responded to her family's strict language use, while the other half appreciated the freedom she found in localized Englishes.

E15 explained that her initial response to the varieties of English associated with her workplace, a fast-food restaurant, was mainly to correct what she heard, which, indirectly, suggested that she believed her English was better: "When I first moved stores I found myself correcting my coworkers a lot on their ways of speaking". Yet the hours spent on the job influenced her own language, too, as she found herself mirroring her coworkers' and customers' linguistic behavior: "I began to disregard rules while I was at work, making my language fit with theirs". This variety shift was a normal response to the need to become part of the community of practice, i.e. the Taco Bell employees and customers. Moreover, E15 explained that she switched language varieties to avoid misunderstandings and therefore "to communicate effectively". While such a statement could seem paradoxical as rules are generally perceived conducive to clarity, E15 rightfully claimed that effective communication was likely to happen when the participants in the conversation used the same linguistic variety.

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E15 talked about using her coworkers and customers as linguistic resources and, in turn, acting as a resource herself. She explained: "So quickly do I find myself accepting other people's lingo as my own and then in turn them picking up certain things I say. This is what makes our language so diverse". She compared her brain with a sponge always sopping up new words and language habits. She also talked about how certain words launched generational trends when one word, much like bacteria, "infected" a particular group. The example used was "really", which represented something "everyone in the store began to say it and not even realize". E15 pointed out that it was one of the managers at Taco Bell initially overusing the word, with the rest of the staff to follow. This not only showed that language represented a relevant factor for the bonding experience in this particular community, but it also pointed to the connection between one's place in the professional hierarchy and their ability to influence others even in terms of language. Adopting linguistic habits such as overusing lexical units could not only make one sound as if he or she was a member of that particular group, an insider, but could also suggest their acceptance of the position they occupied in the group hierarchy.

One of the focal points in E15's essay was her account of a linguistic exchange between her Taco Bell manager and a L2 customer. A visit from a Hispanic customer who "did not speak very clearly" prompted the following comment on the part of the manager: "If you can't speak properly then why even come in to a place of business?". E15 confessed to being "quite infuriated by her comment" and rolling her eyes in disgust, especially as she had noticed that the manager was using an idiosyncratic variety of English as well. E15 clearly sanctioned the manager's attempt to judge others based on how they used English: "We have no place to judge someone else's language, when even our own differs".

E15's word choice when discussing the Taco-Bell incident was rather interesting. She acknowledged the damaging power of intolerance by explaining that a discriminatory remark, like the one uttered by her manager, can hurt like "a weapon" when speakers forget to censor their biased attitude:

Sometimes I believe that we can even use our English as a weapon. When someone does not speak in the same way as yourself, it's human nature to get the 'huh?' expression. But a line is usually drawn before one tends to make their English seem better, or more correct than another person's.

Another interesting word choice on her part was the way she described the customer who was at the root of the incident. It was obvious that E15 tried extra hard to be politically correct when mentioning the customer's ethnicity, who was thus described not as Hispanic, but as "an older gentleman of Spanish descent". While Hispanic would have been equally correct, her word choice suggested an increased sensitivity towards anything that could be interpreted as biased.

Throughout the essay, E15 keeps going back to one main theme: the audience impacts the way she used language by either making her choose a particular variety of English or by enriching her knowledge of English. Her linguistic flexibility, i.e. her ability to code-switch as a response to a particular factor, for instance her audience, made her a strong language user. At the same time, the essay registered her struggle to understand her own relationship with language and the tension between the different Englishes in her life. Throughout her essay, E15 was trying to reconcile what she believed to be two extremes: the language she was exposed to in school and around her family on the one hand, and the language she used to interact with people at work, on the other hand. The former was described as rigid, rule-

ridden, while the later seemed so much more comfortable and a natural extension of her inner self. Despite being more comfortable with the informal varieties of English, it was obvious that E15 had a negative perception of the nonstandard varieties of English rooted in the discrimination she had witnessed or had been subject to. Yet, in the end she revealed her preference for the language of the everyday interaction at Taco Bell, explaining that she saw little usefulness in the discourse of the academia.

Essay E10

While E15 was concerned mostly with the Englishes she used as she went about her day, E10 chose to document how people in his neighborhood used language. Besides the topic, the two participants' essays also differed in how they were written, suggesting that E10 was less familiar or concerned with Standard English than E15. Unlike the latter who did a good job approximating this standard, E10 struggled with both form in terms of grammar and punctuation, on the one hand, and content, constantly repeating the same information or forgetting to properly support some of his claims, on the other hand. Despite its obvious weaknesses, E10's essay was chosen for a detailed analysis because it provided a glimpse into the linguistic life of an ethnically and racially diverse community resembling the one described by Villanueva (1993) in *Bootstraps*.

E10 identified himself as an African American young man living in a neighborhood where he found himself surrounded by other African-Americans, Latinos, Caucasians, Jamaicans, and Middle Easterners. E10's observations provided an interesting account of the informal interaction between himself and these L1 and L2 users while documenting his struggle to make sense of the linguistic variety around him.

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L2 Englishes in the neighborhood. The introduction of the essay clearly stated E10's goal to describe how diverse his neighborhood was as a result of the generational gap or the ethnic and racial makeup he observed there. It was in the opening part that E10 introduced some of the groups he would discuss later, such as "college kids that live down the street" and the "African American, Caucasians, Latino individuals". The first paragraph also pointed out how the different races and ethnicities living side by side occasionally struggled to communicate. He explained: "There are all kinds of individuals on my street. I have talked to some of them, but not all of them can be understood clearly". Linguistic diversity was thus seen as divisive, and later on in the essay E10 discussed in detail the difficulties that occurred when various groups interacted.

One issue that came up early in the essay was the code-switching practices employed by E10's neighbors. Code-switching was seen by E10 as a major inconvenience or at least something very frustrating, as it was the case of his Latino neighbors: "It sometimes makes me upset because I do not know what they are saying". This frustration was rooted in two issues: on the one hand, the inability to completely understand what was said in a conversation when some of the participants switched to a language E10 did not know; and, on the other hand, the suspicion that the code-switching occurred when the users had something to hide. E10's assumption here was that the multilingual speakers intentionally code-switched to keep information from monolinguals: "they will just talk in Spanish because they know that some people do not know it and they can say whatever they want". Although he also admitted to code-switching from AAVE to General American, E10 did not see any similarities between his code-switching and a multilingual speaker's.

E10's position on code-switching was a common theme in the essays written by the other forty-two participants. It was not unexpected, however, that only a few were comfortable when their interlocutors code-switched; after all, this strategy could be used to mark group membership, and who would like to feel like an outsider? Yet, E10's frustration pointed to the need for educating young people about why code-switching occurs so they are less likely to be influenced by common misconceptions such as L2 users code-switch because they have something to hide. It would also be helpful if the L1s would correctly identify their own use of code-switching because then switching from one language to another would not seem that odd once they realize that they themselves employ more than one English. While E10 acknowledged that he switched from a marked variety to an unmarked variety of English, i.e. from AAVE to General American, he still was not able to identify his language use as code-switching.

E10 also discussed the multilingual Latinos in his community who combined English with Spanish. After first suggesting that overall "their English is pretty good" E10 proceeded to draw a clear distinction between the younger generation whose language was very easy to understand and the older Latinos whose English was less clear as they had "a very strong accent". E10 explained that while the latter only learned "enough English to get by", many of the young ones were born in the United States and therefore they were "really understandable". The claims, however, were not supported by any examples, although E10 suggested the following strategies to improve comprehension: "you really have to use common sense to understand what they are saying to you. That does not mean that there not understandable it just means that you really have to listen to them to catch what they say". It is interesting that although E10 felt frustrated by his verbal exchanges with the older Latinos,

he nonetheless recognized the need to meet the interlocutors halfway and share the burden of communication by listening attentively.

E10's belief in sharing the responsibility for smooth communication resulted in a series of strategies to be employed by both the L2 and L1 user during the conversation. He described some of the techniques his Latinos neighbors employed in order to avoid miscommunication: "when they speak to you they tend to speak slower than usual and they stress words". E10 felt that he also had to try harder when communicating with them. For example, when he engaged in conversations with a Latino with "a very strong accent", he sometimes had to "use common sense" and fill in the blanks when the interlocutor's English became difficult to understand. E10 also believed that attention was another factor that helped him communicate with the L2 users in his community: "you really have to listen to them to catch what they say". It was encouraging to see that E10 understood the basic—yet so often forgotten—rules of effective communication, such as meeting the other participants halfway and not expecting the L2 users to do all the work.

Another ethnic group E10 discussed was the Jamaican family in his neighborhood who both attracted and puzzled him. He struggled to understand their pronunciation but, at the same time, acknowledged that their English was not inferior to his. While E10 did not directly discuss the right of L2 Englishes to measure up with Inner Circle Englishes, he, nonetheless, seemed to instinctively know this and consequently appreciate the way his Jamaican friends used English. In this case, accent did not automatically mean poor English:

> I talked to them a couple of times and I understood what they were saying half the
> time. It is not that they do not speak good English they actually speak really good
> English it's that there accent is really strong.

E10 admitted to struggling to understand the English of the Jamaican family at the beginning: "I really tried harder and I really would not understand them", he confessed. He described his first conversation with them and explained that he could not understand them at all. He also expressed his concern that any sign of difficulty on his part was not proper and may embarrass his interlocutors who "would have got frustrated and really tried harder". Consequently, E10 decided to convey through body signals that the communication went well although he did not understand much Jamaican English: "The first time I experienced this I just shook my head letting them know I knew what they was saying".

Despite the fact that the first linguistic encounter with the Jamaicans in his community was more or less a disaster, E10's subsequent conversations with the family went much better. He credited his perseverance for it: "now at this point in time I can understand them a lot better, because I kept trying to understand them and did not give up on it". It is possible that continuous contact with Jamaican English helped E10 become accustomed with the pronunciation and thus struggled less to communicate.

It was interesting, however, to see that E10 was frustrated by the English of the Latino families while he accepted the language of his Jamaican friends. Could it be because Latinos code-switched more and E10 did not like code-switching? Could it be because he spent more time with the Jamaicans and thus was more familiar with how they spoke? Finally, could it be the result of what Lindemann (2005) called a general stigma associated with particular Englishes, such as the ones spoken by Mexicans? While it would be very interesting to find an answer for these questions, E10's essay does not provide enough clues to grant a clear answer for this matter.

L1 Englishes in the neighborhood. In addition to L2 Englishes, E10 discussed the language of the African-American members in his community. After identifying himself as a young African-American, he explained that his generation enjoyed being creative with language and therefore preferred slang to the "more perfected English" specific to the older African-Americans. This generational linguistic gap that E15 also mentioned in her essay was made clear with the help of several examples in which he compared the way his young friends talked with the language of the older African-Americans. He explained:

> Some of the words the younger generation will use are ones like, "wassup with you". That just means how are you doing, to someone that does not understand slang. The older people would say "hi, how are you doing" it's basically the same thing but worded differently.

> The misconception that the older generation did not use slang was also mentioned in several other essays and even during the intervention and it may come from the fact that different generations may not use the same slang words.

> Being African-American himself, E10 relied extensively on recollections of his own use of English to exemplify AAVE. It was interesting to see that he chose to provide the unmarked equivalent for the examples of AAVE, as if he was using a foreign language altogether. For example, here is how he described his young friends' speech: "They say things like 'I'm going to the crib' that only means 'I'm going home'". E10's choice to "translate" his friend's words signaled that he was at least partly aware that African Americans code-switched just like his Latino neighbors, although he did not openly express that.

While E10 made it clear that he preferred the slang of the young generation, he was also keenly aware that it lacked something, namely acceptability. He claimed that the older members of the African American community used an English that was "more acceptable than that of the younger population, by professionals' standards of how people should talk", but even this variety did not fully follow whatever these "standards" were. E10 believed that nobody in his African-American community had an English that could be considered up to par with these "professional" standards, which was his way of showing that he was aware of the racial divide between various localized Englishes in the United States. While he did not specify who those professionals were and therefore whose standards he had in mind, he made it clear that he regarded his own language inferior to what he called "perfected English". Such feelings of self-marginalization, however, were not unusual for an African American student, as it was documented by many researchers such as Smitherman (2000), Lippi-Green (1997), or Wyne (2002).

E10 continued his discussion of the language and race when he addressed the group he called "the Caucasians or to some people 'white' Americans" in his community. According to E10, this particular group was more aware of the connection between the social power structure and language. Unlike the African-Americans in his community, the Caucasian population knew when to switch from slang to a less marked English as circumstances required it: "The only difference is that they tend to change how they speak when it comes to either older individual or someone with authority". Another issue E10 discussed was the gender differences he noticed in the way these "Caucasians" spoke. Discussing the young males in this group, E10 noticed that, just like young African Americans, they also preferred slang. E10 provided example of such slang, for instance

"what's crackin" and "let me roll with you", and even translated them into unmarked English for the readers. Another comparison E10 made was between how Caucasian men and women speak. E10 stated that while the women in his neighborhood employed slang as well, theirs was different than the men's; however, there were no examples to support this claim.

At the end of the section discussing the Caucasian and the African-American Englishes, E10 provided a harmonizing vision of the two racial groups: "The children of both races understand each other and play with each other everyday". Although a mere generalization, this statement was backed by E10's observation that both groups shared the same lexical system or, as he explained, they employed "most of the same words". This shared vocabulary explained why the writer did not feel the same frustration with the English of his Caucasian friends as when reporting on how the Latinos in his community code-switched from English to Spanish. It could also be the result of internalized racism, i.e. the belief that the language of the Caucasians was superior to other varieties of English including his own.

In the third part of the essay, E10 briefly moved away from discussing the language of the racial and ethnic groups in his home community and addressed the differences between how men and women talked in general. This section, however, did not move beyond stereotypes and generalities, such as women "talk about things like reality shows, soaps, grooming techniques, children, and how ignorant men are". This section, however, was short and E10 brought the discussion back to how different racial groups interacted verbally.

E10's essay provided an interesting insight into the language attitudes of a monolingual L1 user surrounded by a diverse community. He discussed a variety of Englishes, addressing the issue from different angles such as age, gender, ethnicity, or race.

He seemed to develop a somehow discriminatory attitude toward particular varieties such as the English of the Latino population mainly as a reaction to the code-switching practices they employed. While E10 claimed that he did not have a problem with accents, he was bothered when more than just English was used in the conversation. As long as the people he observed used some variety of English, E10 took it upon himself to understand what was said; when the Latino code-switched to Spanish, however, his frustration was apparent.

Essay E29

E29 provided several bits of personal information in her essay. Her family emigrated from former Yugoslavia and while she used to be bilingual growing up, once she became a teenager she forgot most of the Serbian she had learned from her parents. At the time the essay was written, she had teenage children of her own, which meant that she was significantly older than both E10 and E15. She worked in the healthcare field and seemed very careful about the image she projected in front of her patients and the doctors, aiming to look and sound professional at all times.

The first half of the E29's essay focused on workplace communication and the second half discussed L2 users. The essay could have looked like two different papers stuck together if it was not for the common thread connecting everything together, i.e. linguistic intolerance. E10 addressed this issue directly, discussing and exemplifying workplace linguistic prejudice and the discrimination L2 children face in school or on the playground. What made E29's essay stand out was the narrative in which E29 shared her experience as a first-generation multilingual American.

The Englishes of the workplace. The discussion first focused on the Englishes used in the medical facility where she worked and on workplace Englishes in general. As a

medical professional, E29 felt that she needed to display a particular public persona through her verbal and non-verbal conduct. She expressed her preference for standard English, describing it as the language she taught first by the family and later on by school. For E29, language became part of the professional self, both asserting one's knowledge and confirming the expectations the audience. Unless packaged in a language that met these expectations, her medical expertise became irrelevant.

E29's professional linguistic persona was maintained not only in front of the patients, but when dealing with the doctors as well because "[a] person could lose their job for not speaking properly to a doctor at work". E29 explained that even doctors, in turn, protected their credibility by using the professional jargon without which any serious procedure became laughable. The example E28 provided was supposed to show how shallow and ignorant doctors would seem should they decide to describe a particular surgery as "hey we are about to cut you open and remove a part of your insides, but don't worry it wont take long".

Although the first part of the essay offered a couple of examples of "proper" English such as "using Mr. and Mrs.", E29 did not clearly explain what would constitute the required language in a medical setting. What E29 would call "Improper" English, however, was exemplified in relation to the language of the break room where E29 and the other nurses interacted more freely and without the fear of being judged. The examples E29 listed were "'what's up' instead of hello or 'chill out' instead of calm down". E29 associated this laid-back language used by nurses in the break room with good times and bonding: "my co-workers and I like to have a good time at work. We laugh, joke, and sometimes speak inappropriately". E29 added that someone using slang was not necessarily uneducated

because language was an expression of one's identity and one may choose slang over any other English to satisfy an inner sense of style, despite the level of education and regardless of the setting.

Despite this positive take on slang, E29 made sure to point out that she would never allow herself to use it around her patients or the doctors. She expressed concern at the thought that, should she use slang, her patients may judge her not only as disrespectful, but as unprepared to do her job or even less intellectually-endowed, as if her skills as a nurse depended on her English. As E29 explained, "If I am slouched over and speaking in slang words then they may judge me as being uneducated and ignorant. They may worry about the care they are about to receive". While it is absurd to look for a connection between the language a healthcare professional uses and their ability to do their job properly, such an self-discriminative attitude had been documented before. Liang, a university professor teaching English in the United States, also feared that his accent made him seem somehow incompetent and less able to teach (Liang & Rice, 2006).

The Englishes of the family. Having explained how she used English at work, E29 abruptly changed the focus of her discussion to analyzing the language her children used around their friends. She mentioned feeling frustrated by their use of slang although she openly admired their creativity. She confessed to admitting defeat when it came to understanding the complex slang the group of teenagers was using: "On occasion, I've even had to tell some of their friends that I have no clue of what they are saying". It was obvious that E29 was bothered by her lack of access because she mentioned the issue twice in one paragraph. E29 believed that her children's slang was so difficult to understand, that when she included in her paper an example of such speech, she also provided a translation for the

reader: "they may say something like this, 'we're bout to bounce from this chick's crib', meaning we are about to leave from this girl's house".

Having been accustomed to the demands of communication a professional setting, E29 expressed her concern that her children and their community of teenage friends failed to understand the intricacies of effective communication and the need use whatever variety of English the circumstances of the communicative act required. As evidence, E29 mentioned the complaints she had heard from teachers who spoke against the use of texting conventions in school assignments: "teenagers tend to write in text form forgetting vowels and abbreviation letters for whole words". Knowing how important "proper language" was in the medical field, E29 lamented her children that "they will not land a successful job speaking like that". What made her position puzzling was the fact that in the first part of the essay she clearly showed a good understanding of how particular contexts, such as the break room, do not require the use of the standard, but when it came to how others talked, slang was not acceptable. Although the relaxed space of the family home would welcome a less formal English, she seemed bothered when her children and their friends resorted to slang.

Moreover, E29's unenthusiastic response to teen slang was unique among the essays the participants submitted. While the other essay writers did not seem to be much bothered by slang, E29 was an older student who had passed teenage years and thus felt like an outsider and lacked the necessary insider knowledge that would have allowed her to understand her children's language. Moreover, she projected as someone whose life experiences had confirmed the connection between language and how people were perceived. Language was identified as an expression of power and therefore she wanted her family to benefit by using a powerful variety of English. Her displeasure with slang came from her

belief that this variety of English was considered inferior and she wanted her children to fully participate in the academic and professional life without facing linguistic discrimination.

Linguistic intolerance was also an underlying issue in the third part of the essay where E29 turned her attention toward her own childhood and the languages her family used. Born of recent immigrants to the United States, E29 initially shared with the family the Serbian language they had brought with them from home: "My family is from Yugoslavia and they only speak the Serbian language in the home. My mother and father came to America in their early twenties and knew very little English…. They only knew basic words" The parents spoke what E29 called "minimal English", maintaining Serbian as the language of family interaction, which was something that seemed to bother E29: "Since my mother and father only new minimal English, we were forced to only speak Serbian". Despite being part of the family heritage, Serbian was not welcomed by the children especially once they learned English. E29 confessed to being pressured by her parents to maintain her fluency in Serbian, which caused her to resent it, while the community beyond the family home encouraged her to learn English. Once the parents passed away E29 lost the link with the language of their home country: "my Serbian is not as strong as it use to be", she confessed. While code-switching between Serbian and English still occurred around her siblings, the fluency in Serbian she once had as a child was gone. Such language attrition was, of course, common among children of immigrant parents who saw that their success in the community depended on how well they fitted in—and language was such a big part of that (Fu & Matoush, 2006).

Besides the Serbian learned at home, the children of the family, including E29, were taught English in school and used English almost exclusively once they reached adulthood.

They learned English from two sources: school and church. E29 explained that her American voice began to develop as soon as she registered for school a result of her early placement in "special tutoring program". She also explained that the church also contributed to their English literacy by providing extra tutoring courses teaching her "to translate words and how to correctly pronounce and spell words".

E29's eagerness to learn the language of the new country came not only from the need to communicate with the peers, but also to avoid the intolerance she was subject to as a young girl. She described their intolerant reaction to her early English: "Growing up, neighbors and classmates would make fun of the way we spoke because of the strong accent we used". E29 talked about how she lost her accent once she stopped speaking with her parents regularly. Moreover, just like many people coming from an immigrant family, E29 was not concerned about her increasing inability to speak the language of her immigrant parents because her social, academic, and professional success did not depend on her being bilingual, but on mastering English. E29's preference for English was not surprising considering that, as Fu and Matoush (2006) explained, "educational advancement in the U.S. is closely tied to English proficiency" (p. 6) and the existing policy in American schools treated bilingualism as "a deficit condition requiring remediation" (p. 9).

E29's essay was particularly valuable for this research project considering how important it was for the students to reflect on their encounters with L2 users. In her case, the student was herself a L2 user, and she also had her immediate family as a source of reflection. While she showed obvious displeasure in her early days as a Serbian speaker, she provided some insightful information about why such an attitude of self-discrimination occurred. E29 wrote about her need to become an accepted member of the community and on

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how much importance this community gave to American English. In her attempt to avoid her peers' prejudice, she ended up discriminating against her own multilingual self.

Summary

The essays submitted by Arielle's students proved an excellent way of probing into the participants' perception of linguistic diversity and it was also a means to gauge their response to L2 Englishes. The essay prompt was general enough that they could choose the particular focus for each essay and many of them showed an interested in the discursive practices of L2 users, which was likely a result of the discussions that occurred during the intervention. This increased awareness of the L2 users around them was a good sign, considering that the pre-survey data suggested that not many of the participants gave to much thought to the international development of their language. Although the essays often contained stories of misunderstandings and even statements that could be interpreted as discriminatory against particular localized Englishes, they encouraged them to reflect on how they and others used language and to question some discriminatory stereotypes.

Most participants addressed the issue of linguistic diversity through the perspective of their own discourse. It seemed like some chose not to discuss L2 Englishes directly because they were more comfortable discussing what they knew best, i.e. their own Englishes. They reflected on how diverse their own language was and remarked on the importance of code-switching from one English to another, for instance from slang to a more formal English. They also gained insight into how linguistic diversity manifested itself in their community of practice by observing how the others used language, including the L2 users they happened to meet at work, at school, or in their more intimate circles.

The participants' attitude toward linguistic diversity provided a glimpse into the values with which they identified themselves. Although the participants acknowledged how diverse their own language was, they revealed a mixed response to the language variation they noticed in others. Code-switching was thus seen as both a skills to be desired, when they discussed their own discourse, and something to be avoided when the interlocutor was the one to display the variation because it could lead to communicative breakdowns. This fear was revealed especially when the conversation took place between a L1 and a L2. Finally, the participants were aware of the discriminative power of language and this was an important factor in their choice of language as they feared being marginalized when using particular varieties of English. Their experiences with various Englishes, regardless of who the user was, informed their attitude toward language variation and complemented the data obtained with the help of the survey.

CHAPTER 6

DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS: INTERVIEWS

In addition to the data obtained from surveys and essays, fifteen interviews were conducted in the fall of the 2009 semester with volunteers from the experimental group. The interviews were very helpful for several reasons: they gave me with the opportunity to get to know the participants more than it was possible using the survey; they allowed in-depth exploration of some of the issues addressed in the intervention; they provided a rich backdrop for the rest of the data; and they were a good way to triangulate the data for the research project.

The data obtained with the help of the interviews, however, should be carefully considered in the light of my positionality as an L2 user whose passion for tolerance and interest in linguistic diversity came out clearly during the intervention. It was obvious, especially for the participants in the post-interviews, that I had an agenda, and despite my assurances that I was simply interested in their honest opinion, they were likely to try to "humor" me and avoid discussing issues that might offend a L2 user. In other words, my presence was likely to influence how they answered my questions; therefore, the interview data should be taken into consideration only in conjunction with the data obtained from surveys and essays. Triangulating the data allowed me to still use the interview despite the obvious limitation in terms of my influence as a L2 user on how my participants answered my questions.

Only the students from the experimental group were asked to volunteer for an interview on the first day of the intervention; at the end of the interview, they were asked to come back for a second interview when the intervention concluded. Only one of Arielle's

students and two of Titania's students, however, did both the pre and post interview. The other five pre-interview participants did not come back for the second interview. Other students in Titania and Arielle's course, however, offered to take their place and I gladly accepted their offer, and in the end there were twelve participants altogether. Each of the twelve participants agreed to the interviews being recorded and signed the consent form. The interviews totaled 236.76 minutes with an average of 15.78 minutes per interview. The recordings varied from 30.22 minutes the longest to 8.08 the shortest. The interviews were then transcribed and each turn was numbered starting with 001.

This chapter solely focuses on describing and analyzing the data obtained from the interviews. I first provide a brief description of the participants pieced together using the facts and stories they shared during the interview. The rest of the chapter describes and analyzes the data.

Brief Description of the Participants

This section of the chapter lists all the interviewees starting with the pre-interview participants. They appear in the same order in which they were interviewed. The table on the following page chronologically lists each interview, using as means of identification the name of the instructor and the date when the interview took place. Pseudonyms were used instead of the participants' real names in order to protect their identity.

Table 7. Interviewees and Interview Dates.

Interview type	Interviewee Pseudonym	Instructor	Date of interview
Pre-interview	Sandi-pre	Arielle	9/4/2009
	Cody	Arielle	9/4/2009
	Danny	Arielle	9/4/2009
	Pattie	Arielle	9/4/2009
	Maria	Titania	11/5/2009
	Donna-pre	Titania	11/5/2009
	Victor	Titania	11/5/2009
	Roberta-pre	Titania	11/5/2009
Post-interview	Laurie	Arielle	9/18/2009
	Sandi-post	Arielle	9/18/2009
	Tammy	Arielle	9/18/2009
	Paulie	Arielle	9/18/2009
	Roberta-post	Titania	11/19/2009
	Donna-post	Titania	11/19/2009
	Tara	Titania	11/19/2009

Besides the interview time, my interaction with these participants was limited to the two weeks of the intervention, so there was little chance that I would get to know them well. The information they provided during the pre and post-interviews, however, allowed me to piece together the following sketches.

1.   Sandi was a young female student who participated in both pre- and post-interview. She was born in a middle-class family (Sandi-pre 074) in New York and, when still very young, moved to the city where the university was located. She had limited contact with L2 users outside of work and school. Sandi worked as a cashier at a local store and talked about assisting L2 customers (Sandi-pre 102). She also discussed being in the same group with a student who was originally from Japan each time I assigned group work during the intervention (Sandi-pre 012-020). Sandi had tried to learn a foreign language in the past but considered the attempts a failure (096). She travelled throughout the United States but did not get an opportunity to go outside of her country although she expressed interest in visiting European countries such as Italy (Sandi-pre 028). Sandi participated in both pre- and post-interviews.

2.   Cody, a young male student, lived in the countryside where there was little linguistic variety (Cody 005). He claimed that the majority of the population there spoke "respectful" English, which he defined as the opposite of slang (009). Cody used his experience in the military (027, 030), the daily encounters at work (062), the interaction with his Korean friends (066), and the observations he had collected in his home environment (009), to raise issues such as interacting with linguistically diverse populations, using the variety of English that best fitted a particular context, or avoiding the negative labeling that often comes with using a particular English. Cody was one of the most active students during

the intervention, participating in the class discussion, leading the discussion in his small group, and enthusiastically completing the in-class assignments. Cody did not return for the post-interview.

3.   Danny was a young male student who had numerous encounters with L2 users as a result of his trips to Ukraine, his grandfather's native country (Danny 002), and of his friendship with an Arabic-speaking family (Danny 044). A monolingual user of English, Danny admired people's ability to be multilingual and was interested in becoming bilingual himself so he could be a better teacher for Hispanic students (Danny 054). Danny encountered linguistic diversity during his travels throughout the United States, but shared stories mostly about the language of New Yorkers (035). Danny did not return for the post-interview.

4.   Pattie was a young female student commuting from a small town in Ohio (Pattie 002). Her job at a shoe store provided her with the opportunity to occasionally interact with L2 users, and she described such an encounter during the interview (044). In addition to that, she also discussed her experience in the Math class taught by a L2 professor (036). She expressed empathy for the possible difficulties in communication such L2 users experience in her community (074), but she, nonetheless, could not help feeling frustrated and challenged (046) by her difficulty to maintain a smooth communication with linguistically diverse populations. Pattie did not return for the post-interview.

5.   Maria, a young female student, came from what she called the "all English" environment specific to the small towns surrounding the university (Maria 004). Her experiences with linguistic diversity included her encounters with L2 customers at the donut shop where she worked (026), her interaction with L2 students at school (012), and her three

years of studying high school French. Maria described her the French course as a positive experience (018). Although her travels never took her outside of the United States and Canada, she noticed the linguistic diversity there, discussing Canadian (032) and Southern varieties in addition to AAVE (040). Maria did not return for the post-interview.

6.   Donna, just like Maria and Pattie, was a young female commuter. She lived her whole life in a small Ohioan town and her experiences with linguistic diversity were limited to the foreign exchange students she briefly met in high school (Donna-pre 018), her trips to Florida, and her Spanish course (Donna-pre 038). Donna discussed at length the way her autistic brother used language (Donna-pre 032). Donna seemed interested in language in general and expressed her wish to become an English teacher. Donna participated in both pre- and post-interviews.

7.   Victor was a young 1.5 student from an Indian family living in the United States (Victor 014). He was two when his family immigrated to Ohio, but he maintained an active relationship with his father's family in India through visits and phone calls. His heritage included Caucasian Cajun-speaking grandfather and uncle from Louisiana (Victor 059). Victor shared a series of stories about his parents, his Southern relatives, and the Indian side of the family. He showed particular interest in the issue of language variation, explaining that his passion for acting made him explore different dialects (Victor 018). Despite his parents being multilingual, Victor was a monolingual user of English (Victor 028), although he mastered several varieties such as British English (045), Indian English (Victor 095), and American English. Victor participated only in the pre-interview.

8.   Roberta was also a 1.5 student who emigrated from India when she was a teenager (pre 004). She was multilingual and biliterate, speaking English, Hindu, Punjabi,

and Spanish (pre 58), and writing English and Punjabi (pre 014, 016). She talked about the experiences she had once she immigrated to the United States: her determination to learn the local variety (020); the preference for English writing (pre 012); and her interactions with other L2 users in the United States. Roberta participated in both pre- and post-interviews.

9. Laurie was a young female student who spent most of the interview discussing the experiences she had had with her Middle-Eastern friend and her Arabic-speaking family. She admired her friend's ability to be bilingual, especially as her own attempt to learn Italian did not render positive results (068). Although she only traveled around the United States and Canada, she confessed to often meeting L2 users on her trips (086). Laurie wanted to become a teacher and believed in the positive results ESL courses can have for L2 students (124). Laurie participated only in the post-interview.

10. Tammy was a young female student and, in her spare time, a speech coach (024) who was passionate about writing and language. She spent the first part of the interview discussing the draft of her essay on linguistic diversity she was writing for Arielle's course. Tammy had never travelled outside of the United States but she was familiar with the concept of L2 Englishes thanks to her Polish great-grandmother (048) and her friendship with an exchange student from the Czech Republic (052). Tammy participated only in the post-interview.

11. Paulie, a young female student, learned about L2 Englishes from her Serbian friend whom she liked so much that she called him called "my bigger brother" (026). Paulie explained that her friendship allowed her to witness important moments in the life of an immigrant, such as the ceremony during which he became a US Citizen (022). Paulie talked

about her desire to learn foreign languages, her experience in the Spanish high school class (032), and her two L2 professors (052). Paulie participated only in the post-interview.

12.   Tara was a young female student who was training to be a secondary school teacher (012). While she did not mention any travel outside of the United States, she provided an extensive account of interaction with the international faculty coming into the office where she was a student-worker (030). Tara spent most of the time during the interview discussing the intervention and language rights. Tara participated only in the post-interview.

Data Description and Analysis

This section will discuss the data obtained from the interviews focusing on the experiences the participants had with L1 users in the United States, with L2 users in the United States and abroad, and as L2 users themselves in the foreign language classroom. All of the participants talked about hearing localized Englishes and interacting with L2 users at work, when in school, during their travels, and, in some cases, in the immediate community of friends or family members. For the two 1.5 students, in particular, linguistic diversity was a big part of their life as they and their family were L2 users. The participants' stories and observations were very helpful in describing the linguistic landscape specific to their community and provided much needed insight into how common communication opportunities between L1 and L2 users occurred. It became clear during the interviews that these experiences shaped their perception of linguistic diversity.

Meeting the "Other": Opportunities for Contact with Linguistic Diversity

School. Schools provided the interviewees with opportunities to interact with L2 users in the form of contact with international faculty and foreign exchange students. When

sharing their experiences, the participants focused mostly on the difficulties they encountered when talking to these L2 users and they also explained what strategies they used to improve the communication. The participants feared that having a L2 instructor could negatively impact their grade, but, at the same time, openly admitted that it was their duty to prepare more in order to do well in that particular course. The encounters with L2 students were either very superficial (Sandi, Pattie) or the beginning of solid friendships (Cody, Danny, Laurie). In addition to meeting L2 users, the participants also learned about multilingualism from the foreign language course where they found themselves in the role of the L2. Although the majority confessed that they did not succeed in learning a second language, the experience was still beneficial because it made them better understand the position of the L2 users around them.

The participants' accounts confirmed that they were provided with plenty of opportunities to interact with L2 users in high school thanks to exchange students and in college because of the L2 faculty. The interviewees explained that they noticed an increase in the diversity of the faculty members once they entered their freshman year in college, which was something they did not have much in high school. Their experience was similar with the findings of a study done by Major, Fitzmaurice, Bunta, & Balasubramanian (2002) who explained that entering college students were more likely to end up with an international instructor such as a TA or visiting professor (p. 174).

Having a L2 user for a professor was seen by the participants as an additional challenge and they feared that their grade could somehow suffer because of that. At the time of the interview, Paulie was taking two courses taught by international faculty and she admitted to being anxious about it at first and thinking "Oh, great, I'm gonna do horribly in

this class" (052). Her initial negative attitude gradually changed once she realized that she could understand the professor's English "just fine" (052). Unlike Paulie, however, the majority of the interviewees believed having L2 users as professor to be as an additional challenge requiring extra work and attention on the part of the participants who confessed having to read the textbook ahead in order to understand what the L2 instructor was saying. They felt like they were left to understand the subject matter on their own because the instructor's English was hard to understand and therefore his or her classroom explanations could not help. Even Paulie mentioned being anxious because "his accent is not as heavy, but it's like still harder 'cause I think it makes everything more complicated to me because like I don't understand a thing in class, then I go home and I have my friend help me and it's easy as hell" (058). This fear of the L2 instructor, however, was not unusual among students with L2 professors and had been documented by previous studies (Fitch & Morgan 2003; Gruber, 2006; Guo, 2006; Liang & Rice, 2006; Manrique, 2002; Rios, 2002; Rong, 2002; Szerdahelyi, 2002; Yokomizo Akindes, 2002).

Despite this fear, none of the interviewees who had a L2 professor mentioned dropping the class taught by a L2 user; on the contrary, when asked if she would consider that, Pattie quickly and energetically dismissed the idea on account of the instructor's pleasant personality and her ability to prepare in advance: "there's no reason to drop the class, you can read everything in the book. Go on WebCT or Course Compass and you can still understand from that, as long as you do your homework and stuff, and then it's fine" (040). Pattie actually seemed more confused by unexpected turns in the conversational exchange that by the instructor's language in itself: "like some things are easier, like I said, they get easier, but when he goes on to a new subject, I'm struggling for the first couple of

minutes" (038). This confusion, of course, could have little to do with the L2 user's English and may come as a result of poor conversational skills, regardless of the speaker's accent.

Two interviewees, Roberta and Laurie, however, claimed that students did drop a course because of the English used by the international faculty teaching it, but they were both simply reporting hearsay. Neither Roberta nor Laurie witnessed this directly, as Roberta explained: "I did not encounter any professors but I heard of a professor who has an accent and the students have a difficulty understanding him, so they are kind of dropping his class" (Pre 038). This, of course, was not unheard of; Liang and Rice's (2006) essay addressed this issue from the perspective of the L2 professor, namely Liang, who feared that his students dropped his class on account of his accent. Unlike Roberta's and Laurie's reports and despite Liang's fears, none of my interviewees who had been in this situation themselves considered withdrawing from a course taught by L2 faculty. The students Roberta and Laurie *heard about* reacted very differently than the interviewees who had a L2 instructor. This shows how a stereotype was enforced by hearsay, leading to unfair assumptions about L2 users. What made it more interesting in this case was the fact that Roberta, one of the two perpetuating this language myth, was a L2 user herself.

The interviewees also discussed the encounters they had with international students. For Tammy, the friendship with the exchange student from the Czech Republic led to her learning a few words from his first language and general information about his home country. She reported, for instance, that she became more knowledgeable about the social impact the dissolution of former Czechoslovakia has on the different nationalities living there (056). Moreover, when her friend became upset when asked if he was from Czechoslovakia instead of the Czech Republic, Tammy also found out about the power certain words hold

over speakers due to the sociocultural and political associations specific to each speaker. She explained: "if you say the wrong word or the wrong name, like he'd be like defensive over it, and I guess this has to do with language, too" (56). Being around him helped Tammy develop the intercultural sensitivity necessary to maintain the communication going and enhanced her awareness of how complex languages were.

Another opportunity to learn about multilingualism was provided by schools thanks to the foreign language classroom. The participants reported taking between one and three years of foreign languages such as Spanish, French, Italian, or Latin. Roberta, already a speaker of Hindi, Punjabi, and English, showed much self-confidence when she talked about the high school Spanish she took in the United States: "it was easy. If I learn more, I can master the language" (Pre 062). This self-confidence was likely to come from having been through the experience of learning other languages several times before. Taking foreign languages was also positive for Maria who claimed to be "decent" (017) in French and explained that "It's kind of … cool learning a different language" (019). She admired how "courteous" classroom French was, at least when she compared it with her native tongue: "every other language except for English is formal and English is such an informal language" (Maria 021). Maria's words showed that the foreign language classroom became the place where students got an opportunity not only to learn another language, but to reflect on their L1 as well. Moreover, trying to become multilingual themselves helped some of the participants put themselves in the shoes of the L2 user, thus promoting empathy. Donna, for instance, explained that her English influenced the way she spoke Spanish in the foreign language class and this helped her understand how the discourse of multilinguals was influenced by the other languages they knew: "you can rearrange words in Spanish and you'll

mean the same thing, but if you rearrange them in English, it's very confusing, so. It seems that's why a lot of people who speak other languages, you know, their English is different" (Pre 038).

Yet there were instances when being in the foreign language classroom did not contribute the participants' understanding of multilingualism and the whole experience made them think that they did not enjoy taking languages and did not feel like they learned anything. They took the experience as a confusing, useless waste of time. Pattie, for instance, tried taking both French and Spanish at the same time and found the experience confusing because of the different pronunciation of similar words and the false friends (064). Laurie also complained about how little she learned from her Italian teacher (068) whose classes made her panic and ask: "Oh, my God, how do I do this?" (068).This negative experience, however, did not prevent her from wanting to learn Spanish in the future, just in case she might have any Spanish-speaking students once she became a 3rd grade teacher.

Overall, however, the lack of success in becoming multilingual themselves could partly explain people's fear of multilingualism, which was something mentioned in Horner and Trimbur's (2002) now famous article on English-only initiatives. Moreover, the foreign language classroom was not just educational; at times, it promoted misconceptions and language myths. Maria, for instance, believed that the French "don't have as many slang words. We have many slang words. Sometimes it's hard to understand what people are talking about, but French- they have pretty much a set language" (025). This showed that sometimes foreign language instruction failed to teach the students basic facts about language such as in real life, languages were never set and linguistic innovation was natural (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 12).

The participants' experiences with foreign languages were mixed in the sense that some students found the class difficult and the language impossible to learn, others simply enjoyed the teacher and participating in the class activities, without learning much of the language, while some, like Roberta and Maria, seemed confident in their ability to speak the language taught by the school. Taking foreign languages, however, was a good opportunity for the students to look at language from the perspective of a multilingual, if not becoming multilingual themselves.

Work. The workplace encounters between L1 interviewees and their L2 customers or clients were reported as generally brief and loaded with miscommunication. The interviewees all worked entry-level jobs in customer service, mostly in fast-food restaurants or stores. Although their interactions with L2 customers were only short and lacking depth, they were memorable enough considering that the participants still remembered them. Some of the participants believed in the need to accommodate the clients and meet them halfway in conversation. It seemed like the participants who had L2 friends were in general more willing to accommodate the L2 users they met on the job.

All the participants who interacted with L2s on the job expressed the belief that they had to work harder and use non-verbal cues such as pointing (Cody 062) and body language (Cody 064) to communicate. Maria explained that she took the liberty to suggest what the customer may want, as if there was a matter of indecisiveness when it came to food choices and not a communication problem (029). Cody also explained that when he could not understand the customer's order, he resorted to pointing to particular dishes on the menu board (Cody 064). Although Maria and Cody were obviously doing the best they could to solve a communication problem, their accounts pointed to a tendency to impose their will on

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the L2s on account of having better knowledge of the language. On the other hand, these instances raised the question of whether the customers they were helping had enough proficiency in English to be L2 users or they were just novice learners, which was a distinction Kachru (1992b) also made in his work.

Some interviewees believed that it was part of their duty to accommodate the more frequent customers and learn a few Spanish words (Cody 062). Danny, a future teacher, showed interest in learning Spanish because he believed that there was a high probability to have Hispanic children as students (Danny 054). Yet not everybody was as accommodating as Danny: when asked during the post-interview how she would deal with a L2 student should she ever become a teacher, Sandi was almost terrified: "I have no idea. That would drive me crazy if a student… Maybe I'd catch on but after, it would take a while to catch on because other students are doing it right" (Sandi-post 046). Sandi's response was in line with the common misconception that there is only one right English, the one educated L1 students are using, and thus linguistic variety should not be allowed in schools and especially in the English course, Pattie, too, believed that it was outrageous to learn the English of the customer (056) because, as she explained, there would be too many language varieties to learn.

For Cody, trying to figure out what the customer wanted was an engaging puzzle and the struggle to put together the customer's order was rewarding in itself. Being good at interacting with linguistically diverse populations was a point of pride for Cody who explained that he was known at work as someone who was so good at communicating with L2 users (062) and even tried to learn a few Spanish words to accommodate the Hispanic clientele. Cody found it encouraging that his manager relied on him when L2 customers

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walked into the restaurant: "Even my manager calls me ah, we've got some I don't know what they are saying." Although Cody found the manager's attitude reassuring, it was, nonetheless, demeaning toward the customers who were labeled as a problem. The manager did not even try to communicate with them and passed them on to Cody.

Cody, though, took pride in his "skill" to wait on L2 customers and even shared the story of a recent encounter with a Russian who walked into the fast-food restaurant to ask for something that was not on the menu, i.e. hot water. Here's Cody account:

> I just worked last night and there was a Russian fellow who came in and he was, he spoke a little bit of English but he kind of had that Russian mixed into it. And I think he was getting a bit frustrated with me because I was not sure what he was asking for. All he was wanting was a cup of hot water. And all he was saying was cup, cup, water. I'm like, ok, cup of ice water, cup of cold water, what kind of water did you want? Did you want hot coffee? I wasn't sure what he was saying you know, we worked through it, at the end it was cool, I was like have a nice day, and he was happy, so I mean our encounter, I think it went good. It wasn't like he was throwing stuff and pissed or anything like that. It could have gone better, of course. It's just hard when he's just pointing and he wants something but not saying it like clearly. (096)

Cody's story was interesting because it described his reaction as a monolingual L1 when code-switching occurred and the interaction with a novice L2 learner did not go smoothly. Cody was obviously attentive and willing to help the customer, otherwise he would not have noticed the Russian's frustration. He looked at this task as something that required them to collaborate and he seemed pleased with how the event turned out in the end.

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Cody's last sentence, however, suggested that he still believed that it was mostly the L2's responsibility to express himself clearly and he had fallen short of it. While such an attitude can be explained by the fact that it probably took extra effort to understand the customer, it nonetheless raised the issue of who should be held responsible for the communicative act and confirmed Cook's (1999) claim that L1s expect L2s to bear the responsibility of making themselves understood.

For Pattie, though, these workplace interactions with L1s were frustrating. Her account provided a good way to look at what happens when the L1 was not prepared to deal with a L2 customer. She explained how difficult it was for her to wait on a Spanish-speaking customer in search of shoes. Pattie's frustration with the L2 user was evident in the words she used to describe the customer's speech: the woman would "jabber" (045) or be "huffing and puffing, huh, how come you don't understand?". Pattie seemed frustrated not only with the customer's English, but with her inexperience with the American shoe sizes and other purchase-related issues such as the use of credit cards. Pattie explained that the customer confused her when she asked for an 85 in lady's shoes, as she could see that the woman was either an 8 or 8.5. Instead of guessing that the woman probably needed an 8.5 and either did not know how to say it or she made a genuine mistake, Pattie assumed that sizes must be different abroad. "I guess the measurements are different there 'cause an 85 is an 8.5" (044) she said during the interview, still unable to make the connection between what the customer said and what she really wanted to say. Pattie simply dismissed what the L2 said on account of it being a cultural difference without trying, like Cody, to put together the linguistic puzzle.

Pattie's attitude may be explained by a certain fear she had of multilingual settings and interaction in any language other than English. She explained that although she had taken high school Spanish classes for two years, she would be reluctant to use it in a Spanish-speaking country and she expected the interlocutor to accommodate her: "Right now I'd be afraid to go to Mexico, simply, like real Mexico, not Cancun, but where I could not understand what they are saying. I would just be like 'No. No speak Spanish'" (064). Pattie's choice of words here was also very interesting. Much like the L1's who feel the need to raise their voice when speaking to an L2, as if they were deaf, Pattie chose incorrect grammar for the sentence she would say to a Mexican audience, as if this was conducive to their understanding.

Why did Cody and Pattie react so differently to the L2 users at work? Their private lives could hold the answer to this question. Cody had close L2 companions and he spoke at length about his relationship with his Korean friend and his family. He expressed his open admiration for multilingualism and for how his Korean friend used English. Unlike Cody, Pattie did not have these personal resources to draw from as she did not have any close ties with L2 users.

Travel. Travelling around the United States was another way for the participants to learn about linguistic diversity by observing how real people used English. They mostly discussed their interaction with other L1 users and the localized Englishes they encountered in certain parts of the country such as Florida and New York. In addition to accent, the participants mentioned lexical issues such as regional uses for particular English words, and some even brought up pragmatics. While there were instances when the participants were bewildered by the localized Englishes they heard along the way, they did not seem as

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annoyed or concerned as when they communicated with L2 users at work or in school, which confirmed the survey findings that pointed to the participants' preference for L1 Englishes. Moreover, they openly discussed linguistic discrimination in relation to localized Englishes, pointing out how people tended to rush to judge someone's intelligence based on their English.

Except for the two 1.5 students, all the other interviewees traveled only within the United States or Canada, mostly to southern vacation destinations where they interacted with the locals and were therefore exposed to varieties of English different than their own. Laurie explained that the resorts she visited regularly employed people from all over the world (086), which facilitated brief interactions with L2 users. Through these exchanges, the participants not only learned about the rich variety of localized Englishes; they also realized a few things about their own variety. Pattie explained that her trips to Nevada and Myrtle Beach helped her see that her English was also a local variety: "if you go to like Nevada or Myrtle Beach, for instance, they say Ohioans have an accent. Yeah, I never realized that" (050). It was interesting to see that Patti's ethnocentric attitude was challenged during her travels and that made her reconsider her own English.

The interviewees seemed interested in the Englishes used in the southern parts of the United States, probably as a result of their vacation travels (Donna-pre, Danny, Maria, Cody, Sandi-pre). They talked mostly about people's accents, just like Jenkins (2007) predicted when she claimed that accentedness was the most salient feature in people's speech (p. 78). The Southern accent was described as slow (Donna-pre 040) or, to use Maria's words, "Their accent is like… really drawn out, I guess" (036). Donna also talked about travelling to Florida and being frustrated with the "slow" speech of the local waitress doing small talk

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instead of fetching dinner. Her annoyance could be sensed in the following comment: "I'm sitting here waitin', I got that five minutes ago, c'mon!" (Donna-pre 040). She even imitated the way the Florida people spoke by slowing down her speech when she illustrated the dialogues she had with the locals. Donna's attitude was obviously ethnocentric, but it was also obvious that she was not aware of it. The lack of education on language rights prompted her to act in a discriminatory fashion, although not intentionally.

The interviewees also mentioned the lexical differences between their English and other local varieties (Danny 004, Sandi-pre 058, Cody 104) and it was obvious that they were intrigued and even fascinated by them. Cody discussed the multiple meanings people in Georgia assign to the word coke: "Everything to them is, when you say, ah, I'll take a coke, they say what kind. I say coke is coke, you know? But they take coke to be any of their beverages. Or it's soda. Here is pop" (104). Unlike Maria, Cody did not limit himself to describing how people speak; he also explained that the language people use may incorrectly lead the audience to make negative assumptions about them, albeit unjustified: "just because they say that does not mean they are not educated" (104). The connection between how people speak and how educated they were made sense in a way, considering that schools have been promoting the unmarked variety of English (Berns 2006; Graddol, Leith and Swann, 1997, p. 222; McArthur ,1999 p. 167). Cody's sensitivity to linguistic intolerance, however, was reassuring.

Sandi also discussed how soft drinks were called in the places she visited for vacation, explaining how "everything's called coke" in Florida, regardless of the favor. This seemed so abnormal to her that she exclaimed "It's just weird!" (Sandi-pre 058). Sandi's reaction was a result of an ethnocentric system of beliefs claiming legitimacy for the one

particular language, i.e. Sandi's, assuming that the speech of the "Other" was deviant or, as she put it, "weird". This happened because Sandi was left to make sense of these differences on her own, without the help that education on language diversity could provide.

Maria also discussed the differences in the referential framework between Ohioans and her hosts in Florida. The example she used was how to ask someone to turn on the air condition unit. Maria thus explained that while her family would always be very specific and say "turn on the air conditioning" (044), people in Florida would only say "Just go turn it on". Maria explained that the referring to the air conditioner as "it" was a result of living in the hot Southern climate where, as Maria said, "it's so used down there they don't even mention it by name" (044). She seemed intrigues by these differences between her English and the one spoken by her friends in Florida, and she also gave the impression that she felt like and "insider" because she picked up on these language differences and could adapt her speech to fit in.

Another dialectal region mentioned in the interviews came from Danny. Discussing the perceived verbal aggressiveness in the speech of New Yorkers, Danny concluded that the way they spoke in the city was simply a result of their life style that kept them going at a fast pace and their English had nothing to do with what kind of people they were:

Danny 036: "And in New York, of you walk down the street and bump into somebody, they are like "Watch it". They scream "Watch where you're going, you know. But it's just, that's how it is, you know, their cultures I guess. Different.

Researcher 037: So is the New Yorker trying to be rude, or he's just

Danny 038: No, he's just always in a hurry. They're always going somewhere. And if you cut them off, well, then, you can't do that.

Both the assumption that New Yorkers lived their whole life in a continuous hurry and the idea that they consequently yelled at strangers in the street were, of course, stereotypical representations of the people from that particular area of the United States. Yet it was interesting to see that Danny avoided another stereotype as he did not associate New York English with rudeness. The interviewees generally maintained a careful distance from openly passing any negative judgment on varieties of English different than their own. When asked to provide some suggestions people could use when interacting with linguistically diverse populations, Cody immediately thought of how such an interaction may activate preconceived notions and took a proactive stance against linguistic discrimination. He explained: "Never judge somebody because they come from a different … or because they look different, speak different because they are exactly like you, they just grew up somewhere different than you. You know. The best thing you can do is never judge" (Cody 100). The fact that Cody volunteered this comment without even being prompted showed how relevant this issue was for him and, possibly, how often he witnessed instances when people rushed to judge others based solely on language.

Family and friends. The participants had another venue for exposure to different Englishes thanks to family members, friends, and neighbors. For some, these represented excellent opportunities to learn about multilingualism. The close contact with L2 users showed them that multilingualism was normal, although not the norm here in the United States. For the monolingual participants, being fluent in more than one language was an admirable skill, especially as it was something most of them had attempted in the foreign

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language classroom but failed. For Danny, multilingualism was a wonderful thing, something so unusual that made him exclaim with admiration: "I didn't know you can know four to five languages, I was like, wow!" (018). For Roberta, however, multilingualism was just normal because of her sixteen years in India.

Victor and Roberta's families were comprised of multilingual users, and Roberta was multilingual and biliterate herself. Multilingualism failed to surprise them and they understood better than the other participants why language variation occurred with L2 users. Roberta's ability to speak several languages and Victor's mastery of different varieties of English provided them with a vantage point in comparison with the other participants, allowing them to gain a deeper understanding of how languages worked. Yet, there were several participants who talked about growing up with multilingual family members, especially older ones who were first-generation immigrants to the United States. Danny's grandfather came from Ukraine. Tammy's great-grandmother was Polish and a source of bewilderment for her family when she reverted back to her L1 as years went by. Tammy talked about using her grandfather as an interpreter especially after Alzheimer affected her great-grandmother's English (048). It seemed rather difficult for the participants to make sense of these experiences as they felt torn between family allegiance and language-caused frustration and it became obvious that the interviewees' experience with L2 users informed their attitude toward linguistic diversity.

When the participant was a L2 herself, as it was the case with Roberta, the level of empathy was much higher than in the case of the other interviewees. Roberta's experiences as a multilingual user of English raised her awareness about the importance of maintaining a respectful tone when communicating with other L2's: "I just try to be as polite as I can so the

other person is not offended that they're having an accent or they're feeling inferior" (Pre 034). Although Roberta did not openly discuss any instances of linguistic discrimination directed against her, the fact that she believed respect was so important suggested that she may have witnessed instances when people who used localized Englishes were victims of intolerance. Roberta also talked about how her father "did not master the language" (Pre 020) because, unlike Roberta who had been using English since kindergarten, he was an adult when he learned it himself. Her account of her father's English, however, was difficult to interpret because although she acknowledged that his English was not as good as hers, she nonetheless made sure to point out that he did not have an accent (Pre 024). Considering that she feared her community at large assigned people with an accent a position of inferiority (Pre 034), it made sense that she insisted on her father's English being accent-free.

Accentedness in speech also seemed to preoccupy the other 1.5 participant, Victor who described how his family used English. The words he used each time he mentioned the English used by the Indian part of his family were "precise" and "right". He explained that both his father and mother were of Indian heritage, but while the former was a new immigrant, his mother was born in a mixed Indian and American family. It was interesting to note that his father, the immigrant, was more preoccupied than anyone else in the family with uttering "precise" English": "my parents are very precise in how they speak English because they want to make sure they get it right… Especially my father" (014). The father's obsession with "precise English" landed Victor in speech therapy as a child, too. While such concern for English may seem exaggerated, it was easily explained as the need L2 users feel to imitate the best they could whatever they perceive as the L1 standard, although that could lead to the development of negative attitudes toward their own language (Cook 1999;

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Jenkins, 2007). As Munro and Derwing (2000) explained, accent-reduction courses were not a rare occurrence among immigrants looking to fit in and advance in the social hierarchy.

Victor's American relatives from Louisiana, however, were not as concerned about using "precise" English; on the contrary, his uncle took delight in employing the local Cajun English as often as possible, and he only watered it down when his wife would call on him to "speak normally" (073) in front of the relatives from Ohio. Victor was amused by how his uncle's words were "blurred together" and how his English was mixed with French and he overall seemed to genuinely enjoy the originality and creativity in his uncle's speech. He was very aware, though, of the existing bias against these localized Englishes and spoke up against it: "A lot of people treat dialects as 'they are speaking badly'. The person they are talking to is speaking badly so they try to get them to speak in the same dialect, when really they should just learn that dialect and try to figure out what they are saying themselves" (087). While Victor detected the intolerance in how people treated his L1 relatives, he was, however, unable to see that his father and mother and, to a certain degree, even himself were victims of self-marginalization in their fascination for "precise" English.

The participants also talked about having L2 users in their group of friends. Although difficulties in communication were reported when they engaged in conversation with random L2 users at school or at work, none of the participants reported much trouble when chatting with their friends. It seemed like the type of relationship or, more exactly, the degree of separation made a difference in how the interviewees: the closer the relationship, the more accepting of linguistic diversity the participants seemed. This immediate exposure allowed the participants to develop a realistic image of what multilingualism was and it prevented them from developing anxiety around L2 users. For example, the participants who had L2

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relatives such as Danny or Tammy did not seem bothered when their interlocutors code-switched and did not see any mischievous intent in it, either.

Those who maintained a close relationship with L2 users believed in the importance of learning how to communicate in their friend's language. Danny, for instance, talked about being invited into a Spanish-speaking household by his Hispanic friend and wanting to fully joining the conversation: "I wish I could have learned it, to communicate with them and stuff, 'cause I thought that would have been kind of cool to just speak" Spanish (050). Cody also used the word "cool" to describe what it would be like if he was bilingual and thus able to understand and communicate with his Korean friend's family: "I think it's really cool. Sometimes I hear his mom speaking and like, what the heck is she saying?' I wish I knew what she was saying" (066). Paulie liked how his Serbian friend talked so much that she ended up learning a few words herself.

Laurie was also fascinated with her friend's first language, Arabic. She spent most of the interview talking about her friend and her family who, according to Laurie, "are like a second family to" her (Laurie-post 024). This friendship allowed Laurie inside a community where she could witness what it meant to be multilingual and how difficult being "different" could be. She was amazed that her friend had to translate for her mom (024) and outraged that teachers avoided calling on her friend's cousins because they were confused by their Middle-Eastern names (034). As a result of her friendship with the Middle-Eastern family, Laurie witnessed alarming instances of linguistic bias and developed empathy towards L2 users.

The stories the interviewees shared suggested that they all had opportunities to interact with L2 users and these interactions made a lasting impression on them. They were

able to provide detailed accounts of how the encounters went and, in some cases such as Patti's or Danny, these encounters resulted in strong feelings toward the L2 users they met. For some (Danny, Cody), exposure to multilingualism led to empathy and the desire to become multilingual themselves. For others, L1 and L2 encounters seemed frustrating and the interviewees reported feeling annoyed because the communicative flow was slowed by the L2's English (Sandi, Paulie). These positive and negative feelings were likely to contribute to the interviewees' perception of L2 Englishes and, consequently, of L2 users because, as Jenkins (2007) pointed out, language attitudes contribute to social judgments (p. 77).

Just like the essays Arielle's students wrote, the interviews confirmed the participants' interest in linguistic diversity and their attempts to make sense of the multitude of Englishes they heard around them. They seemed to have a clear preference for the variety of English they used and they showed a general tendency of tolerance for the other localized Englishes in the United States. L2 Englishes, however, received a mixed response that varied from clear intolerance to tolerance. The interviewees who had a meaningful relationship with L2 users were more open toward L2 Englishes and L2 users. The participants who only briefly interacted with L2 users, such as Sandi or Patti, seemed frustrated by these encounters and were overall unprepared to deal with linguistic deviation and code-switching, despite the two-week intervention. What the intervention seemed to accomplish for them, however, was increase their awareness that linguistic discrimination existed and they even tried to empathize with the L2 users.

Deconstructing the Language of the "Other": Broken English, Code-switching, and Linguistic Tolerance

One of the concepts that kept coming up during the interview was "broken English", generally associated with L2 users although there were instances when the participants mentioned it, in passing, in connection with L1 users. During the intervention, the participants were encouraged to deconstruct this concept, question its validity, and acknowledge its discriminatory undertones. It became visible during the interview, however, that the class discussions did not prevent them from continuing to use the term even when they were visibly bothered by it. It was, nonetheless, encouraging to see that some of the participants growing preoccupied with this concept which could suggest a first, although feeble, step toward denouncing such discriminatory language. The interviews revealed that just discussing why "broken English" was a sign of linguistic intolerance did not completely discouraged the students from using it and further discussions were needed.

Another related issue the participants discussed was code-switching, a practice they had observed in the language of the L2 users around them. Once again, the participants' perception of code-switching ranged from complete tolerance in the case of the 1.5 students to annoyed rejection when the participants lacked meaningful interaction with L2 users. It was obvious, however, that the participants were likely to show be more open if they were constantly around L2 users they trusted, as it was the case with their L2 friends. The fear of of code-switching seemed to be more a matter of trust than a linguistic issue.

Another issue that came out during the interview was the fact that people were often judged based on the variety of English they employed, and users of localized Englishes faced intolerance. The participants had witnessed linguistic bias and, in some cases, were its

victims. It became evident during the interviews that these experiences contributed to their perception of L2 Englishes and helped them take a more tolerant stance towards users of localized Englishes, especially when they were friends with the victims of discrimination. The intervention also helped them gain some perspective on the issue as it encouraged them to reflect on the instances of linguistic discrimination they had encountered so far and empathize with L2 users.

Broken English. Almost all the interviewees used the words "broken English" to describe the language of particular L1 or L2 groups and they did not hesitate to use harsh words to describe any English they struggled to understand, regardless of whether it was L1 or L2 English. Maria, for instance, explained that her Indian English customers had a "really thick accent" (028); she also described the Englishes used in the South as "really drawn out" and more informal than the variety herself used (036). Asked to talk about the L2 writing she read during the intervention, Tammy had little positive to say: the "sentences were choppier, they did not make sense" (022), did not flow well, and the writers overall did not seem to consider their audience (032). Although occasionally the participants applied the concept to their own language (Paulie) or other L1s, for the overwhelming majority of instances, the epithet "broken" was used in connection with L2 users.

Some of the interviewees, however, struggled to come to terms with the negative connotations of the world. Paulie, for instance, explained: "I don't know if it's broken English. I'll have to say it's just not well-spoken. They still get their point across, I guess. You can say it's like the broken sentence, almost, because it is … but not as much broken English. I can't describe it more than that" (068). Paulie was obviously uncomfortable with the concept of "broken English" and she not only tried to find another way to phrase it, but

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she also commented on how she was also a user of "broken English", as if she wanted to avoid any biased undertones: "I speak broken English. I don't use full sentences all the time, I use slang words" (070).

Tammy was able to articulate a critique of the concept, suggesting "developing English" should be used instead of "broken" in reference to L2 Englishes: "for me, broken English, like I don't think it's broken because broken implies something like was like a whole and then broken and needs repaired but I just think like it's like developing English, like you can learn new words every day" (066). Tammy's opinion mirrored some of the issues discussed during the intervention and it was encouraging to see that she was putting that knowledge to good use. Moreover, Tammy suggested that writers should feel comfortable about using an idiosyncratic variety of English as long as they were mindful of their audience: "some people have their own ways of wording things and I mean that's part of their personality that goes into the paper". It was obvious that Tammy had seriously thought about the issue and while the intervention provided her with the opportunity to deconstruct the concept of "broken English" and to reflect on its meaning, it was her friendship with a L2 user from the Czech Republic that informed her perception of "developing English".

Some of the participants tried to guess the cause for the linguistic variation they noticed around them. Tammy, for instance, mentioned the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis when she discussed the issue of context-appropriateness. She also explained that L2 writers have a different referent schema and therefore the words they use do not necessarily convey the same ideas their L1 audience has in mind, which could lead to confusion and frustration (044). As none of the participants reported having any school-related instruction on linguistic

diversity, Tammy's comments, especially her recollection of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, could be the result of the discussions we had during the intervention.

For some, an accent was something to be desired (Laurie 106, Danny 066) or at least being around users of different Englishes was fun (Tara 004). After repeatedly stating that she liked the different Englishes she heard during her travels throughout the United States and Canada, Laurie exclaimed: "I would like love to have an accent" (106). Danny and his friends liked Australian English so much, that they incorporated phrases specific to Australian English in their interaction (066). Tara talked about how she liked interacting with L2 users because that was an opportunity for her to enrich her knowledge of languages: "it's kind of fun to learn new words and then come back and kind of incorporate them in your own life just to spread the knowledge" (044). Paulie, too, explained that being around a L2 helped her gain "new insights" and it taught her to be creative herself: "it teaches us new words, like we come up with new words" (030). Besides this appreciation for different Englishes, some participants even believed in the need for multilingualism, especially when it represented a continuation of a family tradition: Laurie believed that multilingual families should pass on their mother tongue to their children in order to prevent the loss of traditional values (134).

Other interviewees, however, offered a less positive take on nonstandard varieties. It was rather difficult, however, to get the interviewees to describe what these Englishes were like. This meant that although they not sure what L2 Englishes were, they strongly believed that that they were not something positive. They associated bad English with L2 Englishes. While Donna compared L2 Englishes with the "broken language" of her autistic brother (Pre 32), Pattie drew a parallel between poor L1 writing and L2 Englishes. Pattie first complained about how some of her L1 colleagues failed to produce high quality writing, explaining that

"the thoughts aren't finished" (080), the word order was incorrect (087) and their "thought process, how they jumped from one sentence to another with no real guideline" (089) was also faulty. After this description of L1 "broken English" (078), Pattie concluded that it reminded her of L2 Englishes: "not what we consider standard, I guess, it's … you know, all jumbled up. Hm… Kind of like Spanglish, I guess. You have parts of it that you understand, the other parts are either unfinished or incomprehensible" (085). This comparison revealed several stereotypes: that only one type of English, namely the "standard", should be used in writing; that L2 users who code-switch used a language variety that was inferior to this standard; and that code-switching affected intelligibility. Paulie, too, when asked to describe his Serbian friend's L2 English, focused on the spelling mistakes he made while texting, such as confusing the here/hear homonyms (008). Pattie's and Paulie's accounts showed that being around a L2 user did not always lead to linguistic tolerance and may even promote misconceptions about L2 Englishes, which was similar to the findings in Lindemann's (2005) study. Just like Lindemann's (2005) participants, my interviewees suggested that familiarity with a particular L2 variety could lead to intolerance.

It became clear that the intervention did not help all of the participants deconstruct the stereotypes surrounding the concept of "broken English" and it did not clarify it for everybody either. While Tammy seemed to respond very well to the intervention, taking a more tolerant attitude toward linguistic variety, Sandi still believed that L2 users must be missing something: "people that kind of speak English but not fully, like they still have trouble speaking it 'cause sometimes it's broken" (Sandi-post 018). Sandi thus saw one's multilingual heritage as a burden, explaining in reference to L2 users that "if their family speaks another language, they might not speak English fully" (Sandi-post 020). This attitude

could be explained by Sandi's limited interaction with L2 Englishes, considering that the only L2 users she knew were her customers at the supermarket where she worked.

Even after the intervention, the participants were not prepared to provide a unified, clear position on the issue. Yet, their confusion was not necessarily a bad sign as it suggested that at least they were thinking about it. Donna, for instance, initially brought up the melting pot metaphor, explaining that the varieties used in the United States are a sign of "all our languages coming together" (Post 004). Later on, however, she lamented on the possibility of "losing your heritage and you should always remember your heritage" (Post 032). This contradiction was the result of the pressure the participants could sense between the L2 users' need to fit in and thus gain the rewards that come with losing the "accent completely and becoming full-on English" (Donna-post, 032) on the one hand, and the desire to preserve one's heritage on the other. Villanueva (1987), too, discussed this issue, using Rodriguez as an example. He explained that while Rodriguez was an often-quoted example of a successful American writer with immigrant roots, his success, however, came precisely because he sacrificed these roots: "intimacy lost, participation in the public domain gained" (Villanueva, 1987, p. 17). When becoming part of the melting pot, Villanueva argued, the heritage is lost, which was something Donna believed, too: "that would be making you lose part of yourself. But it probably would help you become more successful in America" (post 033). As Lovejoy (2003) suggested, we should "embrace the differences that characterize our national culture" (p. 94) instead of trying to fit in.

When asked about Standard English, some of the participants explained that it was an abstract construct that has nothing to do with the way real people speak, regardless of whether they are L1 or L2 users of English. This suggested that the students participating in

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this research project were aware that standard English was simply an idealization, which was something applied linguists such as Kirkpatrick also argued (p. 67). Challenged the idea of "standard" or "proper" English, Danny explained that "no one actually knows what proper is" (068) when it comes to language, while Tammy (015) and Donna (Pre 012) associated it the high school English class and grammar exercises: "I feel it's like by the book, like putting a predicate and a noun and a verb and having all these things in the right order in the sentence and what the object is" (Tammy 015). Tammy expressed her preference for "everyday language" (012), confessing that what she perceived as standard was far from how "normal people speak" (012): "I think conversational English is… is more beneficial than that kind of English. You can't do much with that if no one understands what you're talking about" (016). Tammy's take on the content of her English course was similar to Patrick Hartwell's (1985) Grammar 4 (p. 220) and, just like Hartwell, she felt that grammar drills were useless.

Code-switching. Code switching also confused the participants, especially those who did not have multilingual family or friends. Sandi struggled to understand the Chinese customers coming through her checkout line: "there are a lot of Chinese people coming and it's really hard for me to understand them because they say two American words and then I hear them talking to each other in their language and I can barely understand what they are saying" (Sandi-post 102). When the multilingual user and the interviewee maintained a close relationship, however, code-switching was less confusing as the L1 put more effort into understanding the conversation. Laurie, for instance, managed to understand some of the conversation around her, despite the code-switching that was going on between her Middle-Eastern friend and her cousins: "they start speaking Arabic back and forth. And then, but

like, she throws in English syllables every now and then so you kind of understand what they say but then you can't (Laurie-post 058). While both Sandi and Laurie struggled with comprehension, their attitude toward code-switching was fundamentally different, with the latter exhibiting much less tension than the former. Laurie's attitude could be explained by the close relationship between herself and L2 users that led to trust.

Besides Sandi, code-switching made other interviewees uneasy as they feared that there must be some kind of hidden intent on the part of their interlocutor using a language they were not familiar with. This was reported even in the case of the participants who eventually developed a more laid-back relationship with L2 users but who did not trust code-switching at first. Paulie explained how she initially felt around her L2 friend's code-switching: "I thought he was talking about me, of course, it's a natural feeling" (016) These participants seemed to be in agreement that code-switching occurred when someone wanted to criticize or spread gossip about the interviewees right in front of them without being caught, which represented the typical monolingual response to being around a multilingual. The interviewees' overall response to code-switching suggested that they did not trust multilingualism.

Not everybody, however, was bothered by code-switching; just like in the case of comprehension, the closer the interviewees were to the L2 users, the more comfortable they were about people code-switching around them (Cody, Laurie, Danny, Paulie). While Laurie admitted to being nervous when people code-switched on her first visits to her Middle-Eastern friend's house, her anxiety went down once she spent more time around the family (024). Paulie was also intimidated by her friend's code-switching from English to Serbian, but she eventually got used to it and even began code-switching herself after she learned a

few words from him (030). Cody did not mind his Korean friend's family code-switching around him and he even joked with them about that (070). Danny explained that he did not feel threatened when his Middle-Eastern friends spoke among themselves in Arabic: "sometimes it feels like they are talking about you, but you must have to be kind of open-minded" (046). The words he used to describe how he felt about people code-switching around him were "I didn't really care" (047) and "I wasn't bothered by it much" (049). Danny's relaxed attitude was understandable because of the close relationship he had with these multilinguals. As friendship led to trust, it was easy for him to dismiss the stereotype and respect his friends' linguistic choice. Moreover, Danny and Laurie saw their friends' code-switching habit as an opportunity to learn some Arabic (Danny 044, Laurie 58).

The interviewees acknowledged that all participants in a conversation, regardless of their English, bear equal responsibility to establish and maintain communication (Sandi-pre 090, Donna-pre 034, Tammy 047, Pattie 072, Laurie 048). Discussing the English of a L2, Laurie said: "You've already taken the effort to learn English so you *have* made the effort, so my effort is just to pay attention" (Laurie-post 048). When engaging L2 users in conversation, Donna felt that it was her responsibility to try "listening … better" (Pre 034). Cody suggested that his effort to maintain communication meant getting to know the "other": "You know, get to know that person, talk to them, if you can, you know, communicate some way" (100). For Pattie (072) and Paulie (072), communicating with L2 users meant using contextual cues to make up the part of the message she could not understand because of code-switching. This was how Paulie described the exchange between herself and her Mexican customers: "they like try to say what they can say in English and then finish in Spanish. You get the gist of it. You get the part with English and you fill in the blanks

yourself" (072). As Paulie described it, communicating with a L2 user was a lot like solving a puzzle and the responsibility to put the pieces together rested on the L1.

The participants developed strategies to help them interact with their L2 colleagues and customers or with L1 users speaking a localized variety of English. They asked the interlocutors to slow down (Pattie 020) or used body movements such as pointing as cues to assist them comprehend what their interlocutor need (Cody 062). They also remarked on the need to pay extra attention when conversing with L2 users (Laurie 046, Maria 050, Pattie 022, Danny 046). Maria explained: "I try really hard to be like listening to what people say to me the first time so I don't have to ask them to repeat themselves" (050). When this strategy failed, the participants asked them to repeat what they said (Sandi-pre 062, Maria 028, Danny 082, Roberta 034, Donna-post 022), although this was perceived as rude by Maria who explained that she felt uneasy asking for repetition because her interlocutors may take it as a sign that their English was incorrect (050).

Tammy pointed out that respecting the L2's cultural heritage was also an important part of the communication process, and L1's should not expect the L2 users to completely renounce the ties with their home culture, even when the L2 immigrated to an L1 country. Tammy explained that a conversation between L1 and L2 was "a compromise between both the people in this country and the people who come to this country" (048) because L2 users should not be expected to drop their linguistic habits and "be Americanized" (047).

Judging Others Based on their English

The interviewees also discussed the instances of linguistic bias they had witnessed or had been subject to in the past. Although some of the participants did not recognize them as such, it was obvious from their narrative that they could detect that people's attitude towards

the users of nonstandard varieties was not acceptable. Others, such as Victor or Danny, were able to articulate a clear critique of such attitudes and only stopped short of using the word "discrimination" in relation to them.

At times, the negative attitude came from people the participants liked and this prevented them from identifying it as such. Cody explained that he made sure that his friends spoke "proper" English around his mother because "my mom is really big on first impressions and if you don't make a good first impression it's going to be a little bit of a rocky road there". Cody failed to see the bias in his mother's attitude, probably because of his close relationship with her. Moreover, although Cody admitted to using slang with his friends, he also mentioned his appreciation for what he called "proper" English. It would be, therefore, difficult for Cody to maintain an unbiased position, considering these two factors.

The participants were keenly aware that linguistic discrimination existed because they had witnessed it. They carefully pointed out that they did not hold any bias themselves and were simply reporting on what they had witnessed in their community. At the same time, they did not question the fact that people's qualities such as intelligence or social skills were judged based on how they used English, and they perceived it as an inevitable result of human interaction. Both Donna in her pre-interview, and Victor singled out non-standard varieties as the ones eliciting negative attitudes. Victor explained: "The way anyone speaks influences these perceptions. Usually people see people who speak differently as dumber or…hicks" (104). Talking about Fez from *That 70's Show*, Donna explained that "you don't think he's very intelligent because of how he speaks and… just because of how his words are, you know, he has this accent, and they think, oh, like he's yeah, different than everybody else". During the post-interview, however Donna seemed to have reconsidered the issue,

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explaining that speakers of nonstandard varieties need not worry about their speech because that "doesn't make them any less of a person" (post 037). Donna's revised attitude was likely to be caused by her participation in the intervention.

Although the majority of the participants refrained from questioning the validity of language-based judgments, Danny expressed his doubt that language could provide much insight into how people were in reality. He explained that it would be impossible to deduct anything about someone's personality, intelligence, and so on based solely on what variety of English they used (022). Danny carefully refrained from making any discriminative judgment in reference to L2 users because "no one can really say, why, I speak better than you because everyone speaks different" (074). Danny's attitude seemed more accepting as a result of having been the victim of linguistic discrimination himself: "I ran into that before", Danny explained, referring to linguistic discrimination. "I use words and someone was like 'that's not what that means'. I might get them confused and then they laugh and they get all smirky or something" (086). Danny was thus empathetic toward L2 users because of his own experience with discrimination.

When the interviewees had close ties with L2 users, they became more aware of the everyday instances of linguistic bias. Laurie explained that she was in the same class with her good friend's cousins and, because they had Arabic names, the teacher did not bother learning them: "the teacher does not call them by their name, 'cause their names are confusing, so she does not even call their names out when she does attendance. Like she does everybody else's name, and they're like 'You didn't call my name' and she'd be like 'I just know you're here" (Laurie 034). Laurie did not assess this as an instance of linguistic bias, simply calling the teacher's behavior "rude" (Laurie 036) While Laurie understood why the

instructor avoided the foreign-sounding names, she nonetheless was rightfully bothered that she did not take the trouble to learn them and preferred to single these students out instead.

Tara addressed a similar issue in the post-interview. She explained that, as a future teacher, she expected to have different Englishes in her classroom. Her attitude was one of understanding, tolerance, and respect, explaining that "you have to understand that your students come from different backgrounds and different places and different situations and because that's their English, you have to take that into account. You know, just because it's wrong to what would be Standard English, that's right for them" (012). The respect she showed for someone else's English, however, did not prevent Tara from acknowledging that not all teachers have such an accommodating view. She believed that part of her duty as a future English teacher was to teach the students the language other instructors may expect them to use: "slowly work on teaching the grammar rules and the language, and try to ease them in so in case they get a less understanding professor, they'll be able to adapt" (012). Tara's words showed her struggle to reconcile the desire to respect the students' right to their own language, on the one hand, and the need to help them survive the academia. Tara's belief in the benefits that come with mastering the standard echo those of the English instructors Richardson (2003) surveyed as 96.1% of the teachers in Richardson's (2003) study believed that only the standard would help the students with upward mobility (p. 50). However, as Richardson explained in relation to her participants (p. 53), such compromise also signaled the presence of discriminatory undertones in Tara's attitude because despite acknowledging the value of different Englishes, she still affirmed the superiority of one particular English, i.e. the standard.

The interviewees witnessed L1-L2 exchanges marred by discriminatory attitudes and admitted that L2 users were put in a difficult position when they tried to communicate with L1 users. Tammy's close relationship with the Czech exchange student increased her awareness of the treatment L2 users sometimes got when people assumed that variety in language equaled low intelligence or bad hearing: "when people like get the impression that someone can't fully like talk in like 100% Americanized English like they get the impression that they don't understand things, like they over-explain or sometimes they talk louder" (066). Asked to comment on people's perception of L2 writing, Donna immediately brought up the possibility of discriminatory attitudes, especially in conjunction with workplace writing: "I would think that people would think that they don't know… what they are talking about. Like, um, that they probably they are not the most qualified for the job even though they can have a bachelor's or much more than that" (Post 028). Donna called such a situation "sad" and insisted that, especially when it comes to writing, linguistic variety was not desirable (Post 028).

Both Pattie and Cody mentioned how frustrated the L2 users became as a result of the difficulties they encountered when trying to do simple things such as buy a pair of shoes or order a cup of water. Such awareness led to the feeling of empathy Pattie expressed after sharing the story of the customer struggling to make a purchase at the shoe store where she worked: "Yeah, I do understand how they feel, believe me, if I went over to France and couldn't get what I wanted, I think I'd probably have puffed, too" (074). This empathy, however, did not come out right away as Patty initially seemed still seemed aggravated by the interaction she had with the L2 user, while, at the same time, she acknowledged that the L2 user was herself annoyed. Pattie, however, reconsidered her position after we talked about

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the difficulties she encountered when she tried to speak Spanish (058) and she confessed to being intimidated by the need to communicate in Spanish when travelling to Mexico. Talking about her own experiences as an L2 user of Spanish, Pattie was able to put herself in the customer's shoes and gained a better understanding of the L2 user's perspective.

The intervention encouraged the participants to openly discuss the issue of linguistic discrimination even when they initially were reluctant to acknowledge that it really happened. Sandi, for instance, was asked to discuss the issue of linguistic diversity during the pre-interview, but she explained that she had never heard of or witnessed such a thing. During the post-interview, however, she acknowledged the existence of linguistic discrimination without even being asked directly to comment on that. While talking about strategies L2 users could employ to communicate better with L1's, Sandi explained how these users should react when facing discriminatory remarks: "just kind of ignore what they are saying if they sit there and say bad things about you just because, just brush it off your shoulder if they have a problem with how you're having trouble speaking English" (Sandi-post 088).

Feedback on the Intervention Activities

Besides providing a rich description of the participants' perception of localized Englishes, the post-interviews also proved an excellent opportunity to assess their response to the activities employed during the intervention. The interviewees were asked to discuss only the activities they found both enjoyable and informative, and they were free to mention any activity without any suggestions from me. Their responses thus revealed which part of the intervention was most memorable as the interview participants singled out several activities they found particularly interesting. They chose the activities involving L2 texts, for example

the excerpt from Mistry's short story (Laurie, Tara). They also mentioned the L2 users who were characters in the texts used during the intervention, such as Amy Tan's (1990) "Mother Tongue" (Sandi-post, Laurie). They seemed curious about exploring these L2 texts and found reading them both challenging and almost puzzle-like (Tara, Laurie).

The activities planned for the two weeks of the intervention provided the students with both exposure to different varieties of English and an opportunity to reflect on the instances when they were engaged in conversation with users of nonstandard Englishes. Reading L2 texts and talking about L2 Englishes helped Laurie acknowledge for the first time the diversity that comes with language: "I guess I never realized that there's different Englishes. I've never realized. This does sound stupid, but like I've always thought my English and her English is the same but I guess it is different" (142). Laurie's words confirmed that unless people were educated about linguistic diversity, they were at risk for developing a monolithic view of English and possibly intolerance towards any language variety different than their own. The intervention provided Laurie with enough knowledge about language varieties so she could gain a more realistic perception of English.

The participants commented on how it was easier to understand the international development of English and the importance of linguistic diversity because they first got to think about how diverse their own language was. This was thanks to the activities in which they participated during the first week of the intervention. Understanding how others use language could be difficult because it required empathy on the part of the students and such understanding would be impossible unless they could see the similarities between their situation and the L2 users'. Tara, for instance, pointed out how important it was for herself to become aware of her own code-switching: "it's very subconscious… until you actually pay

attention to it, you don't even know that you do it" (004). While this self-awareness could make the participants better writers, it could also help them develop tolerance toward how others use language.

For Tara, the intervention brought another epiphany. She was aware of the global spread of English due to its status as "an international business language" (006), but she initially believed that everybody in the world used American English. The intervention clarified this misconception: "going over it in class I realized what would be considered American English is not necessarily international English" (006). When asked to explain how such belief could come about, she pointed to the ethnocentric attitude towards language promoted by the American media: "A lot of Americans are so caught up in their own culture, their music, their own way of doing things" (008). This was also something Kachru (1992d) criticized, suggesting that unless people manage to separate themselves from their socio-cultural cocoon, they could not truly understand how different Englishes are used nowadays. Donna also mentioned that the intervention made her aware that these varieties exist and they are not simply just "English mixed with Spanish" (Post 002). She pointed out that the presentation of Kachru's (1992d) concentric circle diagram helped her visualize the relationship between varieties of English and it was also a good mnemonic device (Post 002).

When asked to single out one activity that she found helpful and enjoyable, Laurie brought up one of the group activities centered on L2 writing. For this activity, the students were asked to read and try to summarize a paragraph from Mistry's "The Ghost of Firozsha Baag". For monolinguals such as the participants in the study, reading L2 texts could be challenging because they lacked the strategies to decode these texts smoothly. Moreover, the new words could slow down their comprehension and stretch the readers' patience with the

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text or, in some cases, could even completely interfere with the overall meaning. Without allowing herself to be intimidated by the few instances of code-switching, Laurie and her group mates developed a strategy to help them better understand the text: using contextual cues and "common knowledge" (Laurie-post 010), they tried to guess the meaning the few foreign words they did not know. For example, they guessed that "*masala*" must be somehow connected with food because it appeared in conjunction with the words "curry" and chicken (Laurie-post 006). Once the vocabulary list was compiled, they reread the paragraph, performing the necessary substitutions in order to end up with an English only text (014). Laurie explained that although the interpretation they had differed slightly from the one emerging as a result of the class discussion, the process of reading the L2 text was "fun" (Laurie-post 006) and "easy" (Laurie-post 014).

When discussing the same activity, Tara used the same techniques as Laurie, i.e. context clues and repeated readings of the text, and, just like Laurie, she did not complain much about this process either. Tara admitted to having to devote more time and effort to understand a text from a L2 user, but she saw benefits from it too, such as the opportunity to learn from someone else's experience through reading . Tara explained that, in order to communicate, both the reader and the writer have to "work together" (026) so "I can pick up and understand your perspective and then you can understand my perspective" (026). Tara explained that the readers would have difficulties with the text only if they were not "open-minded" (026) and were unwilling to "sit down and take the time" to read (010), which was a confirmation of how important language attitudes can be for communication. Multilinguals employ certain strategies when they find themselves in this situation; for instance they try to infer the meaning of a word from the context or they simply learn how to be comfortable

with being unsure of its meaning. Unless the readers are familiar with such strategies, their struggle for comprehension often makes them give up and blame the writer or the text for their failure.

Another activity the participants discussed involved reading Amy Tan's (1990) short story "Mother Tongue". This time, however, it was not the L2 user's English that caught their attention; it was the other characters' reaction to it. Several students (Sandi-post 008, Laurie 056) mentioned the impact the mother in Tan's story had on them and how they cringed at the discrimination the L2 user faced because of her language. Laurie compared the difficulties the character encountered with what happened with her friend's mother who preferred to communicate in Arabic and thus had to ask her children to translate for her. Laurie noted that her friends' mother isolated herself from the community around her, spending all her time at home with the exception of her short visits to Middle-Eastern stores (056). Tan's story helped Laurie gain a better understanding of what motivated her friend's mother to keep to herself and it also encouraged her to reflect on the difficulties immigrants encounter in the United States.

For Sandi, however, Tan's story carried different meanings. She discussed the troublesome realization that the children of immigrants often encounter challenges stemming from the way their family used English. Sandi empathized more with the daughter who seemed to "have more trouble because her mother was different" (010) and she overall saw the mother as simply a burden. Sandi, however, revisited this intolerant attitude later on when she talked about how it would feel to be in the L2 user's shoes. This helped her gain the perspective of someone whose communicative attempts failed due to the language barrier: "if you put yourself in their shoes and if you were to go to China or something you couldn't

speak their language, you wouldn't want them to look down on you like they did in that story" (Sandi-post 062). While this interpretation missed the fact that the mother in Tan's story *could* speak English fine, it nonetheless gave Sandi the opportunity to try the position of the "other".

The intervention was also an opportunity for the students to interact with me, a L2 user. Tara explained that having a L2 instructor was educational although she admitted to being "worried" at the very beginning that she was "gonna miss something" because I used a different variety of English. She explained that her worries were put to rest after the first session when she became accustomed to my English, and she suggested that this interaction was a way to prepare her for the possibility to work with a L2 instructor in the future: "there's going to be a point in college when I'm going to have a professor who doesn't necessarily have English as a first language and I've learned throughout this experience that if you do listen, even after two or three days, you can understand someone so much more than you can on the first day. So it makes me less nervous about future classes" (Tara 026).

While the majority of the participants discussed the intervention in positive terms and seemed happy to have had the opportunity to engage in a dialogue about linguistic diversity and tolerance, Paulie openly questioned its usefulness. When asked whether schools should promote linguistic diversity, Paulie explained that openly teaching students about varieties of English was likely to be met with resistance: "I think if they had seminars or something, I think kids would be like this is stupid, why do we have to do this?" (052). Paulie's answer seemed to be an indirect assessment of the intervention that just ended, but she did not develop this idea any further. Pauline focused instead on how having international faculty teach courses could open the students to the idea of diversity.

The overall response from the participants was positive, especially from those who, because they were in Arielle's class, knew that they had to write an essay on the topic. Tammy, for instance, explained that she used the activities in the intervention as part of the pre-writing stage for her essay. A high percentage of the essay writers, namely 74.4%, chose to write about how the audience was an important factor in deciding which English they should use. This could be considered a more developed response to the activities from the first week of the intervention. The students found the class discussions so beneficial that they included them in their writing later on.

The feedback the students provided for the activities suggest that they were able to put the information they gained throughout the intervention to good use when they wrote their essays. It also suggests that students are not adverse to L2 writing, but they are simply not accustomed to reading it. They are, however, curious about the international development of their language.

Summary

From the interviews, it became apparent that the participants were in constant contact with L2 users; in most cases, a regular week meant at least a few encounters with L2's. This highlighted the need to prepare the students for intercultural communication and justified the inclusion of a session on L2 Englishes in the composition course.

According to the interviewees, the most relevant type of interaction was with L2 users who eventually became their friends because having such a close relationship led the participants to experience empathy. Although code-switching still made them uncomfortable at the beginning, they grew to accept it once they established a relationship of trust with their

L2 friends. The workplace interactions, however, did not seem as effective maybe as a result of the fleeting nature of the encounters, although the participants who were friends with L2 users projected more tolerance toward multilingualism regardless of the setting. The participants who reported meaningful interaction with L2 users such as the two 1.5 students Roberta and Victor, or Cody, Laurie, or Tammy seemed overall more accepting of linguistic diversity than those who did not have L2 friends or family members, for instance Sandi or Pattie. Thanks to this exposure, they grew more comfortable when L2 users code-switched around them. There were also instances when communicating with L2 users was feared because of possible negative consequences resulting from possible misunderstandings, especially when the L2 user was in a position of power as it was the case with school teachers or professors.

Noticeable, however, was the absence of L2 writing from the participants' accounts. In addition to the 1.5 students who were around L2 users all the time and were thus more familiar with their writing, only Paulie mentioned having read to L2 writing before the intervention which was suggestive of L1 users' lack of meaningful exposure to written forms of L2 Englishes and explained the difficulties they encountered when they were asked to read L2 texts. This observation was confirmed by the survey data, considering that the participants rated L1 writing significantly higher than L2 in terms of comprehensibility and quality of the writing. In a way, the participants did not seem prepared to tackle the four L2 texts in each survey, categorizing them as more difficult to comprehend, less enjoyable to read, and overall worse than the L1 paragraph.

The interviewees' lack of preparedness for L2 writing was further confirmed by the way they described their reaction to the L2 texts they read during the intervention. The

interviewees (Laurie, Tara) mentioned the difficulties they encountered when reading the L2 texts and explained that they found the texts hard to comprehend, commenting on how much slower than usual the reading process was. They, however, were successful in improvising new strategies to assist them with comprehension, which suggests that it was possible to improve people's understanding and appreciation of L2 texts with repeated exposure and background knowledge about the texts and their writers.

The interviews revealed that most of the participants managed to incorporate in their mental framework the ideas discussed during the intervention, showing willingness to deconstruct the language myths that were otherwise likely to influence the participants' perception of linguistic diversity. The interviews also suggested that the intervention dissipated some of the fears they had about reading L2 texts and interacting with L2 users. Yet, just like in the case of Kubota's study, the participants were definitely not 100% tolerant of linguistic diversity thanks to the intervention; on the contrary, they were still unprepared to fully accept localized Englishes.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

While the field of language attitude studies has already offered interesting insights into how people perceive localized varieties of English and their speakers, the present study brings a unique contribution to the field by focusing on people's perception of written L2 Englishes. The existing research assesses attitudes toward spoken varieties, but I argue that looking at attitudes toward L2 texts is also important considering how diverse academic and workplace writing has become. Being more than a study on language attitudes, the present paper also inquires into the possibility to develop L1 users' ability to interact with L2 users and their writing within the context of the composition course with the goal of making them more tolerant toward linguistic diversity. This follows Kubota's (2001b) call for more research on how the English course could help the students avoid discriminative attitudes toward localized Englishes. As a response to the globalization of the academia, the workplace, and the social sphere, Kubota (2001b) envisioned a course where students developed their ability to communicate effectively with multilingual users. My research builds on her vision but focuses on people's perception of written varieties of L2 Englishes.

Considering the linguistic heterogeneity specific to the United States, it is necessary to teach people there how to deal with linguistic diversity in order to better prepare them for interacting with the diverse population in their home, school, or work communities. The composition instructors can contribute to the promotion of the linguistic tolerance by acting as agents of change who use their position of power to call for an end to discrimination and self-marginalization. This is important especially when it comes to writing considering that,

traditionally, writers in the academia are expected to use whatever the standard happens to be

and are taught to look down on other varieties of English (Katz, Cobb, & Hadjioannou, 2009;

Richardson, 2003). This approach not only marginalizes particular populations such as

AAVL or L2 users, but it also fails to prepare the users of mainstream varieties for how

people really write. My research addresses this issue by proposing that English instructors

should incorporate L2 Englishes in the composition course in order to develop the correct

expectations on the part of the students while encouraging them to gain an unbiased

perspective on linguistic diversity.

Working with students to promote tolerance has been encouraged by the CCCC and

by applied linguists such as Canagarajah or Kubota whose work teaching L1 users was

inspired by their belief in the benefits of multicultural awareness. It is now time for the rest

of the English instructors to follow the call for linguistic tolerance launched in the 1970s by

the CCCC by encouraging the students to respect their home dialects along with those of the

L2 users around them. My research confirms that L1 users need to learn about linguistic

diversity as a means to promote tolerance and the composition instructors could be

instrumental in shaping language attitudes.

But how can instructors impact how students view linguistic diversity? After all, it is

very likely that the students are already familiar with L2 Englishes, considering how diverse

the American society is. Yet previous studies, such as Lindemann's (2005), suggested that

familiarity alone did not guarantee lack of bias. This makes the composition course

instrumental in framing the students' previous encounters with L2 users; besides teaching the

concepts students need to know to appreciate different Englishes such as the impact of

context on L2 language use, instructors could provide them with the opportunity to reflect and possibly reframe their conversations with L2 users.

In addition to facilitating the students' understanding of diversity, the instructors can also provide exposure to L2 texts, thus opening their eyes to the written Englishes beyond their home community. According to the personal information my participants provided in the pre-survey, in the essays, and in the interviews, although they had verbally interacted with L2 users before the onset of the study, they still lacked meaningful exposure to L2 writing. The intervention designed for this study addressed this gap by requiring the students to read L2 texts, thus gaining the necessary exposure. The composition course could provide the students with both knowledge about linguistic diversity and opportunities for reflection so they become more tolerant when interacting with L2 users and their writing.

Yet is it enough to simply aim for tolerance, or, as Nieto (2010) explained, students should be prompted to go beyond tolerance, acceptance, or respect to reach the fourth level of multicultural education, i.e. "affirmation, solidarity and critique" (p. 249)? This means that the students should be encouraged to affirm other people's right to be different, feel solidarity toward diverse populations, and even grapple with concepts like culture, difference, or value. But is it possible to enact Nieto's (2010) four-level model in the composition classroom, or is such an agenda unrealistic due to time constraints, or is it more realistic to focus on tolerance as a first step toward multicultural education? The data collected in my study showed that the students who participated in the intervention were more tolerant when it came to L2 writing, but it was unlikely that they could reach Nieto's (2010) fourth level of multicultural awareness, considering the limited time devoted to learning about L2 Englishes.

The present study, however, had a positive outcome considering that only two weeks of discussions led to a clear change in the way the experimental group perceived linguistic diversity and L2 writing. It was during these two weeks that the participants began deconstructing the stereotypes surrounding localized Englishes. The intervention encouraged them to reflect on the validity and importance of linguistic diversity and even question their previous position on L2 Englishes. Thus despite the limited time, the quantitative data collected confirmed beyond doubt that the students' appreciation for L2 writing increased after the intervention. Two weeks seemed enough to plant the seed of linguistic tolerance!

This final chapter first presents the main findings of the study and discusses what composition teachers need to do in order to promote linguistic tolerance. I then review the limitations of my research and provide some recommendations for further research on language attitudes in the context of the composition course. The chapter ends with another call for writing teachers to promote linguistic tolerance.

Summary of Results

The three research instruments employed, i.e. surveys, textual analysis, and interviews, provided the rich array of data described and analyzed separately in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively. Each set of data seemed to focus on a slightly different aspect of the issue of linguistic diversity: the surveys were useful because they provided a clear statistical proof of the fact that education about L2 Englishes can change how L1s perceive them; the essays provided the participants with an opportunity to reflect on the linguistic diversity specific to their home communities; and, finally, the interviews prompted them to focus on their encounters with L2 users and assessed their reaction to the activities that were part of

the intervention. This section of the chapter will review the main findings of the study, drawing on the data obtained with the help of the aforementioned research methods.

Finding 1: Yes, We Do Discriminate: The Pervasive Danger of Linguistic Intolerance

Just like Kubota (2001a, 2001b) and others (Smitherman, 2000; Wyne, 2007) explained, linguistic discrimination exists and research has shown that L2 Englishes have been the target of intolerant attitudes. Such discriminative attitudes on the part of L1 users toward L2 Englishes were also uncovered by Lindemann (2003, 2005), Fitch and Morgan's (2003), Paredes (2008), Ball and Muhammad (2003), or Brown (2008) whose participants showed a clear preference for L1 Englishes. Bias against L2 Englishes was documented in my study as well; the survey, the interviews, and even the essays suggested that the participants were more comfortable with L1-L1 interaction than with L1-L2 communication. They marked this preference when they, on average, rated L1 writing higher than L2 writing on the survey, or when, during the interviews, they provided accounts of frustrating encounters with L2 customers (Sandi, Pattie).

My study, however, not only confirmed the findings of previous research revealing that people show a preference for Inner Circle varieties of English, but it also certified that intolerant attitudes appear in connection with written L2 Englishes as well. While reading other language attitude studies prepared me for this finding, it nonetheless revealed an ugly truth, namely that even educated L1 users such as college students feel biased against written varieties of L2 Englishes. Moreover, Anzàldua and others (Giles & Billings, 2006; Munro & Derwing, 1999; Smitherman, 2000; Villanueva, 1987) explained that discriminating against one's language is a first step toward discriminating against that person in general. As a

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writing instructor, it helped me realize how unprepared the average L1 student was for the real world where they would have to interact with people from different cultures.

Discrimination was definitely not a taboo topic and both the control and the experimental discussed it during the interviews and in the essays because they witnessed it (E27, Cody, Danny, Victor), they were subject to it (Danny, Victor), or, without even realizing it, they were inflicting it upon themselves or others (Sandi, Patie). The participants also brought it up in the post-survey although they were only prompted to express their opinion on linguistic diversity and were not asked to comment on linguistic discrimination directly. This showed that for 16.8% of the total number of participants, just mentioning linguistic diversity conjured up the notion of discrimination, as if the two were part of the same mental concept map. Comments on linguistic bias appeared not only in the post-survey, but in the interviews and in the essays as well, and that confirmed the fact that the participants seemed interested in discussing this issue. This meant that at least they acknowledged it and were thinking about it and getting the discussion going has to be the first step toward getting students to be more tolerant toward linguistic diversity.

It was interesting to see that the participants went beyond the polarity of tolerance/intolerance to position themselves at different points on an attitude continuum, namely they showed different degrees of tolerance toward L2 Englishes and linguistic diversity. During the interviews, for instance, both Sandi and Tara addressed the possibility of having L2 students in their classrooms, provided they continued their training and became school teachers. While they both failed to see L2 Englishes as valuable additions to the linguistic repertoire of their classroom, they nevertheless positioned themselves: Tara understood the need to allow L2 Englishes although she believed that her role as a teacher

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would be to remedy her students' L2 Englishes; Sandi, on the other hand, utterly panicked at the thought, raising her voice as if the issue would constitute a catastrophe of epic dimensions. Although they both showed intolerance toward L2 Englishes, Tara was more accepting than Sandi.

Another interesting aspect of my research concerns my participants' almost fatalistic view of linguistic discrimination. Their responses suggested a belief that discriminating against localized Englishes was simply a fact of life and there was nothing they could do to prevent it. While some of the participants openly questioned the idea that one can accurately judge someone based on their language, they nonetheless admitted that it was inevitable for people to discriminate against particular varieties of English and their users, regardless of whether such attitudes were justified or not. This explains why composition instructors in general choose to focus on the standard (Katz, Scott, & Hadjioannou, 2009; Richardson, 2003) and try to "eradicate" the use of localized Englishes in the composition course withthe hope that their students do not fall victim to such discrimination.

Moreover, it seemed like although the participants acknowledged the damaging effects of discrimination, they nonetheless refrained from intervening when witnessing such attitudes or avoided fighting back when becoming the victims. This finding suggests that it is necessary to empower the students by providing them with the knowledge they need to counter the discriminative forces around them. They need to develop enough confidence in their own localized Englishes that they can stand out for themselves and for others whose language varieties are marginalized.

Even the essay writers who recounted meaningful interactions with L2 users showed a certain degree of intolerance toward L2 writing, as it was the case with the students who had L2 users among their family members (E29, E30, E32). In these cases, familiarity did not lead to the disappearance of the bias. These findings were also confirmed by Lindemann (2005) in the study she conducted with undergraduate students. Her participants provided negative ratings to the L2 English they were most familiar with, namely Mexican English (Lindemann, 2005, p. 193), and even revealed biased attitudes toward the varieties used by their L2 family members. This finding makes it clear that such attitudes toward language can be stronger than family ties and people need to be not only exposed to L2 Englishes, but also equipped with knowledge about linguistic diversity so they can make sense of these encounters.

The few participants who openly expressed tolerance toward L2 Englishes were not fully convinced where these belong and were hesitant as to whether L2 users and any nonstandard discourse speakers, for that matter, could make it in the academia or in the workplace unless they mastered the mainstream discourse as well. This belief was also shared by Richardson's (2003) research participants, all English instructors, who explained that only standard English could help their students succeed. Just like Richardson's (2003) teachers, my participants maintained a general attitude of intolerance by believing that only certain Englishes were good enough to secure someone's employment or academic success. This happened despite the fact that they were able to recount several success stories in which L2 users obtained a position of power, as they failed to see that their example was a way to confirm that one's English did not always matter. For instance, while some of the participants mentioned having L2 instructors, they did not see them as a success story, i.e. as a L2 user

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who managed to gain a position of power. On the contrary, the L2 instructor was generally believed to be a threat to the well-being of the students who could not focus on the subject matter because they struggled to understand the teachers' English (Paulie, Roberta), which was an idea documented by other studies as well (Gruber, 2006; Guo, 2006; Liang & Rice, 2006; Fitch and Morgan, 2003; Manrique, 2002; Rios, 2002; Rong, 2002; Szerdahelyi, 2002; Yokomizo Akindes, 2002). This finding points to the need to encourage L1 users to rethink the traditional language hierarchy that imposes a particular standard as the only "acceptable" English. In addition to addressing the negative attitudes toward L2 Englishes, this approach would increase the users' tolerance toward their own Englishes as well.

The data obtained in my study thus confirmed the presence of negative attitudes toward written L2 Englishes, which would make the interaction between L1 and L2 users more difficult. This pointed to the powerful influence the standard language ideology had on the participants and to their ethnocentric worldview. It also revealed the failure of the school system to prepare "multilingual and polyliterate" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 587) writers and readers ready for the global community. This finding confirmed that L1 users failed to step out of their ethnocentric approach to language. Instead of experiencing a meaningful interaction with a L2 user, they might feel like correcting the English of their interlocutor.

Finding 2: The Elephant in the Room: The Unconscious Nature of Discriminative Attitudes

Another interesting finding coming out of the study refers to the unconscious nature of the participants' attitudes toward L2 writing. Although they exhibited intolerance towards linguistic diversity, they were not aware of their own biased attitudes. This was confirmed by

the quantitative data in my surveys showing that they preferred L1 writing to L2 writing although they were not aware that the survey contained a combination of L1 and L2 writing. In other words, although they did not know they were rating L2 writing, they had lower ratings for comprehension and quality of writing in comparison to the scores they gave the L1 texts. In addition to the data from the surveys, both the interviews and the essays revealed an unconscious bias against L2 Englishes when the participants described them as broken, limited, or missing something. This happened despite the time spent during the intervention on deconstructing this stereotype. With one exception (Paulie), they could not recognize the discriminative undertones of the term "broken English". This may be the result of the frustration the participants reported in connection with the breakdowns in communication that occurred during their encounters with L2 users, which was something mentioned in 20% of the essays and, to different degrees, in all the interviews. All of this data pointed to a strong unconscious bias against L2 Englishes that may be rooted in the participants' lack of practice reading L2 texts or in their belief that writing should not deviate from the linguistic norm they were taught in school.

Regardless of what caused such attitudes, the fact that the participants were not aware of them prevented them from embracing change. Why would they change their biased attitude when they were not even aware of it? This finding confirms the important role awareness plays in shaping how people perceive linguistic diversity. How can they become more tolerant if they are not even aware they are being intolerant? As several studies have shown (Brown, 2008; Paredes, 2008; Richardson, 2003), this awareness has to start with the English teachers because of how influential they are in developing the students' language

attitudes. Through linguistic diversity training, these instructors can become aware of their own bias, and in turn help their students identify their own intolerant attitudes as well.

Other studies (Katz, Cobb, & Hadjioannou, 2009; Richardson, 2003) have documented this unconscious bias against linguistic diversity. Richardson (2003) explained that her participants, all English teachers, were not aware of their own negative attitudes although they openly admitted to banning localized Englishes from the classroom. These instructors explained that their attitude was the result of a sense of duty they had to teach the standard and they saw it as a way to provide their students with more opportunities. They believed in the mission to provide their students with the social and economic capital that comes with using the language of the powerful social group, thus unconsciously perpetuating the standard language ideology. Yet, by doing so, despite their good intentions, they were automatically discriminating against the students' diverse home languages and taught them to discriminate as well.

Although my participants were not aware of their own bias toward localized Englishes, they were nonetheless able to pick out the negative attitudes they witnessed in others. There were several instances when they made it clear that overt bias toward localized Englishes was common. For instance, 20% of the surveys participants in the experimental group and 5.3% of those in the control expressed their belief that linguistic discrimination existed. The interviews and the essays also confirmed that the participants themselves had fallen victim to linguistic bias (E27, E29, Danny). When discussing these instances of witnessed intolerance, the participants were very careful to point out that they refrained from such discriminative practices and they were only reporting on what they had witnessed. This inability to see their own attitude as biased although they were clearly able to identify

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linguistic intolerance in others was puzzling. This finding suggests that the students need a forum where they can share these experiences with linguistic bias and, though discussion, realize the impact their attitudes have on their interaction with others. The composition course could be such a forum, especially when the instructor is committed to eradiating negative views of localized Englishes instead of teaching the standard ideology.

Finding 3: What Went Wrong with the L1-L2 Interaction: Revealing the Factors Influencing Language Attitudes

The data obtained from this study suggested that the participants' attitude toward language was the result of several factors such as: common misconceptions about L2 users' language practices, particularly code-switching; excessive trust in the standard language ideology; tense encounters with L2 users; and lack of opportunities for reflection on linguistic diversity. To become more tolerant, L1 users need to inform themselves about these issues in order to dissipate any misconceptions that could influence their perception of L2 Englishes and linguistic diversity.

The interviews provided a good opportunity for the participants to reveal their response to code-switching. While they expressed admiration for their friends and family members who could speak more than one language, they also mistrusted multilinguals who code-switched around them. They feared any possible foul play when code-switching occurred and assumed that this was an attempt to hide something from the monolingual conversation participants (Cody, Paulie, Sandi). At the same time, they admitted being impressed that their friends or family members could speak more than one language (E29, E30, Danny, and Tammy), especially as many of them had made attempts at learning a second language as well. Of the 202 participants completing the pre-survey, 169 reported

being familiar with another language than English, although only very few reported how proficient they were at using it, which made it impossible to assess how many were truly multilingual. When discussing the same issue, most of the interviewees explained that although they were familiar with languages other than English, they did not have a good command of a second language with only two exceptions, Maria and Roberta. The participants' inability to speak more than one language could explain their negative reaction to code-switching, in which case it is necessary for schools to engage the students more seriously in the study of a second language so they can become truly multilingual. It would be also interesting to see whether providing multilingual education for the L2 students registered in American schools would also positively impact L1 students' attitudes, considering that initiatives such as the English-Only movement could send the message that schools are intolerant when it comes to languages other than English and their speakers.

The post-interviews confirmed that understanding why multilinguals code-switched, which was something discussed during the intervention, did not seem to make the participants more comfortable with that practice. Moreover, although the majority of the essays confirmed that the participants themselves were constantly code-switching between one variety of English and another, that did not help them be completely at ease when a language other than English was used around them. It seemed like the participants viewed the two as completely different practices and the essay writers asserted that switching from one variety of English to another was viewed as a sign of the user's superior linguistic ability, while code-switching from English to Spanish or Chinese was not. This shows again how important it would be for L1 users to become multilingual themselves because then they can empathize with the other multilinguals who code-switched around them.

The second factor influencing the participants' perception of L2 Englishes was their belief in the standard language ideology to which they were exposed in the writing course, the place where grammar and "proper" English were taught and nonstandard Englishes were ignored or sanctioned. The essays and the interviews revealed the tension the participants felt between the socially acceptable English varieties and the idiosyncratic English they had noticed in the speech of the L2 users they had met. This tension became visible, for instance, in the way Donna addressed the issue during the interview, on the one hand supporting the "melting pot" metaphor that would imply that the L2 users had to fit in, but lamenting the loss of one's linguistic heritage on the other. Her conflicting views were a sign of the tension between what was needed to become "more successful in America" (Donna-post 033) and maintaining one's identity. While the English instructors' hope to ensure their students the skills for upward social mobility is commendable, teaching them that some Englishes are better than others plants the seed of linguistic discrimination. Instead of indoctrinating the students into believing the standard ideology, composition instructors should help them deconstruct this persuasive myth.

The participants felt this tension between "proper" and "broken" English when they reflected on their own discourse as well. The essays, in particular, discussed at length the different Englishes they used as they went about their day, from the language of the English class to the slang they shared with their friends. The participants seemed acutely aware of the tension existing between the expected verbal behavior which was, in their opinion, the correct, yet unimaginative English they practiced in the grammar class, and the language that expressed them best, namely slang. Fifteen out of the 43 essay writers suggested that even though they believed that slang was the only discourse that could express their true self, they

looked down on this English and associated success with the Standard English taught by schools. E05 provided details in her essay about his negative experience in the English course when he switched communities of practice as a result of her transfer from one school to another and his English did not match the language of his new community. During the interviews, Danny also described how he was the victim of discriminative attitudes on account of his English. These accounts represented proof of the self-marginalization these students experienced as a result of the school-sponsored prescriptive approach to teaching English that dismissed the importance of the students' home languages. Moving away from the language ideology could erode the bias against the varieties of English students hear or read in their community in addition to helping them to overcome the negative attitudes towards their own Englishes.

The participants based their attitude toward L2 Englishes on the few encounters they had with L2 users. They did not start the study with a "clean slate" and the intervention was not their first opportunity to become aware of the existence of the different varieties of English. While it was unlikely that they were aware of the scholarship on L2 Englishes, they definitely interacted with linguistically diverse populations in the past, including, in some cases, L2 users. The second section of the pre-survey confirmed that 28.6% of the total population participating in the study had some kind of previous encounters with L2 users. This was also illustrated by the interviews, as every participant shared stories about being around L2 users, although for some (Cody, Victor) these experiences were more meaningful and positive than for others (Sara, Pattie). A third of the essay writers, too, discussed their encounters with the L2 users in their community. While such contact between L1 and L2 users comes as no surprise considering how diverse the United States is, this finding again

suggests the need to provide the students the theoretical framework to make sense of their encounters with linguistically diverse populations, because just being around L2 users does not guarantee tolerance.

Finding 4: The Alternate View: Using L2 Writing to Change Attitudes, Promote Tolerance, and Fight Discrimination

The most important finding in my study reveals that educating people about L2 Englishes and linguistic diversity can positively impact their language attitudes. The experimental group showed a statistically significant increase in tolerance toward L2 writing after the intervention. The data confirms that L1 students could be taught to be more tolerant. Both Kubota (2001b) and Smitherman (2000) suggested that such education was necessary and possible but it should start during the first school years. I argue, however, that the college first-year writing course can make a difference in the way students view L2 Englishes as well. Instructors could envision a transformative composition course whose main goal would thus be to educate the students about linguistic diversity and provide them with opportunities for reflection.

Such mixed responses to linguistic diversity are not specific to my study as other studies such as Kubota's (2001b) and Jenkins' (2007) revealed similar results, and despite the researchers' efforts to promote tolerance, some of the participants maintained a discriminative attitude toward localized Englishes. Some of Kubota's participants became more intolerant to linguistic diversity post-intervention, while others showed an increase in their tolerance for localized Englishes. When working with in-service teachers, Brown (2008) could not find a statistically significant change in the way her subjects viewed

linguistic diversity, while Paredes (2008) recorded an increase in tolerance with her in-service teachers. In the light of these studies, it was thus normal to record different levels of tolerance when working with my participants because although they all participated in the same activities during the intervention, their life experiences and belief systems were likely to contribute to how they viewed written L2 Englishes.

The findings of my research revealed a significant difference in the ratings the experimental group provided for the post-survey in comparison with their ratings on the pre-survey, while the control group had similar average scores on the pre- and post-survey. When comparing the two groups, it became obvious that the intervention positively influenced the experimental group's perception of L2 writing because their ratings went up significantly from the pre- to post-survey, while the ratings of the control group remained the same. The participants who attended the intervention showed more tolerance toward the L2 writing, scoring it higher from pre- to post-survey in terms of comprehensibility, quality of the writing, and appreciation of the writer. The qualitative data in the post-survey also confirmed that the experimental group was more open toward linguistic diversity. Both the experimental and the control group believed that linguistic diversity was important, but the ratio was of almost 2 to 1 in favor of the former. The essays written by Arielle's students also hinted at the impact the intervention had on the participants' perception of L2 Englishes, as more than a third of the writers made comments suggesting that diversity was an important part of the American society and something to be celebrated. The post-interviews also revealed that the participants were more aware of the possibility of falling into stereotyping and linguistic bias when referring to L2 Englishes and they did their best to avoid it. For instance, before the intervention Sandi expressed frustration about her we customers' code-switching practices,

but she carefully avoided any such comments on the post-interview. In fact, during our post-intervention discussion, Sandi commented on the need to respect people's linguistic rights, which showed that she was trying her best to sound unbiased. These results are very encouraging because they show that a brief two-week intervention could change the way the students think. Considering how dangerous discriminative attitude can be, it is thus imperative that similar educational sessions take place in all composition courses in the United States. The little time spent discussing diversity can provide a great return for the students and for society at large.

The intervention did not have an equal impact on all of the participants, though. In reality, it would seem a little odd for everybody to jump on the wagon of tolerance, considering that it is unrealistic to require over one hundred students to undergo the same transformation. The data obtained with the help of the three instruments did not show a homogenous response to L2 Englishes and some of the participants seemed more tolerant than others. The open-ended question on the post-survey, for instance, prompted a wide variety of answers, with some of the participants, i.e. 6.4% of the experimental group and 3.7% of the control group, praising linguistic diversity as the essence of the American society, while others felt threatened by it because of its potential to impede smooth communication, according to 11.5% of the experimental and 23.2% of the control group. The essays were also illustrative of the heterogeneity of the points of view as some writers seemed fascinated with L2 Englishes while others dismissed them as incorrect. Out of the fourteen writers who mentioned L2 Englishes, nine focused on the frustration they felt when their interlocutor was a L2 user. The essays even revealed contradictory opinions coming from the same person (E29). Considering these conflicting views, what can the instructor do

to engage as many students as possible? It seems like it is necessary for the teacher to get to know them well because understanding what motivates the students or what activities would work best with them could help the instructor design a better intervention that would reach more.

Such mixed responses to linguistic diversity are not specific to my study as other studies such as Kubota's (2001b) and Jenkins' (2007) revealed similar results, and despite the researchers' efforts to promote tolerance, some of the participants maintained a discriminative attitude toward localized Englishes. Some of Kubota's participants became more intolerant to linguistic diversity post-intervention, while others showed a positive change in their perception of localized Englishes. When working with in-service teachers, Brown (2008) could not find a statistically significant change in the way her subjects viewed linguistic diversity, while Paredes (2008) recorded an increase in tolerance with her in-service teachers. In the light of these studies, it was thus normal to record different levels of tolerance when working with my participants because although they all participated in the same activities during the intervention, their life experiences and belief systems were likely to contribute to how they viewed written L2 Englishes.

Although the participants were familiar with localized Englishes, it was the intervention, however, that gave them the tools they needed to critically rethink these encounters. As other studies have shown (Jenkins, 2007; Lindemann, 2005; Morrison & White, 2005), just being around L2 users did not make people more tolerant; reflecting on these encounters, however, led to a significant increase in the level of tolerance the participants in this study showed toward linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes. The experimental group was offered the opportunity to reflect on their perception of linguistic

diversity during the course sessions and Arielle's students extended this reflection outside of the classroom when they wrote their essays.

The research made it obvious that old stereotypes were hard to deconstruct. Regardless of how educated the participants were about the issue and how close they were to L2 users, some of the participants still failed to a certain degree to see much value in linguistic diversity, even when they were the ones using a localized variety of English. This, however, does not diminish the fact that the experimental group provided statistically significant proof that learning about linguistic diversity leads to tolerance.

A Mission for the Composition Course

Considering the aforementioned findings, this section of the chapter offers some recommendations for composition instructors.

As my research suggests, the composition course could make a difference in the students' language attitudes by helping them to become more tolerant. This is made possible when instructors redefine their mission, changing from language mavens into promoters of social change. Because linguistic discrimination can affect not only how particular varieties are perceived but also how their speakers are treated by those around them, it is of utmost importance to dedicate at least some of the composition course to the eradication of such dangerous attitudes. My study can be used as an example of the extraordinary impact an enthusiastic instructor passionate about linguistic tolerance could make on the students' attitude towards written L2 Englishes. Facilitating the students' understanding of linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes is a way to fight discrimination because it provides them with the knowledge and experience they need to properly interact with L2 users. Moreover, such a

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mission could contribute in shaping the students' beliefs in general considering that, as Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003) explained, language attitudes inform people's mental framework and help them create a "coherent map of the social world" (p. 3).

Such transformational learning is possible, though, only with the help of the composition instructors who have to overcome their own biases first by informing themselves about real Englishes and about the dangers that come with the standard language ideology. As Lovejoy (2003) suggested, English teachers need to accept the fact that "[a]s language educators, it is our responsibility to teach not only the language of power but also the multiplicity of ways we use language to communicate every day" (Lovejoy, 2003, p. 94). Previous research (Brown, 2008; Paredes, 2008), however, revealed that teacher-training programs do not offer their graduates a rounded education with courses on linguistic diversity, so the English teachers are left to figure out on their own how to be more tolerant and how to pass this on to their students. Rankie Shelton (2009) explained that this was possible for her once she began paying attention to the varieties of English she was using because it allowed her to see that linguistic diversity was normal. Until it more teacher-training programs begin providing courses on linguistic diversity, the task of informing themselves and adopting tolerant attitudes lays on the teachers' shoulders.

But what should composition instructors do to help their students become more tolerant?

According to the vision proposed by my research, linguistic tolerance begins with the languages used in the students' communities of practice, and therefore the instructors should facilitate the students' realization that the standard language is simply an additional resource they could draw from when contextually appropriate (Lovejoy, 2003, p. 96). Instead of

perpetuating the standard language ideology, instructors need to prompt their students to question the prescriptive approach to language that has traditionally taught them that "there is only one right way to use written language—and that's to use EAE [Edited American English]" (Lovejoy, 2003, p. 92). The instructors can thus be instrumental in developing the students' tolerance toward linguistic diversity while making the students better at using language in real life. Considering how widespread and imminent the L-L2 interaction has become in the United States, it is of utmost importance to encourage students to rethink the power structure associated with the various Englishes and thus promote a positive take on linguistic diversity.

Besides encouraging the students to see their home languages as a resource and not a burden, the composition instructors can prepare them for communicating with users from different backgrounds by transforming them into multicultural readers and writers. This is important especially when it comes to L2 writing considering that, as Kachru (1992b) explained, remains somehow "obscure" (p. 317) for unprepared monolingual English users. Reading more L2 texts could help and instructors might find themselves having to hunt for suitable L2 readings on their own, considering that textbooks seldom include L2 writers. Moreover, the students need to become familiar with strategies for communicating across communities of practice with different Englishes or, as Canagarajah (2006) explained, obtain the "metalinguistic, sociolinguistic, and attitudinal preparedness to negotiate differences even as they use their own dialects" (p. 593). The English teacher should provide opportunities for their students to learn how to "to *shuttle* between communities in contextually relevant ways" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 593) in preparation for whatever writing challenges they have to face in their future academic and work environment.

Moreover, as Nieto (2010) explained, instructors who are truly committed to multicultural education should make an effort to go beyond tolerance and consequently be prepared to engage the students in discussions that are not always conflict-free. The forth level of multicultural education relies of the idea that "many difference that students and their families represent are embraced and accepted as legitimate vehicle for learning" but it also implies that it is not possible to reach the last stage of the multicultural education model unless the students are willing to engage in a dialectal conflict. Nieto (2010) explains that "[w]hat makes this level different from the others is that conflict is not avoided, but rather accepted as an inevitable part of learning" (p. 257). Instructors, therefore, need to engage the students in an ideological discussion and "a process of reflection and critique of their cultures and those of others" (p. 258) in order "to transcend their own cultural experiences" (p. 258).

Finally and most importantly, the composition instructors should fight any linguistic bias among their students by instilling in them respect for someone else's English. Teachers need to address the issue of linguistic discrimination head on during class discussions or activities, providing their students with the opportunity to reflect on their own attitudes. Considering that the students participating in my research project were not even aware of their own intolerant attitudes, the composition instructors are instrumental in initiating their students' introspective search. Both English instructors and their students can use to space of the composition course to engage in reflective practices in order to become more aware of what informs their attitude toward language. Moreover, good teachers can act as life models for their students and tolerant instructors will influence the young people around them into becoming more tolerant themselves.

In a nutshell, instructors thus need to reconsider their mission in the light of the challenges the globalized world has and will pose for their students. Cliett (2003) explained that first "English teachers must come to grips with the reality that linguistic diversity is here to stay and, in fact, will become even more widespread during this new century" (p. 71). They should inform themselves about linguistic diversity issues and incorporate this knowledge into their teaching by adopting "meaningful classroom practices that can shape our students' view of language and their experiences as writers" (Lovejoy, 2003, p. 96). The instructors must move away from teaching the students how to master one discourse, i.e. whatever they consider the standard, and transform the composition course into a space where they gain new appreciation for their own home dialects, develop their multicultural awareness, and adapt to different discourses as necessary. At the same time, while recognizing the students' home dialects, the instructors should also inform them about the standard in order to "add language varieties to the child's linguistic mailbox, bringing a pluralistic vantage to language in the classroom (Wheeler, 2009, p. 181). The composition course needs to move away from the monolingual framework and encourage multiliterate competence.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations to this study that need to be taken into account when reviewing the aforementioned findings. Some of the limitations are connected with the methodology, some with the participants, and some resulted from my positionality as a composition instructor and L2 user. The following section will address each of these limitations.

Limitations in Terms of Methodology

The first limitation concerns the fact that this was a short-term study. The participants' attitudes were assessed only twice, i.e. at the onset of the study and after the two-week intervention. I anticipated that the experimental group's perception of linguistic diversity was likely to change as a response to their participation in the intervention, especially as the discussions we had in class were still lingering in the air. While it would be great to be able to assess the participants' perception of L2 writing after more time has passed, for instance after a year, it would be difficult to do. The students who registered for Arielle's, Titania's, and Julius' composition course were going to be in that class for only a few weeks more. Although a longitudinal study was desired, later access to the participants would have been hard to obtain considering that the students were from different majors and thus unlikely to take another course together.

Another limitation deals with the way the surveys were administered. Because the surveys were anonymous and the students were asked not to identify themselves in any way, it was impossible to match the pre- and post-surveys and thus see in what way, if ever, each individual student scores changed after the intervention. This inconvenience was initially considered acceptable because it gave the participants the confidence to express their honest opinion without the fear that their answers could be traced back to them. This, however, complicated the statistical analysis.

The interview process was also the cause of another limitation. The majority of the participants who volunteered for the pre-interview did not return for the post. While other students were happy to fill in, it would have been very useful to discuss with the same people

who were interviewed at the very beginning because it would have been a good way to look at possible transformation within each individual from pre- to post-interview.

Another struggle I encountered while conducting the research was the impossibility to record the intervention. Although I wanted to obtain video data, I did not get the permission to videotape the intervention and the interviews. The School of Graduate Studies and Research at the university where I conducted the study reviewed the IRB protocol and only approved the audio-taping of the interviews. They did not provide a reason for their refusal to allow videotaping. In retrospect, I should have been more persistent in requesting that or at least in asking for a reason considering that valuable data was thus lost, such as the classroom discussions during the intervention or the interviewees' non-verbal cues.

Limitations in Terms of Participants

Not all the students participated in the intervention in its entirety because some of them did not attend regularly during the two weeks. This could be the result of several factors, from weather, considering that one of the post-surveys was distributed during a blizzard, to the instructors' attendance policies, as Titania did not take attendance. Moreover, some of the students in attendance were lethargic during the intervention and did not seem to participate much, not even when group work was assigned (personal diary, 12 November 2009). This problem was something Kubota (2001b) also encountered when she did her intervention with high schools students. I argue that their resistance was a response in itself: they signaled the best they could that they did not see why L2 Englishes and intercultural communication were worth exploring. Even one of the interviewees explained that she did not believe that everybody would respond well to an organized effort to teach the students

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about linguistic diversity (Paulie 052). Her words were, indeed, confirmed by the behavior of the few students who chose not to participate in the class activities.

Another limitation of the study deals with how honest the participants were willing to be when asked to share their perception of L2 Englishes. In the process of answering my questions, they projected a particular self, i.e. the self they wanted me to see. They were in control of the information they provided, so it was possible that the opinions and stories they constructed were not necessarily true. As Li (2005) explained, the postmodern take on research suggests that despite of the means of inquiry used, absolute truth is "opaque" and "knowledge is rhetorical and socially constructed" (p. 122). This means that this paper simply presents the "truth" these participants constructed at that particular moment, something Li (2005) would call an "approximation of reality" (p. 125).

The participants, especially those interviewed, could have provided answers that they thought I might want to hear instead of revealing their honest perception of L2 Englishes. As Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003) explained, the "social-desirability bias" may factor into how participants respond to language attitude studies as "[r]espondents harboring negative views towards a particular group may not wish to admit to the researcher, or eve to themselves, that they hold such feelings" (p. 28). That was true especially after the intervention because the discussions I had coordinated during class were visibly meant to promote linguistic tolerance. In order to reduce the bias in the data, the surveys were completely anonymous. Moreover, as the comments they provided for the open-ended questions revealed similar attitudes with those expressed in the essays and in the interviews, it is very likely that the students were fairly open throughout the entire data collection process.

Limitations Connected to the Researcher's Positionality

Despite my attempts to be as unbiased as possible, the data description and analysis were likely to be influenced by my own beliefs, starting with the questions I asked the participants to the way I selected and organized the data I included in the analysis, the analysis itself, and so on. As Li (2005) explained, "all researchers are confined by their own historical and cultural situatedness and can only see what that position allows them to see even when they are looking carefully and earnestly at the 'other'" (p. 124). My position was grounded in several facts: I am a L2 user but I teach L1 composition; I am a teacher of English but, as a L2, I am also forever a student of the language; I believe in people's right to use language without being judged, but I follow the conventions of the academia when I write papers such as this dissertation. I recognize that it is impossible to completely step out of my own set of concepts and beliefs and, as Li (2005) said, "I still set the agenda" (p. 126) when collecting and interpreting data.

Both the participants and I could not forget, not even for a minute, that I was a L2 user. I speak a different variety of English than the people in my community; at times, I have to ask for an explanation when I am not familiar with the topic, which happens when it comes to American traditions and pop culture references older than the early 1990's. During the intervention, for instance, a student brought up a children's game everybody except for me seemed to know but I had to ask them what it was about, which singled me out as the "foreigner" or the "other". It is difficult to say how much my L2 status influenced how they completed the survey or what they chose to write in their essays, considering that they were assured of their anonymity. The interviews, in particular, were definitely affected by me being a L2 user, which was something Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003) called the

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"interviewer's paradox" (p. 29). It is impossible to say whether their answers would have been different should an L1 user had conducted the interviews. It was interesting, however, that most interviewees made sure to mention sometime during the interview that my English was "great", easy to understand, and even "beautiful", as if they felt the need to put me at ease by explaining that they were not referring to me when they were sharing their perception of L2 users.

Suggestions for Future Research

The research on language attitudes has been so productive that it would be difficult to think of what else is left uncharted. The focus on L2 writing, however, calls for further investigation. Besides looking in more detail at L1 users' perception of L2 writing, researchers also need to further inquire into the role the composition course can play in shaping these attitudes. Finally, there's a need to assess the type of activities and materials these instructors could use to promote linguistic tolerance in the composition course.

Previous research (Canagarajah, 2006; Kubota, 2001a, b) stressed how important it is for L1 users to be proficient at intercultural communication, considering that they are likely to live in the linguistically-diverse community of a globalized society. Louie (2009) approximated that in 2000, "22% of the total population in the United States were either born in another country or the child of foreign-born parents" (p. 37) and by 2015 the number will go up by 8% (p. 37). This means that L1 users in American schools constantly read the writing produced by their L2 colleagues and have to think of these L2 users as their potential audience. How do L1 students respond to L2 writing and how do they adapt their own texts in response to this audience? At what grade level do they form an attitude? How is that attitude reflected in how they perceive and act toward the L2 users? How likely is it for a L1

university graduate to work well with L2 users? How prepared are they to unbiasedly accept the writing produced by these colleagues and later on by their coworkers? As common sense, census data, and the present study all suggest that students are very likely to interact with L2 users and therefore learning about L2 Englishes is necessary, further research on a bigger scale is needed to see how the students respond to the written L2 Englishes around them.

The discussions that took place during my interviews and the essays my participants wrote suggested that the English class contributed to how they viewed localized Englishes, which implies that if we want to change attitudes, we have to start in the composition course. In order to promote linguistic tolerance, the instructors have to become more engaged with these issues, more knowledgeable about linguistic diversity, and more open toward localized Englishes. The need to train teachers about linguistic diversity has been documented by previous research (Brown, 2008; Paredes, 2008; Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou, 2009; Richardson, 2003) and became obvious at the onset of my study as well. When I needed the help of my colleagues to complete my research, I approached five of them and briefly explained my research plan. Their reaction was to honestly admit that they had never thought of L2 Englishes as important for composition studies, although they all held a MA in English, had at least six years of experience teaching college writing, and had previously worked with L2 users. Further research is needed in terms of teacher training: How much do L1 composition teachers know about the issue already? How so they inform themselves about it? What are the venues they can use to gain a realistic image of how important L2 Englishes have become for academic and workplace communication? Because few universities in the United States require their students to take courses on linguistic diversity and L2 Englishes (Baumgardner, 2006), it would be difficult for composition instructors to

gain enough knowledge about this so they are confident enough to incorporate it in their teaching.

The composition teachers have to be the agents of change when it comes to introducing the concepts of L2 Englishes and linguistic diversity to the classroom, but little is known about their language attitudes when it comes to L2 writing. Although research on attitudes toward L2 Englishes in general was done with education majors (Brown, 2008; Parades, 2008) or L2 ESL instructors (Jenkins, 2007), there is no research on the composition instructors' perception of written L2 Englishes. The research is necessary because it impacts how they address the issue with their students. Moreover, previous research in teachers' attitudes toward linguistic diversity in general has shown a great deal of resistance, regardless of whether the instructor was an L1 (Richardson, 2003; Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou, 2009) or L2 user (Jenkins, 2007). When the instructor has a negative attitude toward L2 Englishes, it is easy to influence the students' thinking in that direction, too.

More research is also needed on how to present the issue of L2 Englishes in the composition course. The few books instructors can use to teach courses on L2 Englishes such as Graddol and Leith's (1996). *English: History, Diversity, and Change* or Jenkins' (2003) *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Students* are not geared toward the composition audience, although the activities mentioned there could be adapted to meet the needs of the L1 composition course. With a few exceptions, such as Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz' (2008) *The Presence of Others: Voices and Images that Call for Response*, the composition textbooks used by the university where this study was conducted pay little to no attention to L2 writing. It is necessary, therefore, to encourage textbook writers to find ways to

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incorporate L2 Englishes in their vision of what the composition course should teach the students.

Final Thoughts

The data collected during this research revealed that the participants were not prepared to interact proficiently with L2 users and their writing. Less than a third of the participants, more precisely only 28.6%, had had previous exposure to L2 Englishes or multilingualism from interacting with L2 users at work, at school, at home, or when traveling. Moreover, the participants reported a lack of familiarity with L2 writing. It therefore came as no surprise that they favored L1 Englishes and L1 writing over L2 Englishes and L2 texts during the data collection. The post-intervention data revealed, however, that incorporating L2 Englishes in the composition course can initiate a change in how L1 students view linguistic diversity and L2 texts and they become more tolerant towards linguistic diversity. The lack of meaningful interaction with L2 users and the prevalence of discriminative ideologies can lead to linguistic intolerance on the part of the students, while learning about linguistic diversity and working with L2 texts are effective ways to fight such attitudes. This calls for immediate action on the part of the composition instructors who can act as agents of change by providing opportunities for their students to learn about linguistic diversity while reflecting on their own use of English and on their encounters with L2 users.

Yet how could a short intervention, such as the one I developed for the present study, be truly effective in preventing linguistic discrimination? Why would it even be considered by the students? There are several possible answers for these questions. First, it is without doubt that such goal nicely fits the mission to enlighten, fight discrimination, and dissipate

misconceptions that students expect from university education in general. It also fits the goals of the composition course because it encourages students to think critically and become better at communicating with different audiences. Finally, such an approach addresses the students' insecurities about their own diverse Englishes, helping them to overcome any feelings of self-marginalization and providing them with a healthy alternative to the standard ideology that, according to Richardson (2003) and Katz, Cobb, and Hadjioannou (2009), is so common in the English course. Considering that the participants were, in some cases, not even aware of their own biased attitude, interventions like the one I designed for this study have the role of raising the students' awareness about the value of linguistic diversity they observe in their own lives. When instructors give their L1 students the confidence to appreciate their own linguistic diversity, they implicitly encourage the development of a more tolerant approach toward L2 Englishes.

Due to globalization and immigration patterns, in the United States L1 and L2 users are continuously mixing as they work together, live in the same neighborhood, go to the same school, and consequently read each other's writing. The composition course could thus prepare the students for a globalized world by introducing them to L2 Englishes and L2 writing, clarifying any misconceptions they may have about linguistic diversity, and raising awareness about any possible biases against L2 users. The data obtained during my study confirmed that even a short intervention like the one that took place in the fall of 2009 and spring 2010 semesters could help the students develop the necessary skills for interacting with L2 users and their writing. The results of the survey were statistical proof that learning about linguistic diversity positively impacts how users view such Englishes. Considering that discriminative attitudes are largely the result of misconceptions and language myths, it is

only normal that learning about the value of linguistic diversity could be a means to fight such attitudes.

The strength of the present research project lays in its practical applications. My study draws a clear path toward promoting linguistic tolerance among L1 students and it supports the recommendations with measurable results. Moreover, the vision proposed by this research requires my fellow composition instructors to help their students become not only better writers, but better people. The participants in my study confirmed that change is possible and even desired. Who wants to discriminate, after all?

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APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Survey

The pre- and post-survey pair listed first was used with two of Arielle's courses assigned to the experimental group courses and with two of Julius' Fall courses. The paragraphs came from four essays written by L2 users and one blog entry written by an L1 user, with each writer being represented in both pre and post-survey. In order to ensure that the paragraph order did not influence the participants' ratings, there was another pre- and post-survey pair designed by jumbling the order of the excerpts. This was completed by one of Arielle's and one of Titania's groups of students for the experimental group and by two of Julius's student groups. Finally, a third instrument was designed by switching the first sections from the pre- and post-survey listed below. The participants taking this third survey were from Julius' spring students and the last two of Titania's groups.

Pre-survey.

Thank you for taking this survey. For section 1, please take the next ten minutes to rate the following five excerpts taken from student papers, and then provide a short answer to the question in Section 2.

<div align="center">Section 1</div>

Excerpt 1

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

After coming out to big city, I see a lot of things that might not notice before. I found out that not necessary that every time you find people, they will let you their hand. This make me like to do things by my own. Whatever I do not know, I will figure out by myself. This is the way

I lived. When I am out for study, I lived with many people that I do not know. Each of us has different habits. Living with different kinds of people made me learn to tolerance and not to be done with others business so much as they might not want others to have a hand in their life. I only give a hand when it really needed. Otherwise, the situation will become worse.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Comprehensible*

Bad writing - 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Good writing*

Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Liked the writer*

Excerpt 2

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

Some nights after we had finished the exercise we used to sit around a small and secret fire away from officers, speaking and drinking like we were moribund while alcohol could reveal our mental pain. I used to drink zivania, a traditional drink of Cyprus that it made get warmer in the cold. I always have the opinion that alcohol or drugs can't solve your problem, they just give a temporary relief and that time our problems weren't temporary. Finally alcohol gave us sleep, many recollections from the past but pain was always there if no one had the courage to cry.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Comprehensible*

Bad writing - 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Good writing*

Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Liked the writer*

Excerpt 3

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

This chapter is a very good one to me for some reason. This chapter talks about the old time ranchers. These people back in the old days worked hard to survive I mean they would get up early in the morning and, bust there tails off to take care of there ranches with all the cattle and all the other types of animals they had to take care of. In those days when a rancher would raise there cattle and, fairly trade there cattle off to some market or even a meat market and, everyone would be happy. I will also say that in the old days nobody would really try to rip anyone off.

   Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6 *-Comprehensible*

     Bad writing -   1   2   3   4   5   6 *-Good writing*

   Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6 *-Liked the writer*

Excerpt 4

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

As for me, I am a spirit-controlling animal. In other word, I can be efficient only if I am on a high spirit. I once tried to push myself back to work just after a frustrated work. It turned out to be that I was seated in front of the desk and do nothing, wasting a whole afternoon. In this issue, people choose there own resting methods according to individual situations, There will never be a right way to take a rest but only the fittest way. No matter what kind of approach is applied when you take a test, just remember no one is super human when facing a number of works and we all need rest.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Comprehensible*

Bad writing - 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Good writing*

Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Liked the writer*

Excerpt 5

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

Growing up in a divorce family and living with a single parent has been a rough time for me. Right after my parents' divorcement, our lives were started getting hard. My mother decided to raise three of us all by her own. However, with her little income, we were forced t move from one place to another and the house we rent was getting smaller compared to previous ones. Things are getting worst when my siblings and I were living together with my mother's partner and eventually turned out to be my stepfather. As time passes, the relationship between my mother and I turns out to be hatred. It has been years that I am searching for family love in my family.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Comprehensible*

Bad writing - 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Good writing*

Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Liked the writer*

Section 2:

Please answer the following questions:

7. *Circle the choice that fits your description: Sex: Male / Female   Age:*

8. *What language do you speak at home?*

    _____

9. *What other languages do you know and to what*

    extent?_____

10. *Have you ever lived abroad? Where and for how*

    long?_____

11. *Do you have any friends who speak other*

    languages?_____

12. *Have you worked with people from different countries and for how long?*

    _____

13. *Briefly describe an encounter you had with someone who has a different mother tongue*

    than English.

    Post-survey.

Thank you for taking this survey. For section 1, please take the next ten minutes to rate the

following five excerpts taken from student papers, and then provide a short answer to the

questions in Section 2.

Section 1

Excerpt 1

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

I also found new friends. Instead of having grudges among my rivals, I manage to develop a

sense of healthy competition. We were rivals in the pool but once we were done with the

swim we are closer than ever. In the mean time, we manage to relate to our current

experience of training and school and the hardship we have to carry on our backs. We

travelled as a team and supported each other all the time. Till today, we do still keep in touch;

reminiscing our past, all the good times and bad time we endured during our competition days.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   -Comprehensible

Bad writing -   1   2   3   4   5   6   -Good writing

Disliked the writer-   1   2   3   4   5   6   -Liked the writer

Excerpt 2

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

The first family is living in poverty and is having a hard time putting food on the table and making sure the bills are getting paid. Then a turn for the worst, the mother gets ill with cancer. The community they were apart of really pulled together to try to get them food and wood for their fire place and the necessities of everyday living.Some of the people would use the barter system to trade farming labor for vegtables. Others would allow them to work in the lumber yard for wood for the fire. This chapter is called kinship. When i hear the word kin i automatically think of family. This chapter helps you to see that family isn't only blood related. Your family or kin consists of those that love and care about you.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   -Comprehensible

Bad writing -   1   2   3   4   5   6   -Good writing

Disliked the writer-   1   2   3   4   5   6   -Liked the writer

Excerpt 3

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

To conclude I must say that I am convinced to believe that army influences my life in a way that I didn't want but I couldn't avoid it. I am sad sometimes thinking that I would like to be

innocent and young boy in puberty for a little more but no one can predict or modify future. Now I know that I must live with past and reconcile with it, that's the reason I never try to forget. I learn many things in army some are useless as I will never kill any human and some are useful as I learn more about life and in the end is better as America is a new challenge for me and I am ready to survive in such a big society. Finally the one thing that gives me pain some days is the thought that I never get real acceptance in Cyprus and I get every day in America.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Comprehensible*

Bad writing - 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Good writing*

Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Liked the writer*

Excerpt 4

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

My father never stopped my mother or said a word when my mother decided to bring 3 of us along with her. Four of us moved out of my father's house and life started to change among us. My mother was busy with her work all the time. We spent most of the time in my aunt's house. I will only see my mother in the morning when we were departing to school and at night when she came to fetch us from aunt's house after her work. I seldom got the chance t taste my mother's home cook food again. After a few months, we moved and lived with a man that I never met before. I remember my mother told me that he is her employer, name XX., eventually turned out to be my stepfather. Life getting worst from the day we moved in. My mother's workload became heavier and lesser time was spent with her 3 children. She started to break her promises very often until we were no longer believed in her.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Comprehensible*

Bad writing - 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Good writing*

Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Liked the writer*

Excerpt 5

Read the following paragraph and then use the rating scales underneath to evaluate it:

One'self and classmates are the most convenient and common resources, besides, working in a group can bring one fun and make studying more interesting. Books and online sources are something more persuasive and authoritative. Professors are the last choice and most of the questions raised towards them are really hard and cannot be solved by students. On one side, they are not always available and students like to show their brilliant side to their professor rather than their trouble side so that they will try their best to fix them as much as they can on the other side.

Incomprehensible- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Comprehensible*

Bad writing - 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Good writing*

Disliked the writer- 1   2   3   4   5   6   *-Liked the writer*

Section 2:

Please answer the following questions:

1. *Circle the choice that fits your description:*   *Sex: Male / Female*   *Age:*

2. *How many of the last six courses did you attend?*

    1   *2*   *3*   *4*   *5*   *6*

Please write a one-paragraph response to the following question:

Think of the class discussions we have had so far. What is your opinion on linguistic diversity?

Essay Prompt

This essay prompt was given to the students by Arielle on the day before the intervention and was collected by the same instructor a week after the intervention was over.

The Englishes we speak

Write a 2.5 to 3-page essay on the linguistic diversity in your life. Here are some topic suggestions:

- Although we all speak English, we learn how to adapt out language to the context of the speech act (situation). We use several registers/dialects/idioms of English to accomplish different goals and communicate with different people. Make a list of what you notice in the way you express yourself in class and at work, among strangers and among friends, with a young person or someone your own age, and so on. Write an essay analyzing the way you employ language, providing plenty of examples from the observations you've recorded.

- Choose two family members/ friends/ public figure and spend a week observing how they use language. What particular words do they use in different contexts? Do they have any interesting linguistic habits? What kind of language do they use to accomplish particular goals? Take as many notes as possible, then use them to write an essay in which you compare and contrast the way the two individuals use language.

- Listen to the way people around you (family members, friends, colleagues) use language to establish and maintain relationships. What are some of the linguistic strategies they use to assert the power relations among them? Do they use different language with various people according to the type of relationship they share? Write an essay in which you describe these relationships using your notes as examples.

- Look at the neighborhood where you live from a linguistic perspective. What languages do your neighbors speak? What does that say about your community? Do their Englishes reveal something about their social status, their values, and so on? Analyze the linguistic makeup of your neighborhood with plenty of examples.

Sample Interview Questions

- You can sometimes notice different Englishes just from visiting different places in the United States. Did you ever notice that? If so, how was that experience?

- What if you were to move to another part of the country, would you stay with your current accent or would you adopt the accent of your new community? Why, or why not?

- Do you have people in your family who have a particular way of using English? Why? How is their English? How do you react to it?

- Did you ever have the chance to go to another country where the main language was not English? How was that experience?

- Have you had any classmates or instructors who use a variety of English that's very different than yours?

- Would you say that people are surprised when they hear somebody with an accent? In what way?

- What would you think about his or her language if you had a L2 user for a friend?

- Think of the last time you met a L2 user. Tell me about that encounter.

- Let's put ourselves in the shoes of the L2 user. Let's say we are visiting Italy and you are with your friends. Would you speak Italian if another person who does not understand English is present or would you still speak English? Why?

- Can you think of some famous L2 users? In what way is the way their English influencing how we perceive them?

- What were the activities you enjoyed most and why?

- What is your opinion of linguistic diversity?

APPENDIX 2: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in this research study. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. You are eligible to participate because you are a student taking Writing at _____.

The purpose of this study is to establish whether it is possible to promote linguistic tolerance toward L2 Englishes in the context of the composition course. Participation or non-participation will not affect the evaluation of your performance in this class. First your class will be randomly assigned to be the either control group or in the experimental group. The control group will only be administered a pre-test and a post-test survey at the beginning and at end of the semester, respectively. The first surveys consists of 6 texts you will be asked to rate followed by rating scales and a series of 6 demographic questions, and the second survey consists of 6 texts with rating scales, one assessment question and one open-ended question.

You will be also asked to volunteer for a 20-minute interview. The interviews will take place either this week or three weeks from now in the Maag library main lobby. If you are willing to participate in the interview session, please write your email address on the sheet of paper provided. The students who are selected and complete the interviews will be compensated for their time and effort with a $15 gift card to Peaberry's.

The experimental group, in addition to taking the surveys, will also participate in two weeks of activities on language diversity. The interventions will be videotaped for accuracy, but any identifying information such as the participants' faces will be blurred no later than the week after the intervention session.

There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. You may find the learning experience enjoyable and the information interesting. At the same time, the information gained from this study may help us to better understand the possibilities of promoting linguistic acceptance though education.

Your participation in this study is <u>voluntary</u>.   You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with the investigator or YSU. Your decision will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying the Project Director or informing the person administering the survey or the interview. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence and will have no bearing on your academic standing or services you receive from the University. Your response will be considered <u>only in combination</u> with those from other participants. The information obtained in the study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings but your identity will be kept strictly confidential.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below and deposit in the designated box by the door. Take the extra unsigned copy with you. If you choose not to participate, deposit the unsigned copies in the designated box by the door.

Researcher: Ana Wetzl, PhD candidate, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Campus Address: 113 Leonard Hall, Indiana, Pa 15705

Phone: (330)272-1789; Email: a.m.wetzl@iup.edu

Project Director: Dr. David Hanauer

Rank/Position: Professor

Department Affiliation: English

Campus Address: 110 Leonard Hall, Indiana, PA 15705

Phone: (724)357-2274

This project has been approved by Youngstown Sate University (330/9412377) and Indiana University of Pennsylvania (724/357-7730) Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

Informed Consent Form (continued)

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT):

Signature:

Date:

Phone number or email where you can be reached if you are willing to participate in the interviews:

Best days and times to reach you (the days/times when your class meets):

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential

benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have

answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

_____

Date   Investigator's Signature

APPENDIX 3: INTERVENTION ACTIVITIES

This appendix lists the activities used during the intervention and provides brief explanations of how the activities were conducted. The handouts used with the participants are listed underneath each activity.

Week 1

Activity 1

The participants were asked to reflect on the different Englishes they used when writing throughout the day and they also discussed in groups what made them change the variety of English in terms of audience, purpose, location, and so on. The activity ended with them writing one paragraph about two varieties of English they used. A few of the students then volunteered to share their writing with the rest of the class.

Handout.

List all the writing you did in the past two weeks in the following locations:

1. at work   2. in your kitchen   3. at the store   4. in this classroom

5. in your best friend's house   4. another location of your choice

Please get in groups of three. Share your lists and then discuss the following questions:

How are all these types of writing different? Do you have different Englishes for different places? Why? How are your Englishes different?

Now write one paragraph in which you compare and contrast the writing you do at two locations of you own choosing that not listed here. Be prepared to read this paragraph to the

whole class. (Note: although you need to write one paragraph each, you are more than welcome to ask your group mates for suggestions.)

Activity 2

This activity invited the participants to reflect on the stereotypes that influenced them when reading other people's writing and on how powerful these stereotypes were in deciding their attitude toward the writer. The participants were asked to read two postings from the community page, i.e. message board of the local newspaper and then, in groups, create a profile of the writers based on their writing style. They were asked to share their profiles with the rest of the class and the general discussion that followed touched on issues such as how to differentiate between an educated guess and a stereotype, how to avoid being judged and judging people based on how they write, and so on. The discussion also addressed how the students themselves are probably judged in a similar manner by their audience when they write something.

Handout.

Please read the two postings below that appeared in the online version of the local newspaper and, as a group, write a paragraph describing the person who wrote each message. After discussing your descriptions with two of your colleagues, be prepared to share them with the rest of the class.

1. Mayor of local community asks city attorneys to track down IP addresses/names of _____.com posters

Posted by: **Watchdog** (IP Logged)

Date: January 11, 2009 06:23PM

This is kind of crazy, especially considering that there was never a single post that threatened or made derogatory comments about the guy. Some minor criticism was all that it amounted to, and there was absolutely no "legal" issues whatsoever to deal with. Yet I guess in this community you can't criticize the mayor OR ESPECIALLY HIS EMPLOYEES without feelings getting hurt. And when feelings get hurt, taxpayers shell out money for attorneys to waste time playing Internet Cops.

And yes, this is all very true. One of the mayor's recent hires has been telling anyone who will listen all about it.

2.   **Re: What is the issues with all the Bad Stop Lights in _____**

Posted by: **just the facts** (IP Logged)

Date: January 13, 2009 04:22PM

         The intersection of Bella Vist and Conneticut had a new pole all new signal heads and wires replaced in aug,2008.this was becuase a storm split the pole and all came crashing down.On friday jan9,at around 9:30a.m. a motorist ran the red light the resulting crash took out the pole and again all came crashing down.The order was placed at 10:30 a.m.that same day.On monday morning the pole was replaced.There is one repairman on duty the other is on vacation.On thursday jan 8,2009 the intersection of Belmont and westbound service RD was also knocked down and the city is waiting for a new pole .Both will be operational within a week.As far as employees driving by broken signals;when they get a call they have 50min to get to that intersection.This is all logged through 911.If they don't and an accident happens the city is liable.When they see a problem on their way to a 911 call thy notifiy 911 and the clock starts for that one.The signal at 711 & Gypsy Ln. 1min 7sec.if traffic on Gypsy

is heavy this may extened to 1min 32sec red. 15yrs ago there was 17 employees today

6.There are 250 signalized intersections with 5,000 bulbs.The two indivduals maintaining these lights also put up stop signs during the street painting season.The number to call is 330-7431494 call 911 if emergency.

(Source: http://forums.vindy.com/)

Discussion questions:

- What can you say about the first person? Can you guess the age, sex, marital status, educational background, etc?

- What particular words in the text helped you in your "detective" work?

Activity 3

The following activity was meant to further the students' awareness of the impact context in general and genre in particular can have on writing. They worked in groups, dividing the tasks among themselves and then sharing the writing with the rest of the class.

Handout.

In groups of three, please write:

1. The first stanza of a rap song

2. A request you have to send to your manager asking for a pay raise

3. Directions for your 8-year-old niece on how to use an Easy-Bake oven

4. A letter to your future spouse's parents explaining what you do for a living

After you have finished writing the four short texts, please answer the following two questions:

1.   How is your writing different each time? Think of word choice, form of address, layout, grammar, format, length, content, etc.

2.   What were you thinking when you made your linguistic choices?

Now write a paragraph in which you describe why you chose to change your writing style with each different audience.

Week 2

Activity 4

This activity was meant to offer the students an overview of the international spread of English with the help of Kachru's (1992d) three concentric circles diagram. Each student was given a post-it note and they were asked to write on it the name of a country they would like to visit. I then drew three concentric circles on the whiteboard and explained how Kachru divided L2 Englishes into the Inner, Outer, and Concentric Circle based on how they each established itself as a result of language evolution (Inner), colonialism (Outer Circle) and globalization (Expanding Circle). I then invited the students to place the post-it into the right circle. The discussion that followed incorporated issues such as power structure, colonialism, language rights, linguistic discrimination, and so on.

No handout was used for this activity.

Activity 5

This activity was meant to help the participants empathize with the L2 users by putting them in the situation of an L2. As I have Romanian as my L1, I designed a short lesson teaching them how to count in my language and how to say the main greetings. The words I wrote on the board were: *unu, doi, trei, patru, cinci, sase,* representing the numbers

from one to six, and the following greetings: *Buna dimineata!* (Good morning), *Buna ziua!* (Good afternoon), and *Buna seara!* (Good evening!). The participants were then "tested" as I asked them to read the numbers or say the greetings to each other. The discussion following the activity focused on difficulties L2 experience when learning a new language, the critical age hypothesis, the native speaker fallacy and so on.

Handout.

People often think that it is very easy to learn to speak another language perfectly and in no time. How easy is it, though?

1.   First, in groups of three or four, discuss your previous experiences studying foreign languages. How would you describe the experience? How fast did you "pick up" the language? Were you good at it? Were you told that you have an accent?

2.   Now you will learn a few sentences in Romanian. Try your best to remember everything you are taught.

3.   Consider the following questions: How easy was the "Romanian lesson", and why? How easy is it to speak another language just like a native speaker, and why? Write a paragraph synthesizing your answers and be prepared to share it with the rest of the class.

Activity 6

The students were instructed to read Amy Tan's essay "Mother Tongue" and they used a handout with questions as the starting point for the group discussion

Handout.

 Discussion questions:

- Who was the person Tan could not impress with her complex academic language when talking to a larger audience about her novel "The Joy Luck Club"?

- Read the transcribed conversation between Tan and her mom. How much of it do you understand? What would you do if you lived with someone who spoke like that?

- Why does Tan dislike describing her mom's English as "broken" or "limited"?

- Why does Tan believe that language had a lot to do with the way things happened when her mom went to the hospital?

- In what way was Tan influenced by her mom's English?

- Why does Tan's mother still speak Chinese even though she can speak English?

- Why does Tan speak "broken English" when she obviously can speak perfect English?

- How do you feel when you are in a public space and someone is using a different language than English?

- Let's say you were living in Rome- when eating out or shopping, would you talk to your fellow Americans in English or in Italian? Why?

- Put yourself in Tan's shoes. How does it feel to be a daughter of immigrant parents? Why?

Activity 7

The following activity invited the participants to challenge the native speaker fallacy and acknowledge the impact of the cultural context on what constitutes "proper" English. The participants were asked to work in groups discussing the following scenarios and they were also encouraged to draw from their own experience with L2 users when interpreting each scenario.

Handout.

Read the following scenarios:

1.   The manager asks Dan to handle the letter of complaint addressed to the department. When he reads it, he understands only part of it because it is written in a variety of L2 English with which he is not familiar. He has to explain to the manager that the customer's English is atrocious and nothing can be done about that complaint because it can't be read.

2.   Dan is spending a year with his Indian friend in his native country. He knows that most people there speak English, so he is sure that he will be all right. Once he is there, though, he has a hard time understanding what people say to him. Their English seems "broken". Dan decides to help out and he offers his services as a tutor to those interested in improving their English.

3.   Dan's Chemistry professor is a L2 user. Although Dan wants to get a good grade at the end of the term, he struggles understanding her English and that affects his performance. Fortunately, he manages to drop the class before the deadline. He will have to take it again next year.

In groups of three or four, discuss each scenario. Was the situation handled properly? What are some of the underlying assumptions and stereotypes informing Dan's actions? What are some other ways of dealing with these situations?

Write one paragraph describing an experience you've had with a L2 user. What were the strategies you used to communicate effectively?

Activity 8

In groups, the participants read a paragraph from R. Mistry's short story "The Ghost of Firozsha Baag" and they were asked to come up with comprehension strategies to

understand the text. The discussion that followed focused on these strategies and on what makes L2 writing unique.

Handout.

This is an excerpt from a short-story by the Indian-born L2 user Rohinton Mistry whose career as a writer began when he was working as a bank clerk in Toronto. In groups of three, replace all the words that sound "foreign" or exotic. Once you are done, compare the final text with the original and discuss consequences of the changes you have made. Which text is more meaningful? Why?

> After reaching first floor I stopped to rest. My breath was coming fast-fast. Fast-fast, like it does nowadays when I grind curry *masala* on the stone. Jaakaylee, my bai calls out, Jaakaylee, is *masala* ready? Thinks a sixty-three-year old ayah can make *masala* as quick as she used to when she was fifteen. Yes, fifteen. The day after my fourteenth birthday I came by bus from Goa to Bombay. All day and night I rode the bus. I still remember when my father took me to bus station in Panjim. Now it is called Panaji. Joseph Uncle, who was mechanic in Mazagaon, met me at Bombay Central Station. So crowded it was, people running all around, shouting, screaming, and coolies with big-big trunks on their heads. Never will I forget that first day in Bombay. I just stood in one place, not knowing what to do, till Joseph Uncle saw me. Now it has been forty-nine years in this house as ayah, believe or don't believe. Forty-nine years in Firozsha Baag's B Block and they still don't say my name right. Is it so difficult to say Jacqueline? But they always say Jaakaylee. Or worse, Jaakayl (234).

Activity 9

The following activity required the students to read Rhyna P. Espaillat' (1992) poem "Bilingual/ Bilingüe". The discussion was bidirectional, focusing on the ideas expressed in the poem on the one hand and on the strategies the students used to read it on the other.

Handout

Rhyna P. Espaillat, Bilingual/Bilingüe

My father liked them separate, one there,

one here (allá y aquí), as if aware

that words might cut in two his daughter's heart

(el corazón) and lock the alien part

to what he was—his memory, his name

(su nombre)—with a key he could not claim.

"English outside this door, Spanish inside,"

he said, "y basta." But who can divide

the world, the word (mundo y palabra) from

any child? I knew how to be dumb

and stubborn (testaruda); late, in bed,

I hoarded secret syllables I read

until my tongue (mi lengua) learned to run

where his stumbled. And still the heart was one.

I like to think he knew that, even when,

proud (orgulloso) of his daughter's pen,

he stood outside mis versos, half in fear

of words he loved but wanted not to hear.

Essay E10

<div align="center">The different cultures and how they speak differently</div>

My neighborhood from a linguistic standpoint is a little diverse. There are all kinds of individuals on my street. I have talked to some of them, but not all of them can be understood clearly. There are some college kids that live down the street, and there are all races of older individuals living all up and down the street also. My street ranges from different races like there are some African Americans, Caucasians, Latino individuals, some people that seem like there from Jamaica, and there are some Italian and Greek people. The ages of the people in my neighborhood are really broad. What I mean by that is there is all different range of age groups here. There's an older couple that has been living in their house for forty years. They have seen people come and go, since they have been here the longest they are well liked in my neighborhood.

The individuals in my neighborhood speak different languages sometimes; you can not always understand what they are saying all the time. It is not that they have a strong accent, it is that when they get excited about something they start talking in there native language. They will get upset and start talking in there native language about something someone did earlier that day. First they start taking in English then they switch up and talk in Spanish when they do not want people to understand them or when they are talking to someone else who knows Spanish. Or they will just talk in Spanish because they know that some people do not know it and they can say whatever they want. The African American individuals speak a lot of slang especially the younger generation. They say things like "I'm

going to the crib" that only means "I'm going home" and there's other slang words, too. Another example is "ain't she knocked up" and that just mean "isn't she pregnant". The older ones talk to one another in a more "perfected English" what I mean is there English is more acceptable than that of younger population, by professional standards of how people should talk. Since I'm African American I understand both the older and younger individuals. Some of the words the younger generation will use are ones like, "wassup with you". That just means how you are doing, to someone that does not understand slang. The older people would say "hi, how are you doing" it's basically the same thing but worded differently.

Another group of people in my community is the Caucasians or to some people "white" Americans. The way they speak is sometimes different from African Americans, but it is similar too especially in the male of the gender. They tend to speak a lot of slang like the younger generation of African Americans. For example "what's crackin" that means "what are you going to do" another one "let me roll with you "that means "let me ride with you". The only difference is that they tend to change how they speak when it comes to either an older individual or someone with authority. The females are the same way they will speak slang, but they will change it up. Both races seem to be able to understand each other fine especially since they use most of the same words. The children of both races understand each other and play with each other every day.

Then there are the Latino families that live in my community, they speak in their native tongue and they speak English. There english is pretty good, even though they have an accent when they speak. The older generation has a very strong accent when they speak: you really have to use common sense to understand what they are saying to you. That does not mean that there not understandable it just means that you really have to listen to them to

catch what they say. When they speak to you they tend to speak slower than usual and they stress words. The younger people are really understandable that may be because a lot of them were born in the states. Where a lot of the older generation was not, and they had to learn enough English to get by.

As everyone know that even though if people are of different races they tend to talk differently, but what about the opposite sex. Males and females talk differently to one another; also if you sit and listen to a set of women talk there conversation is totally different then sitting next to a group of men. The women might talk about things like reality shows, soaps, grooming techniques, children, and how ignorant men are. Where the other sex talks about are things like women, cars, money, their jobs, sports. The younger men and women basically talk about the same things.

The last group that I will talk about is the Jamaican family in my community. They seem really nice and carry themselves in a certain way they moved to my community in summer. I talked to them a couple of times and I understood what they were saying half the time. It is not that they do not speak good English they actually speak really good English it's that there accent is really strong. When I say really strong I mean a word like "there" would be nothing to worry about when you speak to someone with an accent, but when they say it they say "dere". The first time I experienced this I just shook my head letting them know I knew what they was saying. I couldn't day what "did you just say" they would have gotten frustrated and really tried harder and I really would not understand them. Even though that was the first time I spoke to them, now at this point in time I can understand them a lot better, because I kept trying to understand them and did not give up on it.

My community is really diverse as we can see we have different kinds of individuals here. There still others in my neighborhood but I never met them, they seem like there from the Middle East and I know from experience with a teacher from there it will be difficult learning them. The way all these people speak shows me that they either really try to speak in a specific way or those they speak like that for a reason. Like the Latino family always talk to each other in their native tongue. It sometimes makes me upset because I do not know what they are saying, but it is not any of my business. The Middle Eastern family runs the corner store and they talk to people every day they probably are understandable, it's just that I never spoken to them.

Essay E15

<div align="center">English is Complicated Say What?</div>

What do we think when we hear the term "English"? It's that dreaded class in school in which you are forced to take part in grueling activities such as tearing apart a sentence to understand what modifies what and other seemingly trivial exercises. As we grow older we come to understand this as necessary and important because it allows us to "properly" communicate with one another, hence "proper English". It can be argued that this English which we are taught is not the one used in people's daily lives. The raw fact of the matter is that there are many different Englishes we use on a daily basis, for different purposes. I have recently come to understand the variance of my language through a shift from my workplace.

I have been employed with Taco Bell for a year and a half now, and for the first year so I worked at a store located in an area where our customers were mainly business professionals, older folks, and the occasional teenage crowd (Elm Road). I transferred to a store that's located in a slightly different where a different type of English was used (South

St.) compared to my previous store. What I mean by that is at the store I am at now, I notice more and more slangs being used. It seems as though at this store my coworkers speak to one another in the more comfortable relaxed English. This is the English where we often leave out the rules of what is "proper" and kind of make up our own lingo. This relaxed English is one that our customers use as well. It also might be noted that the area where South St. Taco Bell is located, is one where as a general rule, our customer's are less educated than the customer's I had at Elm Rd. Taco Bell. Unfortunately, this area I currently work in is a lower income area. By saying that these people are less educated, I merely mean that it is generally not a priority for them to go to school and to achieve a higher education. For the younger set, focus in not being placed upon school work because the parents are often too busy working to try to put a roof over their children's heads, or even more tragically some don't even care. Parents are becoming younger and younger, and let's face it, having a child before you're ready does neither of you any good. Point being, that these young adults speak using a slang disregarding the "rules" that are taught within the school system.

"Proper English" is the English I am more accustomed to using because it has been what is used in my family life. From the time I learned to babble I had my parents and grandparents correcting my English, fixing it to make it "proper". When I first moved stores I found myself correcting my coworkers a lot on their ways of speaking, which is nothing new, I've been doing that since I can remember. The difference with this situation is that, over a period of a few months I began to disregard rules while I was at work, making my language fit with theirs. In order to communicate more effectively changing the way I spoke was necessary, especially when spending a good forty hours a week with these people. Again, I noticed a change. This time it was due to the fact that, while at home I might forget to switch

back to the "proper English", and tend to get dirty looks from my mother, aka the English Nazi. Double negatives are a definite "no, no", no pun intended, at home so when I disregard this rule after being at work for ten or twelve hour shift, it' safe to say that my mother is less than happy.

Even things as simple as terms used to describe tasks within work differed between the two stores. Obviously working in drive-thru is the same because the two stores are of the same corporation, but Elm Rd says "okay you're going to drive-thru today" whereas South St. would say something along the lines of "go to cash or go to drawer money." The first time someone told me to go to "drawer money" when I clocked in, I was kind of dumb founded and just stood there for a second. English is English, but word arrangement can change it and make it that much more diverse.

Sometimes I believe that we can even use our English as a weapon. When someone does not speak in the same way as yourself, it's human nature to get the 'huh?' expression. But a line is usually drawn before one tends to make their English seem better, or more correct than another person's. But a line is usually drawn before one tends to make their own English seem better, or more correct than another person's. Just the other day at work, an older gentleman of Spanish decent came in to order food. The problem was that he didn't speak very clearly and it was terribly difficult to comprehend his order. After messing up a few times we finally got it right and the man apologized, as did we, and he left content. Problem is that, as soon as he left my manager turned around and said "If you can't speak properly then why even come in to a place of business?" I was quite infuriated by her comment. We have no place to judge someone else's language, when even our own differs

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from person. I wanted to turn to her and say "Well, you don't exactly speak in a proper manner either" but I held my tongue and rolled my eyes.

Looking at it now, and trying to take an unbiased view I see that I even make a switch in the way I speak when I work in drive-thru. Depending on how I am spoken to, I determine how I should attempt to communicate back. To be completely stereotypical, when speaking with an older individual I find myself trying to speak normally, or to the best of my ability. On the other hand when an obviously less English concerned person comes through I attempt to fit my language to theirs, accepting all of the slang and using it as my own. It's mind boggling how quickly we are able to change the way we speak in order to make it fit. In a split second I can determine if I need to speak "properly" or if it's more appropriate to speak using the daily slangs.

I'll be honest and admit that previous to recent classroom discussions concerning linguistic diversity, I was unaware of the true "diversity". The switch in my Englishes was something that occurred without notice or regard. It seems to be human nature to speak differently in front of one's family members and friends opposed to one's professional life. Through the switch I made in my workplace, it has come to my attention that the language which we speak really does vary and is a language in which as definite as things may seem, is ever changing, and ever growing.

So quickly do I find myself accepting other people's lingo as my own and then in turn them picking up certain things I say. This is what makes our language so diverse. Going back to how this fits into my job, a month or so ago, I began to use the word "spiffy" to describe things. Obviously this is not a made up word but it is one that we don't really use on a day to day basis. After a short time of saying this to describe a good situation, I found that my

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coworkers would say it and not even realize. The same thing goes for the saying "Really?" "Really" is kind of a sarcastic way to say "ya whatever." Amy, a manager at Elm Rd began saying this often and soon enough everyone in the store began to say it and not even realize. The use of "really?" is not only something that is used within Taco Bell. This has become something that my generation seems to use commonly. However, one must take into account that, this is a generalization for this area, considering that I haven't seen how other area's communicate I don't know whether they use this phrase or not. This goes to prove how sponge like, our brains are with language and how if we hear something enough it becomes part of our own.

Linguistic Diversity is something prevalent no matter where you go or what you are doing. Whether you be at work or at home relaxing on the couch, or even out and about, the language you speak and the way you communicate with people If you take the time to notice it you can see that you switch the way you speak many times a day with little to no recollection of this event. Our English is not as narrow as it may seem at times, rather it is broad very user friendly. Your English is the English you decide to make it, not necessary just what is learned in grade school.

Essay E29

Language of the New Era

There are many different ways people use language to communicate at home, work, school and in everyday conversations. Society uses different forms of English to communicate with different people and to accomplish different goals .In the workplace or at any other professional setting, my choice of words and the way I chose to speak I different

from the day to day chit chat amongst my friends and family. I have come across many different ways of speaking in my day to day travels.

I work in a medical facility where I take care of numerous patients on a day to day basis I deal with the elderly sick patients and they watch my body language and listen carefully to what I am saying. If I am slouched over and speaking in slang words then they may judge me as being uneducated and ignorant. They may worry about the care they are about to receive. Also they probably would not even recognize what I was saying. I speak properly and have the utmost respect when speaking in a professional setting. My family raised me to stand up straight and speak in a professional manner. Using Mr. and Mrs. And saying yes sir no ma'am are other ways of using respect. I want to be viewed as an intelligent and educated individual with good manners.

My co-workers and I like to have a good time at work. We laugh, joke and sometimes speak inappropriately, but never in front of the patients or management or the doctors. We stay off the medical floor and keep our nonprofessional conversations in the break room. By this I mean telling jokes or using profanity. Some of our slang terms consists of saying "what's up" instead of hello or "chill out " instead of calm down. There is a time and a place for such behavior. We can understand each other's language since we speak using slang to one another on a day to day basis. Doctors also have to keep their language professional. You wouldn't want a doctor to walk up to you and say "hey we are about to cut you open and remove part of your insides, but don't worry it wont take long." You would be afraid to be under their care and have doubts if they were truly a doctor. They have to maintain professionalism and speak to you using proper medical terminology. They would need to speak to you in a calm manner and explain in detail what was going to occur. We as

technicians also speak with the doctors with respect. A person could lose their job for not speaking properly to a doctor at work. We always refer to a doctor by using Dr. in front of their name and not calling them by first names. That is just a sign of being mannerly and having respect for others.

Observing my three children and their friends, I see they speak a whole other language. It is as if they have created their own language. They have substituted their own words that they have made up for the real words out of the dictionary. They could write their own dictionary of all the words they've made up. When they all get together they speak to each other in slang using the language their creative minds conjured up. As an example, they may say something like this ",We're bout to bounce from this chick's crib." meaning we are about to leave from this girls house. If you did not have teenage kids and you were out somewhere and heard them speaking this way, you would not have no clue to what they were saying. They speak to one another like this all the time but when their friends are gone they too change the way they speak in front of us. They know that they were not raised to speak to us using slang. They don't speak like that in church or with their grandparents so they know they cannot speak like that to us. On occasion, I've even had to tell some of their friends that I have no clue of what they are saying. We express to them that they will not land a successful job talking like that. An employer will not even call them for an interview if they cannot read or understand the application or the resume'. Even at parent teacher conference the teachers say that they have to constantly remind the kids that they are in school and not in the streets. They need to use proper English in the classroom, especially when they are writing. A numerous amount of teenagers tend to write in text form forgetting vowels and abbreviating letters for whole words. That has become another major distraction with teens in

school. They tend to turn in homework and take tests writing in slang or misspelling words because that is how they communicate with one another.

Another form of language spoken is cultural. My family is from Yugoslavia and they only speak the Serbian language in the home. My mother and father came to American in their early twenties and knew very little English. English was not a language spoken in Yugoslavia, so when they relocated here they could not speak English. They only knew basic words .Growing up my siblings and I spoke limited English. Since my mother and father only new minimal English, we were forced to only speak Serbian. It wasn't until we were to start school that we attended special tutoring classes to help us learn the English language. Our church provided assistance in learning English so that when schools started we would not have such a hard time speaking and understanding the teachers and the other students. Our Saturdays were spent at church in Serbian school. This was where we learned to translate words and how to correctly pronounce and speak words. Growing up, neighbors and classmates would make fun of the way we spoke because of the strong accent we used. Over time and over the years we all became more fluent in the English language. At home we still speak Serbian but have a mixture of English and Serbian when we are speaking to one another. Since I do not speak Serbian regularly now, I no longer have an accent like my mother and father. Even to this day my Serbian is not as strong as it used to be. I can understand when someone is speaking to me but it has gotten harder for me to respond back to them. When you do not speak just one language continuously, you forget the dialect and how to speak and communicate.

Looking back at all my observations, I have concluded that the English language has taken on new meanings. There are now different ways that people communicate with one

another. Using slang, texting in short word forms, and how you speak in the community, shows how one adapts to their surroundings. People use different forms of language to maintain different relationships.