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Mapping Monolingualism within a Language/Race Cartography: Reflections and Lessons Learned from ‘World Languages and Cultures Day’

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An interactive exhibit at a university’s ‘World Language Day’ challenges systems of privilege that organize the study of ‘foreign’ and ‘world’ languages. Through discursive framing, participants’ written responses reveal an alignment with hegemonic ideologies of race and nation that elevate English monolingualism as a proxy for a White, virtuous cultural order within which ‘World language’ education safely—and additively—finds its place.

INTRODUCTION

In her seminal paper “Language and Borders,” anthropologist Bonnie Urciuoli (1995) introduces the semiotic complexity, fluidity, and interconnectedness of the title’s two key terms: “Border-making elements take on their social reality as ‘languages,’ ‘accents,’ ‘mixing,’ or ‘words’” (p. 525). Similarly, when languages act as borders, they “... take on sharp edges... they are mapped onto people and therefore onto ethnic nationality (which may or may not map onto a nation-state).” Considering that, as Urciuoli writes, “ethnicity has become nonlocalized as people move into ‘global ethnoscapes,’ much of what the ‘border’ represents is in effect deterritorialized, as is, for example, the case with foreign languages, especially Spanish in the United States” (p. 533). Over a decade later, anthropological linguist Ana Celia Zentella (2007) applied Urciuoli’s words to the role ‘linguistic capital’ plays in locating linguistic insecurity among Latin@ populations. She extended the ‘mapping’ metaphor further, drawing/articulating a clear connection between phenotypic ideas about race and linguistic expression:

In the USA, where *race has been remapped from biology onto language* because public racist remarks are censored, comments about the inferiority and/or unintelligibility of regional, class, and racial dialects of Spanish and English substitute for abusive remarks about color, hair, lips, noses, and body parts, with the same effect. ‘Incorrect’ aspects of grammar or pronunciation label their speakers as inferior, with an added injury not

inflicted by racial comparisons, i.e., no one expects you to be able to change your color, but you are expected to change the way you speak radically to earn respect. (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 26, emphasis our own)

Urciuoli and Zentella's provocative discussions of a language/race cartography, call attention to the political (and for Zentella, anthropolitical) nature of language diversity. But, suppose we view this cartography another way. If such diversity should find its inverse condition—perhaps its 'opposite' in the context of English monolingualism—where might *that* fit into the present U.S. context? Is English monolingualism mapped onto race? Are particular racial phenotypes (or ideas about 'race' or racializing characteristics) mapped onto imagined monolingual English speakers within the U.S.? Zentella remarks that Latin@s are expected to change the way they speak "radically to earn respect," since Spanish in the U.S. has historically been castigated for breaching racialized borders, criminalized as invasive of "white public space" (Hill, 1999, as cited in Zentella, 2007, p. 26). Zentella asserts an explicit systemic relationship between particular speech and non-whiteness: "In English, persistent foreign accents and non-standard verbs... signal an unwillingness to assimilate and a lack of discipline that requires external controls, more so when the speakers are poor immigrants defined as non-white" (p. 26).

As professors of Spanish and German (Schwartz and Boovy, respectively) within a larger World Languages and Cultures program, why would we be interested in raising questions related to the social, cultural, and political value of monolingual *English*? Part of our task as educators is to teach 'foreign' languages in order to address university policies (and their related unspoken presuppositions) that (1) Our students are—or identify with—monolingual speakers of English; And, that (2) learning a language like Spanish or German will *eradicate* or *combat* monolingualism for all of its seemingly inherent cognitive and cultural deficiencies (cf. Ellis, 2006). Yet, we also recognize that not having to acknowledge these assumptions—whether they are curricular decisions articulated by our university, or tongue-in-cheek expressions of our own personal ideological orientations—is reflective of how unspoken and unseen systems of power and privilege benefit some (us) and oppresses others (including many of our students, including bi/multi-lingual heritage speakers of the languages we teach and in which we claim "expertise").

Our awareness of these often-unacknowledged assumptions was piqued in 2014 when we learned that our division (we use this term in lieu of 'department,' which we are no longer) would be hosting the first annual World Languages and Cultures Day (henceforth WLC Day), a language 'fair' designed for on- and off-campus students, educators, and the general public. We immediately saw the potential to engage participants in a critical discussion about language ideologies and English monolingualism. In order to begin this conversation, we developed and submitted an activity centering on the intersections of language and privilege, to be included in the WLC Day programs in 2014 and 2015. Following the fair, we asked participants to complete a survey and share their impressions of our activity. This paper represents the result of our data collection and analysis at the two events.

Our central research question centers on how whiteness is defined in the context of a WLC Day. In considering the language fair as a cultural and social space, how might we gain insight into how whiteness is mapped onto ideologies about monolingual English in the U.S. and vice-versa? And, more importantly, why does this question matter not just for the advancement of anthropology and anthropolitical linguistics, but for language educators and

students with whom we work and speak? What can—and should—count as language education? Can the teaching of languages simultaneously challenge systems by which race and privilege is made, mapped, and/or talked (or not talked) about?

DEFINING MONOLINGUALISM AND MONOLINGUAL PRIVILEGE

Before continuing, ‘monolingualism’ requires clarification. Arguably a poorly defined term in language study (cf. Jostes, 2010; Romaine, 1989), monolingualism appears in applied linguistics literature in three key ways, according to Ellis (2006). Firstly, it can constitute an ‘unmarked case,’ wherein ‘markedness’ would signify linguistic features (or, more generally, ‘behavior’) that aren’t regarded as fitting within a ‘normal’ or ‘natural’ order of speech/discourse. Monolingualism as unmarked, therefore, is socially expected, and bi/multilingualism measure up as “remarkable and unusual cases” (Jostes, 2010, p. 29).

Ellis (2006) explains that a second body of literature considers monolingualism “as consisting of a lack of skills” (p. 180). As a common orientation among second/foreign/heritage language educators, this connection is rarely expressed overtly, but it is perhaps predicated on the previously mentioned claim “that monolingualism is the norm contrary to which language learning must be vigorously justified and defended” (p. 180). Monolingualism, by extension, then is a state of being—possibly remediable by education—that is cognitively, economically, and socially disadvantageous (Jostes, 2010, p. 29). Ellis’s (2006) third categorization appears to intensify the “lack of skills” claim, wherein monolingualism is treated with metaphors of “disease, sickness and disability to portray... a pathological state” (p. 173). These associations are generally projected by policymakers and legislators onto bodies and voices who possess the ‘wrong types’ of monolingualism, as it were: “Those who do not speak the dominant language, or who speak varieties which are not socially valued” (p. 186).

Though she identifies as a scholar of Romance Languages, and a student of others outside of that field, Jostes (2010) investigates monolingualism as a “history of a (linguistic) concept and ideology” (p. 27) by first “outing” herself (“deep down in my soul I am a monolingual person”) “[in] these times of multilingualism-related euphoria, where monolingualism is likened to a disease that must be cured” (p. 28). A participant in the present study answered his survey with an assertion that was both stunningly hilarious yet socially self-aware: his “parents were monolingual heathens.”

We acknowledge that monolingualism is, in its own right, a state of being that seems to evoke comedy and tragedy, and all emotions betwixt and between. Consequently, the attachment of ‘privilege’ to a term like ‘monolingualism’ seems a curious pairing. Ellis might claim that monolingualism is, in most applied linguistics discussions, hardly equated with privilege (see the second and third categorizations above). However, by interrogating monolingualism as part of the larger scholarly discussions of language and race outlined in our introduction, we can begin to speak of the privilege of not having to learn another language. (Indeed, one of the participants in our WLC Day activity expressed this very sentiment.) Refining Ellis’s (2006) notion of monolingualism as an ‘unmarked case,’ we suggest that it is only unmarked where it presents as linguistic and cultural practices that align with a dominant language variety. Thus, in the context of the U.S., monolingualism remains unmarked when speakers are perceived as ‘native’ speakers of English. As we argue throughout this paper, because of the ways in which language is mapped onto race, ‘native’

speaker status is most regularly accorded to white speaking/listening subjects (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

It might also be said that contemporary discussions about whiteness and monolingualism in the U.S. are, in theory, remarkably similar. Both terms index a type of social status affiliated with (1) a sort of unmarked, default cultural normalcy, and, we would argue, (2) a necessary affiliation with race or racial categorization. The implications of Romaine's (1989, p. 1, as cited in Jostes, 2010, p. 27) claim that "[i]t would certainly be odd to encounter a book with the title *Monolingualism*" would appear similar to a statement like 'It would certainly be odd to encounter a book with the title *All About White People*.' But, why? "Understanding whiteness requires attention to two different aspects of this racial category," Bucholtz (2011) writes, namely, "its power to authorize the subordination of other racialized groups, and its variability and even instability in specific cultural contexts" (p. 15). Whiteness is a cultural project that silently and often unassumingly subordinates non-white social, cultural, and linguistic practices (frequently mapped onto bodies and voices of non-white others, as indicated previously) while doing so in ways that are ever changing and context-dependent, or 'situated.' To "point out" whiteness is to point out mechanisms of power that are invisible to many; whiteness is hegemonic, unmarked, and conflated with cultural absence (Bucholtz, 2011). These are precisely the three characteristics upon which monolingualism—specifically English monolingualism in the U.S.—is assumed to operate. And the concepts of monolingualism and whiteness interact regularly, in everyday discourse. For example, whiteness is "done" when those who identify with monolingual U.S. English experiment with non-English languages or non-white varieties of English in ways that elevate monolingual English as normal or culturally standard (cf. Bucholtz, 2011; Hill, 2008). Mock Spanish (Hill, 2008), for instance, is a register of otherwise monolingual U.S. English that elevates whiteness explicitly; it may occur through efforts at hyper-Anglicized or grammatically simplified Spanish, but casually executed in a manner that makes sense and carries pejorative meaning, specifically between monolingual English speakers. Of course, while it would be unfounded and reductive to assume or presume that monolingualism (attached to English in the U.S.) and whiteness are always connected, this is a relationship that informs our own interests in language teaching, bi/multi-lingual awareness.

INTERROGATING MONOLINGUALIST IDEOLOGIES AT WLC DAY

For the past two years (2014 and 2015), the program in World Languages at our institution has hosted WLC Day, an annual event to showcase the languages we teach in an effort to heighten awareness of the importance of learning non-English languages and, in doing so, increase enrollment and reduce attrition in our classes. Like similar events at universities around the U.S., WLC Day attracts university students, largely those enrolled in language courses. Local K-12 districts are also invited to attend, which colors the crowd with middle and high school-aged students of Spanish, French, and Chinese, as well as their teachers. Other participants have included colleagues from different corners of campus, both those who hold teaching/research positions as well as administrative roles.

At WLC Day, participants navigate a schedule of informational tables, presentations, and performances, nearly all organized by university-affiliated faculty, students, and organizations. A passport-style program is provided to attendees, in which they collect stamps at each attraction; this allows teachers and chaperones of visiting high school and middle school groups to account for student 'participation.' Informational tables lure passersby into

conversations and/or activities with their organizers, who are present for the duration of the event. Program listings for both years included tables featuring study abroad opportunities in Germany, Chile, Tunisia, Quebec, and Costa Rica; Japanese crafts; Chinese calligraphy; books by WLC faculty; and critical photography as a tool to explore English and Spanish (organized by Schwartz). There were also performances and presentations on topics such as American Sign Language, Argentine tango, the history of Catalan, German hip-hop, and student experiences traveling and studying abroad.

We decided to propose an activity of our own for the WLC Day 2014 and 2015 programs. In both years, we set up a table as per the guidelines provided by the event organizers, and advertised our activity with a sign that simply read ‘Language and Privilege.’ Our principal objective was to open up a dialog with participants on what privileges might be associated with speaking English as a first language in the U.S. We attempted to use privilege as a pedagogical tool through which to interrogate the space in which race and language come together at the site of English monolingualism in the U.S. Our activity consisted of two parts. The first asked participants to contribute to a list of privileges that they associated with speaking English as a first language in the U.S. For the second part of the activity, we asked participants over eighteen years of age to fill out a survey, telling us whether they had grown up in a monolingual home, and to reflect on the intersections of language and privilege. The activity yielded two years (2014, 2015) of qualitative and discursive data, which we present and discuss below.

In preparation for our exhibit, we began thinking about the social privileges afforded to speakers of standard varieties of ‘American English,’ based both on our experience facilitating discussions of privilege and on our own linguistic background as white speakers of English raised in the U.S. Modeling our list loosely on that of Peggy McIntosh (1990), we generated a short set of privileges that each of us posted on our personal Facebook pages to assess reactions of friends and colleagues. While no means a perfect mechanism for doing so, our efforts intended to approximate what Saldaña (2003) terms ‘baseline data.’ Prefacing our list of privileges with the questions ‘Is English your first language?’ and ‘Did you grow up speaking English at home in the U.S.?’ followed by the statement ‘You are privileged,’ this initial list included:

- not having to worry about a ‘non-native’ accent
- never having to worry about not being able to communicate in public spaces
- having more time because you don’t need forms, announcements, etc. explained to you
- taking for granted everyone understands—if they don’t, they should
- your efforts to learn a new language are always applauded and never seen as ‘not good enough’

Here, the language we used in formulating our privileges differed significantly from McIntosh’s original list of invisible white privileges. Where McIntosh framed her list as a personal reflection on privilege using ‘I’ statements, our list was much more assertive in suggesting ways in which our respondents might be privileged. Thus, in places of statements such as “I can, if I wish, arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time” or “I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children’s magazines featuring people of my race” (p. 31), our list shifted from the first to

second person ('you are privileged'; 'your efforts to learn...'), in the intent to provoke dialogue. Indeed, beyond dialogue it immediately became clear to us that our list stirred up a mix of emotional responses ranging from curiosity and interest to confusion and anger. Our Facebook respondents were encouraged to think about the ways in which language indexes race, gender, and other systems. We were asked by our Facebook contacts to reflect on the role of different regional accents in the U.S., and how they might affect access to privilege. We were also advised to consider the ways in which histories of colonization and slavery play into the politics of language, specifically in the case of Native Americans who grow up speaking English.

Our next step was to sign up for a table at WLC Day where we planned to present our list of privileges. On the day of the event, we displayed posters on a table in the venue along with several markers, and hung several blank, adhesive posters on the walls behind us. As visitors passed our table, we casually encouraged them to come chat with us. We asked those interested to read over the running lists of privileges accumulating on the posters and to add other privileges that came to mind.

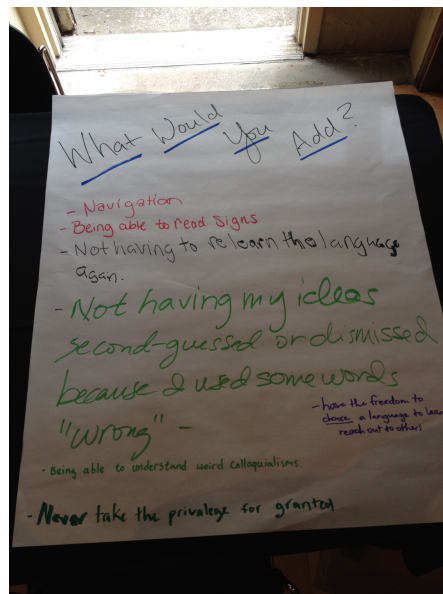


Figure 1. One poster with participants' written comments. WLC Day, 2014

After adding their thoughts to the list, eligible participants (those 18-years-old or over) were asked to complete a simple reflective survey. The three questions on the survey included:

1. Were you raised in a monolingual home? If yes or no, please explain and elaborate.
2. Did you contribute to the list of privileges? How and why?
3. What did you think of this exhibit today?

At WLC Day 2014 we collected a total of 59 responses on posters and 34 surveys. In 2015, a change of venue to the outer edges of campus seems to have affected the number of participants overall; posters responses dropped to 37 and the number of surveys collected dropped to 21. Our total number of responses for both years included 96 poster comments

and 55 surveys, for a total of 151 tokens in all.

It is important to note that we envisioned our own contribution to WLC Day as part of the event. In other words, we agreed to organize our activity in the same style as other tables and presentations, and also gave some thought to how to make our activity appealing to visitors. At the same time, however, we thought that it was necessary to raise awareness of the way in which English was both omnipresent and invisible at WLC Day. The fact that all other tables and activities featured non-English languages—and the cultures and communities that were matched up all too easily with those languages in the context of WLC Day—while none of the stations asked participants to reflect on English, pointed directly to our suspicion that the event relied on ‘monolingualist ideologies’ for its appeal (Shuck, 2006a, 2006b). Participants were not called upon to think about English as one language among many others; rather they were encouraged to occupy the position of consumer-subject browsing a dizzying array of options for language study. In this regard, WLC Day reified monolingual English participants’ privilege of not having to reflect on how their own language affects their perspectives on language, power, and difference. In inviting them to do so, we not only diverged from other more benign presentations of languages and cultures as monoglossic units. We also made it difficult for participants to maintain face in the social ritual of a language fair.

Regardless of the kind of interaction, all activities and presentations at WLC Day took place within the frame of the language fair—in itself a particular ritual at U.S. institutions of higher education intended to encourage the study of languages other than English. Language fairs present a specific kind of “face engagement,” defined by Erving Goffman (1963) as “all those instances of two or more participants in a situation joining each other openly in maintaining a single focus of cognitive and visual attention—what is sensed as a single *mutual activity*” (p. 89). The context of language fairs is crucial for understanding them as face engagements in the sense that Goffman deploys the term. First, language fairs such as WLC Day both support university curriculum and exist outside of it. It is supposed that participating in such events will encourage students to enroll in ‘foreign’ language courses and learn about other cultures *outside* of the U.S. (Note that language fairs do not typically include tables or activities related to non-white, non-dominant cultures within the boundaries of the U.S.) Teachers send their students to WLC Day, often requiring attendance, because the event is structured to complement their language curriculum. Second, power relations at the university at large are replicated at WLC Day, be it in the form of faculty talking about their research or instructors asking students to complete activities such as writing their names in katakana. Indeed, regardless of the position of participants, the ritual of a fair in a university setting suggests a unidirectional delivery of information and knowledge from the person behind the table/on the stage to the attendees who stand in front of the table/stage and wander around *collecting* knowledge about world languages and cultures like so many paper flowers and ‘foreign’ candies.

Our activity was no exception. As faculty members, we represent the institution, and thus our engagement with WLC Day attendees regarding questions of privilege by necessity raises questions about the power relations at universities and who has the privilege to ask questions and of whom. By prompting students to reflect on the intersections of language and privilege, we effectively involved them in ‘face-work’ (Goffman, 1967). Goffman notes that face-work “serves to counteract ‘incidents’—that is, events whose effective symbolic implications threaten face” (p. 12). Our activity elicited responses similar to those we might expect in a classroom. It also called up particular emotional responses as respondents sought to

“maintain face” (Goffman, 1967) in a setting that was both public and tied to the purported educative mission of our institution. An anecdote from WLC Day 2015 is illustrative in this regard. After participating in our activity, a white-identified student-respondent approached us to share her perspective that white people have culture, too, and speak languages other than English. The student seemed concerned that we had conflated monolingualism with whiteness, and aggressively reminded us that white people in most of Europe do not, in fact, speak English.

What about our activity had sparked this student’s response? What connections between monolingualism, race, and identity did our survey expose? As our data suggests, many participants felt a degree of shame about their monolingualism, and their responses might have been founded on a “defensive orientation toward saving... face” (Goffman, 1967, p. 14) in a situation where they were being asked to expose their “lack of skills” in a language other than English (Ellis, 2006). In a setting where participants were exposed to numerous world languages, our activity not only challenged them to examine the relative privilege attached to speaking (only) English in the U.S. (or the fact, at least, that it wasn’t a great disadvantage to be a monolingual speaker of English in this context), but also served as a reminder of participants’ potential lack of familiarity with non-English languages.

While our activity set out to disrupt expected cultural and social rituals and face-work (cf. Goffman, 1967) at an event such as this, we will claim here (with support from comments by participants) that this messiness itself was pedagogically valuable and transformative, particularly in exploring the larger role and interrelation of language (monolingualism) and race, as framed by the aforementioned anthropological and anthropological inquiry. We argue that engaging students in discussions of privilege by necessity constitutes a ‘face-threatening act,’ which, it is our belief, opens up possibilities of critiquing systems of power and oppression at the intersection of language and race.

We did not evoke Ellis’s (2006) specific claim(s) here; although, without realizing it at the time, we introduced the first ‘unmarked case’ argument that monolingualism (particularly in the U.S.) is conflated with unmarked linguistic, social, and cultural practice. These practices, of course, reflect the complex ways in which individuals subscribe to larger intersectional ideologies about ‘being an American’ or ‘acting white,’ for instance.

How did making explicit connections between English in the U.S. and privilege simultaneously expose and threaten to decenter what Flores and Rosa (2015) term the ‘white speaking’ and ‘white listening subject’? Flores and Rosa indicate that these subjects are not biographical individuals but “an ideological position and mode of perception that shapes our racialized society” (p. 151). We suggest that by prompting respondents to think about possible connections between language and privilege, we challenged them to reflect on the ideological position embodied in the ‘white listening/speaking subject.’ This subject is ever-present and hegemonic—both everywhere and nowhere at once—and makes possible the creation of binaries such as foreign/domestic, native/non-native, and English/non-English, upon which foreign language curricula and language fairs—such as WLC Day—rely.

‘SOUNDING LIKE’ A KIND OF PERSON: CONSIDERING THE DIALECTIC RELEVANCE OF LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY

In order to understand how and why WLC Day participants produce and reproduce essentializing notions of language, ethnicity, race, and culture, it is imperative to understand

the dialectic nature of language and ideology. If language is said to express, embody, and symbolize cultural realities (Kramsch, 1998), and a word “tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life” (Bakhtin, 1982, p. 293), then language—and the identities that inform and are informed by the ways in which we speak—can hardly be communicated without ideological weight. Put simply, language ideologies “are beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds” (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 498). As Ahearn (2012) reminds us, ideologies about languages take multiple forms:

Language ideologies can be about language as a whole (e.g., ‘Language is what separates humans from other species!’), particular languages (e.g., ‘French is such a romantic language!’), particular linguistic structures (e.g., ‘Spanish is complicated as it has two forms of the verb to be’), language use (e.g. ‘Never end a sentence with a preposition’)—or about the people who employ specific languages or usages (e.g., ‘People who say ain’t are ignorant, or, ‘People who live in the United States should speak English,’ or, ‘Women are more talkative than men’). (p. 21)

Of course, examples like Ahearn’s aren’t always acknowledged as ideological expressions; in fact, speakers are often unaware that they or others are subscribing to them (Kroskrity, 2000). In some cases, ideologies about language manifest in ways that go entirely unspoken—such as the semiotic case of indirect indexes (cf. Hill, 2005; Ochs, 1993). And, since they actively “mediate between (macro-level) social structures and (micro-level) forms of talk” (Ahearn, 2012, p. 22), language ideologies are almost always “about much more than just language” (p. 21). To return to our discussion from the introduction, language becomes a space in which attitudes and judgments about people that are imagined to speak the language in question are mapped and projected. Thinking or talking about language (or not) occurs in “semiotically complex ways” (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 107). For instance, in her study on Puerto Rican experiences with language and prejudice in New York City, Urciuoli examines how ideas about ‘good English’—characterized by a particular pronunciation—not only associates a speaker with high levels of symbolic capital, but shapes his or her attitudes about racialized others:

[The people in this study] construct images: voice, accents, or dialects are said to ‘sound like’ a certain kind of person. They infer causal relations: how someone talks is said to be caused by his or her native language or country. They sort out words and sounds as discrete segments which can be correct or incorrect and which reflect race and class. Above all, people’s sense of language is deictically shaped: people talk about who does not sound familiar, like ‘me’ or ‘us.’ (pp. 107–108)

We argue that, in thinking and talking about language and language study, participants at WLC Day causally constructed the type of imagery to which Urciuoli refers. WLC Day also represented a site for the protection of what Shuck (2006a) terms a ‘monolingualist model’ of ‘good’ and ‘correct’ language learning.

According to Shuck, the monolingualist model is upheld by an ideology of nativeness, which elaborates upon the necessary interplay between language and race (as articulated by Urciuoli, 1996, for instance). The ideology of nativeness is based on “an Us-versus-Them division of the linguistic world in which native and nonnative speakers of a language are

thought to be mutually exclusive, uncontested, identifiable groups” (Shuck, 2006b, p. 260). In order for this ideological division to be effective, those who subscribe to it must believe that speech communities the world over are “naturally monolingual and monocultural, whereby one language is semiotically associated with one nation (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1992; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Wiley & Lukes, 1996)” (Shuck, 2006b, p. 260). Within this model, a speaker and/or learner, is monolingual, and necessarily adheres to one side or another of a simplified native-nonnative binary. Further, this binary is “mapped onto other social hierarchies—especially class, ethnicity and race—as well as onto existing cultural models of educational political systems. . . .These models join to construct a social order inextricably tied to language use” (Shuck, 2006b, p. 260).

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS: FRAMING IN DISCOURSE

Data collected included poster responses from 2014 (n=59) and 2015 (n=37) as well as three-question surveys from 2014 (n=34) and 2015 (n=21). All responses were coded openly and grouped thematically according to the ways that certain responses “answered” the call for more examples of monolingual privilege. We organized relevant codes into three categories: pronouns, race, and nation/space. These categories double as ways by which participants framed and interpreted connections between language (monolingualism, specifically) and privilege. Tannen (1993) defines a frame as discursive “structures of expectation” (p. 21), while Bonilla-Silva (2003) describes frames as “set paths for interpreting information” (p. 26), which offer convenient explanations for the existence of social order (or disorder, particularly in terms of ‘explaining’ race). When referring to framing in discourse, we not only acknowledge Tannen’s (1993) seminal title of the same name, but also rely on Hill’s (2008) writing of discourse to guide how we ‘read’ talk about language and language education. Hill argues that discourse is ideology, and as such includes “the actual material presence, in structure and content, of language-in-use in history and at particular moments of human interaction. It is in these material presences that ideas actually live, and it is through these that people acquire and share knowledge” (p. 32).

In this spirit, participants actively framed connections between language and privilege in three ways, or through three frames. In the interest of space, we have decided to focus on only two of those frames. The first frame articulated that language and/or its ‘speakers’ is/are associated with (and often reduced to) pronouns and/or other impersonal identifiers. The second frame articulated that language is overtly associated with race/racializing qualities. Examples of these frames can be found below (Table 1); we have bolded particular words that specifically realize the corresponding frame.

Table 1

Analytical Frames and Their Realizations in Posters and Surveys

Ways in which participants framed and interpreted connections between language (monolingualism) and privilege	Examples from posters	Examples from surveys
Language and/or its 'speakers' is/are associated with <u>pronouns and/or other impersonal identifiers</u>	'Not being forced to change my name so others can pronounce it.' ' People can pronounce my name the way I do.'	'I was raised in a Spanish speaking home and was expected to only speak in Spanish when around elders.' '...there is an expectation of non-native English speakers to learn our language and that honestly doesn't seem fair to others and it is apathetic of us to expect everyone else to accommodate us .'
Language is overtly associated with <u>race/racializing qualities</u>	'For me, it's 'cool' that I speak another language, for my Latino roommate , it's 'expected' 'Not having racial stereotypes assumed about you'	'[The exhibit] opens my eyes to how language contributes to my white privilege .' ' I look like a native speaker of English .'
Language is associated with a <u>space, place, and/or location</u>	'English is a very common second language around the world .' 'Never having my nationality questioned.'	'My mom is of Irish decent [sic] and studied French in college...' 'I've been to a foreign country and I felt out of place .'

At this point, it is important to comment on the differences in the kind of responses elicited by the two activities. Because survey responses were written for our eyes only, communicative styles contrasted significantly with those displayed on posters in public view. Where the posters allowed respondents to read the thoughts of other participants—in some cases their responses were clearly influenced by the dialogic quality of the activity—the surveys afforded more anonymity. This shift in expression from posters to surveys reflects not only a distinction between the respective public and private character of the activities, but also points back to the language that we used on the poster and in the survey questions, which clearly served as a discursive model for the respondents. In departing from McIntosh's (1990) original list by using 'you' rather than 'I' in the list that we provided, how might we have prompted respondents to use more impersonal pronouns than they otherwise might have? What effect did the very public nature of the poster activity have on choice of pronouns? How did the language we used in the survey questions combine with the more

private, reflective nature of the survey to elicit different language? How did affective responses to the survey and the poster differ based on the risk to face (Goffman, 1967) that participants perceived? In the discussion of our findings that follows, we highlight these differences in cases where the public/private distinction and the discursive models that the activities provided seem significant.

PRONOUNS/IMPERSONAL IDENTIFIERS

In our analysis, pronouns in particular seemed to function as convenient, familiar framing devices that allow monolingualist ideologies to be universalized and naturalized. This is a necessary device that re-inscribes dominance and “set[s] paths for interpreting information” (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 26). As Bonilla-Silva indicates, “These set paths operate as cul-de-sacs because after people filter issues through them, they explain racial phenomena following a predictable route” (p. 26). Pronouns offered clear and easy paths in this regard, as languages and those imagined to speak given languages were regularly reduced to pronouns loosely aligned with a ‘me’/‘us’ versus ‘them’ binary. We note that characteristics assigned to those on either ‘ends’ of this binary were often racialized, although not always.

Pronouns are framing devices that allow monolingualist ideologies to be universalized. As such, pronouns on the posters fell overwhelmingly into one of two categories, with a total of 34 out of 59 responses using either first-person (singular and plural) or third-person singular indefinite pronouns. First-person pronouns established the speaker as the bearer of standard English.

In several cases, impersonal identifiers were explicitly tied to place/space as well as race. For example:

- (1) Nobody ever crosses the street to avoid having an ‘uncomfortable’ conversation with me because I look like a native speaker of English.
- (2) Everyone can pronounce my name correctly and when I submit a job application I am not looked at differently because of my name.
- (3) I think we have privileges as native English speakers and as whites based on looks and economic status.

In (1), the use of ‘nobody’ universalizes the experience of white English-speakers in the U.S., defining the group of ‘native speakers’ with which the respondent identifies. Similarly, in (2) the use of ‘everyone’ universalizes the respondent’s experience as an English speaker. Additionally, the focus on ‘looks’ in all three cases further reinforces connections between English and race, as response (3) makes explicit.

RACE/RACIALIZED QUALITIES

A clear trend emerged in both survey and poster responses that indicated respondents’ strong identification with English as a marker of membership, belonging, and distinction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) between themselves and racialized others. In contrast to overt spatial frames, however, race appeared explicitly in only a few of the total responses, suggesting that although language is always indexed to race, it is not often spoken of in overtly racialized terms. Instead, race showed up in coded ways, as exemplified by response (4), taken from the

posters:

- (4) I look like a native speaker of English.

In identifying privileges of being a native English speaker in the U.S., the respondent makes a connection between language and physical/phenotypic appearance, racializing English without using explicitly racialized terms. Further, it may be argued that the choice of adjective ‘native’ qualifies—if not intensifies—one’s affiliation with English as markedly authentic. Similarly in (5), a respondent expresses relief that as an English speaker, racial stereotypes will not be imposed upon her/him:

- (5) Not having racial stereotypes assumed about you.

Although no specific racial stereotypes are referred to, it is evident that the respondent associates English with whiteness.

In contrast, some responses to the first survey question (‘Were you raised in a monolingual home?’) made the perceived link between whiteness and English completely evident, as in (6) and (7):

- (6) Yes – both Caucasian parents.
 (7) Yes, white middle class.

Overt mentions of race also appeared in reference to non-white speakers of English, as in (8) and (9):

- (8) For me, it’s ‘cool’ that I speak another language, for my Latino roommate, it’s ‘expected.’
 (9) I think it is important to acknowledge the difficulty had by English speakers who don’t speak ‘standard’ American English – Black English, for example, is considered ‘less educated’ than SAE, but it’s still a very sound language system w/ specific rules that can be broken.

That standard, ‘good,’ or ‘proper’ English is conflated with whiteness in the U.S. has been well established (see, among many examples, Lippi-Green, 1997; Urcuioli, 1996; Woolard, 1989).

Speakers who align themselves with standard varieties of U.S. English help to normalize the existence of white public spaces, characterized by “1) intense monitoring of the speech of racialized populations such as Chicanos/Latinos... for signs of linguistic disorder and 2) the invisibility of almost identical signs in the speech of Whites where language mixing, required for the expression of a highly valuable colloquial persona, takes several forms” (Hill, 1999, p. 680). Both overt and covert associations of language with whiteness reveal respondents’ perceptions that they themselves possess ‘good’ English, which is simultaneously one of the most evident performances of their ‘good’ whiteness. African American Vernacular English, referenced in (9), is both racialized and deemed non-standard. As Flores and Rosa (2015) argue:

[W]hite gaze is attached both to a speaking subject who engages in the idealized linguistic practices of whiteness and to a listening subject who hears and interprets the linguistic practices of language-minoritized populations as deviant based on their racial positioning in society as opposed to any objective characteristics in their language use. (p. 151)

Across the board, overt and covert references to race in responses indicated participants' identification with the position of the white speaking/listening subject. Essentialist notions of language that emerge from this position rely on national/spatial frames that code non-English languages not only as 'foreign,' but in many cases as 'non-white,' for example 'Mexican' or 'Chinese.' These views are also reinforced through racialized frames that are applied to non-English languages as well as to non-standard (i.e., non-white) varieties of English.

PLACE/SPACE/LOCATION

When talking about language, the tendency to explicitly nationalize speakers was very common. This was most apparent in overt references to names of various nation-states such as 'United States,' 'Iran,' 'Mexico,' and 'Denmark,' along with corresponding language names and demonyms: 'Scottish,' 'Spanish,' 'Danish,' 'American.' It became clear through our analysis that respondents were reproducing a sense of belonging in their references to different nations, spaces, and locations. Space, then, is not only demarcated by geographical and physical boundaries, official documents, or differences in the appearance of physical spaces. Space is also distinguished by linguistic landscapes that are saturated with imagined national identities (cf. Anderson, 1991; Pavlenko, 2002, 2003). For example, in response to our survey question 'Were you raised in a monolingual home?' participants made oblique connections between language and race in references to multilingual and multiethnic geographic spaces, as we see in (10) and (11):

- (10) Yes (mostly) I'm from Hawaii, our everyday speech incorporates a few words from other languages and different grammar at times.
- (11) Yes, but a multi-lingual environment in Southern California.

The respondents' monolingualism is qualified through reference to an 'exotic' place, and this is connected to their claim to a more diverse (i.e., less monolingual) variety of English.

Because of the differences in the nature of the survey and poster activities, poster responses were formulated using less personal language, mirroring the 'privilege' list that we provided. Even here, however, a number of the responses clearly point to a connection between language and place of origin, as can be seen in (12), (13), and (14):

- (12) Not being ashamed of where I am from.
- (13) Not having to answer 'where are you from?'
- (14) Never having my nationality questioned.

Arguably, although these responses do not explicitly articulate race in connection to language, they clearly point to a relationship between language and place of origin, and highlight a

perception of in-group/out-group that can be mapped onto white/non-white lines. Not having to answer where you are from in the U.S. context suggests that the respondents felt challenged on an audible but also a phenotypical level. We want to strongly suggest that, within this context, these three terms (monolingualism, whiteness, English) are used as synonymously in discussions of language education and language diversity. They are conflated. Monolingualism is a shorthand for talking about race. Rarely is this conflation disputed.

Finally, a number of responses suggested participants' desire to distinguish *their* monolingualism from 'other kinds' of monolingualism, possibly perceived to be less educated or less culturally sophisticated. Here it is important to recall the context of our activity (a language fair) and our intention to challenge participants to think about privilege—a face-threatening act (Goffman, 1967). It is worth considering whether respondents felt a greater need to qualify their monolingualism because the event in which they were participating was intended to promote the study of non-English languages. The feelings about monolingualism that our activities engendered are a compelling topic for future research. Though beyond the scope of this study, we should mention that several of the responses we received revealed respondents' desire to save face when asked about whether they spoke more than one language.

REEVALUATING WLC DAY

For institutions such as ours that support monolingualist language education, language learning offers an additive acquisition of culture and capital. At WLC Day—just as in language classrooms on our campus—voices, accents, and dialects were heard, produced, and displayed (or not) in order to promote racialized images of 'Spanish speakers,' 'Chinese speakers,' 'German speakers,' and the like. Travel to the places where those speakers are presumed to be from (and the promotion of access to internationally-minded consumerism) was a topic of conversation as well, as study abroad (and affiliated faculty, experienced student travelers, and resident directors present) organized an accessible point of orientation for participants. Between both years, we argue, the atmosphere at WLC Day echoed Pomerantz's (2002) claim that:

[a]s technological advances, trade initiatives, and the formation of political and corporate alliances contribute to the spread of globalization, language has become not only a marker of national or ethnic identity but also a form of economic and social capital (Heller, 1999). Within the United States, this shift is being felt at some of the nation's most prestigious universities as an increasingly pragmatic student body clamors for courses in languages-other-than-English in an effort to accumulate the linguistic resources necessary for participation in a multilingual marketplace. (p. 275)

Pomerantz focuses on the popularity of university-level Spanish instruction, noting that "language ideologies might function to construct expertise in Spanish as a resource for the professional advancement of middle- and upper-middle class foreign language learners, while simultaneously casting it as a detriment to the social mobility of heritage language users (i.e., U.S. Latinos)" (p. 275). Flores and Rosa's (2015, p. 149) framework of 'raciolinguistic ideologies' exemplifies this detriment, wherein racial normativity fits squarely within the monolingualist model, but specifically in terms of speakers and listeners of language(s). They

insist that “language-minoritized students” are expected to “model their linguistic practices after the white speaking subject despite the fact that the white listening subject continues to perceive their language use in racialized ways” (p. 149).

Just as Urciuoli (1996) posits that access to ‘good English’ may permit access to social capital, accumulation of ‘good’ and ‘white’ linguistic resources and practices may occur in WLC Day as a ‘good’ multilingual marketplace. WLC Day is, often quite literally, a marketplace that celebrates cultural pluralism with the best of intentions, perhaps informed by what Thompson (2003) terms progressive ‘good-white pedagogies’ (p. 13). Thompson applies this pedagogical stance toward minoritized, racialized others in the U.S. when she cites Deloria’s (1998) critique of ‘safe’ multiculturalist discourses: “Simply knowing about Indians, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Latino/as, has become a satisfactory form of social and political engagement” (p. 189, as cited in Thompson, 2003, p. 13). While not speaking specifically about multilingualism, language learning and associated celebrations of multiculturalism, Thompson demands that multicultural ‘readings’ be anti-racist. Textual engagement and encounters in these contexts should require/ensure that students “learn to read in new ways but must go beyond the texts, for no textual engagement can do all the work of moving us outside our existing ways of knowing and understanding” (p. 14). If we consider the semiotics of texts ‘presented’ at WLC Day, multilingual marketplaces must re-organize to center on the questioning of dominant narratives and ideologies. This need becomes particularly salient when we review the titles of WLC Day offerings, for here we notice the absence of non-standard bilingualisms often attributed to and claimed by immigrant communities and communities of color in the U.S.

WHY ENGLISH? WHY NOT?

All in all, our analysis returns to a persistent message: If the discourse constructed by our participants is any indication, the perceived advantages of speaking English as a first language in the U.S. far outweigh possible advantages of learning another language. This message is articulated through alignments with ‘American’ and non-American nation-states and the languages imagined to be ‘naturally’ spoken within their socio-political boundaries by racialized bodies and phenotypes imagined to be ‘naturally’ American and English-speaking. Pronoun usage re-inscribes this naturalization by identifying and contrasting white and non-white speakers and listeners (Flores & Rosa, 2015)—racialized ‘others’—through, on the one hand, references to ‘we/us,’ ‘everybody,’ and ‘nobody,’ which universalize the experience of white-identified speakers. On the other hand, the use of impersonal identifiers including ‘people,’ ‘the locals,’ and ‘everyone else,’ refer to speakers of languages other than English or non-standard varieties of English.

Ironically, we find this message to be articulated clearly within the very space/place—a World Language and Culture Day—where the merits of those other languages are celebrated. This discursive irony itself, actually, is hardly coincidental. Instead, it embodies precisely the notion of white privilege while simultaneously cementing the very definition of foreign language education as marginally important to the advancement of ‘white’ and ‘American’ cultural and social interests. Pavlenko (2003), who problematizes ‘foreign’ in reference to languages imagined by and for institutional interests (in our case, the ‘university’ is one such example), writes, “[F]oreign languages, with the exception of English, often remain at the margins, if not in the shadows, as neutral and objective transmitters of the code and culture

of a particular target group, devoid of ideological implications” (p. 314). Our findings are lend support to/reinforce Pavlenko’s assertion. If English occupies a central position and is consistently defined through multiple discursive frames that distinguish it from ‘foreign’ languages, the study of another language becomes little more than access to a marketable resource or claim to increased cultural capital.

In other words, the question that emerges from our analysis seems to be: ‘Look at all that English gets me... why should I learn another language?’ Privilege here isn’t just talked about from a distance; it is enacted in the discourse itself through frames of nation and race as well as in pronouns, which makes it covert, pervasive, and invisible. It is everywhere and nowhere all at once. This is the essence of Flores and Rosa’s (2015) white speaking/listening subject: English monolingualism—in word and deed—is a safe means to talk about (and not talk about) non-white difference. Monolingual privilege merits critical intervention not on the basis of assertions that it somehow compromises access to culture or social status. But rather, as our preliminary findings suggest, this ideology organizes the ways in which white-identified English speakers order their social reality and construct their identities in relation to racialized, foreign, and non-standard and/or ‘foreign’-speaking others.

Of course, our conclusions are complicated by lingering reservations about the methods by which such conclusions were reached. By shining a light on privilege, did we invert the process by which Pavlenko’s framing of ‘code and culture’ gets transmitted? Or, did we simply create a space in which familiar privileges were re-inscribed to the detriment of non-English, non-American voices and bodies? Did we challenge the assumed ‘automatic’ access to means of social reproduction and increased cultural capital? And, if not, how do we—and other language educators—attempt to do so?

FINAL THOUGHTS

We began our inquiry with a set of questions based on our suspicion that monolingualism limits the ways in which we think about power, privilege, and difference. Rather than offering opportunities to critically reflect on our own position relative to imagined ‘others,’ events such as WLC Day offer neatly packaged, essentialist notions of languages and cultures from the perspective of an unchallenged white speaking/listening subject. In a cartography where race is mapped onto language, and vice-versa, whiteness is linked to English monolingualism to create contexts in which learning non-English languages is regarded as unnecessary. In other words, although as language educators we are committed to ensuring that our students are at the very least exposed to non-English linguistic systems and the cultural practices they may conventionally index—as evidenced not only through our teaching but also through events such as language fairs—English monolingualism will persist as a set of normative linguistic and cultural practices as long as it remains unmarked and mapped onto whiteness in the sociopolitical context of the U.S. In fact, despite our attempt to increase enrollments in world language classes, it seems that events such as WLC Day do little to challenge the ideological orientations that our monolingual English-speaking students (and colleagues) apply to the study of other languages.

Our intention throughout this study has not been to diminish the work that language educators across levels do to encourage language learning and engagement with other cultures. On the contrary, in our conversations with students and fellow educators about WLC Day, we have repeatedly been reminded of a common, if not universally shared,

sentiment. That is, teachers of second and foreign languages have all the intentions of supporting notions of ‘bilingualism.’ Many—and we include ourselves here—enter the profession because of a deep passion for and enjoyment of language learning and a recognition of the importance of nurturing a bi/multi-lingual identity. Language educators enjoy the prospect of teaching second languages in order for students to experience these same rewards.

At the same time, we feel that the rewards of bilingualism are more often seen as a byproduct of second language education—and not an experiential process for students, central to language curriculum itself. As Schwartz (2014) has argued, bilingualism is not only a linguistic and social reality, but it should be taught as a tool in making the world a more equitable place, one conscious and critical of inequality in its multiple forms. In many ways, it may seem challenging to understand how learning a ‘foreign’ language can be anything but a noble affair. But, as we’ve aimed to argue, English monolingualism is often vehemently defended, particularly as students learn foreign languages without threatening English’s status as a ‘naturalized’ American resource. This paradox is crystallized in a published exchange between language policy scholars Jolynn Asato and Richard Ruiz (Gutiérrez et al., 2002, p. 337):

Jolynn Asato:

...On one hand, language pluralism is valued when it’s used to safeguard our national borders and interests. On the other hand, our national identity is premised upon the condition of linguistic homogeneity.

Richard Ruiz:

Yes. At the same time, there is this tendency now to have more and more people talking about the value of language as a resource to the nation, and to the society, and to the school, and to the students, and so on. But let’s be clear. The languages that people perceive in these ways are those that have been attached to high prestige or social (usually economic, but sometimes military) usefulness; these are the so-called world standard languages. But it’s not clear that the knowledge and language proficiencies of local communities are seen as resources that children can utilize in schools.

...By the way, foreign-language educators have never been great supporters of bilingual education, because they see the local language as essentially a different kind of language from those they study and promote—if they see the language of the community as a language at all.

Why, then, do we learn other languages? Recognizing that monolingual English speakers in the U.S. really do enjoy the privilege of not having to learn another language, how do we act on Pomerantz’s (2008) critique of ‘good language learners’ to revise our approach to teaching and learning other languages? How do we shift our focus to scrutinize the white listening subject (Flores & Rosa, 2015) so that we may begin dismantling the power inequalities that English monolingualism continually reproduces? How are opportunities created for

monolingual English-speaking students to reflect on and assume responsibility for the power and privilege they enjoy in not having to learn another language? Ultimately, these are ethical questions as much as pedagogical ones; they underscore the very definition of language ideologies as cultural practices within themselves. Subscription to those ideologies by both students and faculty dictate the hegemonic architecture of world language education as we ‘know it,’ from its implementation in standardized curricula to the epistemologies on display at a tabled ‘activity’ at WLC Day.

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