



Emily Linares
University of California, Berkeley

AFTERWORD: SOCIALIZATION TO THE PRACTICE OF MULTILINGUAL RESEARCH

The writing of a bilingual writer, I would venture, is of need always altered, never 'disaltered'; always thirsty, always wanting, never satisfied. And it is also, in another sense, alterada, in the way I used to hear the Spanish term used by my mother, my aunts, when referring to somebody who was slightly off, who could not control her thoughts, her voice.

—Sylvia Molloy (2003: 74)

Language socialization research is based on the principle that “participation in communicative practices is promoted [...] by a legacy of socially and culturally informed persons, artifacts, and features of the built environment” (Ochs & Schieffelin 2011: 4). In other words, the field takes an interest in the process whereby novices develop a *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) by means of their explicit and implicit socialization to and internalization of norms for behavior (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004). Newcomers to communities of practice cultivate a linguistic habitus through socialization that inculcates them with particular ways of using language. Previous research has examined the process whereby immigrant and international L2 students are socialized to a new language and associated norms for academic language use (e.g., Duff & Anderson 2015; Zappa-Hollman 2007). This special issue has complemented such research in drawing attention to the experiences of multilingual researchers and writers who navigate multiple languages and the communities of practice in which they are embedded. As this collection of manuscripts has illustrated, individuals who research and publish in multiple languages are faced with a number of personal and professional challenges. Of these, language socialization constitutes the most significant and ineluctable obstacle to the practice of multilingual research. The decision to

research or write in an additional language does not constitute a simple methodological choice but requires an understanding of the linguistic, emotional, sociocultural, and epistemological specificity of each language and the rhetorical strategies expected of effective communicators.

Researchers who choose to publish in an additional language must be socialized into a new community of practice. As editors of the *E-JournALL*, Di Ferrante, Bernstein, and Gironzetti recognize that the decision to produce a trilingual journal entails more than publishing in three languages; it means fostering a “zone de contact” (see Kramersch 2009 on the development of an international project to explore *plurilinguisme / plurilingualism*) by inviting research from academics who have been socialized into diverse academic traditions and languages and who, regardless of their background, may elect to publish in any of the journal’s languages. When authors, not infrequently, publish in English as an additional language, the editors and language-specific proofreading team must attempt to achieve the delicate balance of maintaining the authors’ voice while ensuring that the research conforms to the norms for English-language publication in a US academic journal. Had the editors decided to make all articles available in English, Italian, and Spanish, this would have required more than a literal translation of the original manuscript; the editorial team would have been confronted with the ambitious task of rendering the original text not only understandable but recognizable in each language, reflective of language- and culture-specific publication conventions.¹

As an international doctoral student in the United States, Payant had felt socializing pressures, cognizant of the advantage that her peers held as “real native speakers” who had acquired an understanding of the American academic system. Later, as a faculty member at a French institution in Canada, she decided to endeavor to publish in French, her L1, for the first time. Her recognition of the need for socialization when undertaking this project compelled her to solicit support from literacy mentors and to draw on previously published research that could serve as a rhetorical model. Initially preoccupied by language mechanics (e.g., spelling errors), Payant became increasingly concerned with the importance of socialization into French publishing norms. As she wrote in her journal, “I am more worried or baffled by the ability to have rhetorical structures or an academic voice!” (20–21). Payant’s frustration was echoed by Olmos-López, who described her return to her native Mexico and painful socialization into Mexican academia following her doctoral training in the UK. Olmos-López was aware of the pressure to publish in Spanish, which she experienced as “an abysmal struggle” (38) and to write according to language-specific conventions, as she was simultaneously being socialized to them, instead of through an extensive reliance on literal translation. Like Payant, Olmos-López’s difficulty stemmed from her academic

¹ Moreover, as Kramersch (2009: 68) reminds us, a common language does not guarantee a shared interpretation due to a diversity in socialization of speakers of a given language.

socialization in a language other than her first. Her Spanish colleague's label for her as "mi amiga la inglesa" (38), and a Mexican academic's more recent observation that she was beginning to sound like a native Spanish speaker (40), underscored her on-going transformation from an outsider into a researcher with increasing insight into the expectations of her new academic context. Olmos-López's obligation to "move back and forth between languages" has required more than a switch from one language to another; it has necessitated a grasp of the specificities of sanctioned practices particular to each language and academic context that she has navigated. She has been made keenly aware of these norms when her practices have not coincided with expectations and when she has "felt misplaced." Having been sent to the UK by her Mexican PhD sponsor in order to contribute to the development of Applied Linguistics in Mexico, Olmos-López has struggled to translate her academic discipline into Spanish. As she writes, "I do not particularly enjoy talking about Applied Linguistics in Spanish. It feels unnatural to discuss my research and / or Applied Linguistics concepts in Spanish" (46). Researchers have observed how, when removed from their context of production, concepts carry different resonances in another language. As Liddicoat and Zarate (2009: 12) write:

[L]es idées n'ont pas d'existence indépendante de la langue dans laquelle elles sont exprimées. Leur traduction dans de nouveaux contextes linguistiques et nationaux [...] suppose que des connotations sont ajoutées ou supprimées, ce qui entraîne que l'idée elle-même est reconstruite.

Ideas do not exist independently of the language in which they are expressed. Their translation into new linguistic and national contexts implies that connotations are added or removed, which leads the idea itself to be redefined. (my translation)

Academic researchers socialized into multiple linguistic and cultural traditions are positioned to participate in this process. Olmos-López finds a potential to contribute to her new context in a bidirectional process of socialization, whereby she is socialized as a newcomer to Mexican academia while also imparting her knowledge to newcomers to the field of Applied Linguistics. As Olmos-López and Payant and Belcher recognize, academics who pursue, by choice or obligation, research in L2 research idioms must solicit opportunities for socialization to unfamiliar norms of practice. However, they also represent socializing agents, positioned to sensitize others to previously unfamiliar concepts and discourses.

Individuals can become aware of their own socialization through contact with unfamiliar practices encountered in multilingual contexts (see, for example, Kramsch 2009). By implementing pedagogical approaches and research methodologies that involve linguistic negotiations among multilinguals, participants can critically reflect on assumptions originating in the (monolingual) perspectives to which they have been socialized. For instance, Borge Janetti documented how

intercultural translation served as a pedagogical tool, socializing students at a trilingual university to “different ways of seeing and understanding the word and the world” (81; Freire & Macedo 1987). In research, the process of investigating ideologies and collectively discussing the findings can similarly lead participants to become aware of the ideologies that they hold and bring to their research, as attested to by Zhang and Yanti’s collaboration with a multilingual team in the Nusa Tenggara Timor Province of Indonesia. As Kramsch (2009: 68) writes, “le locuteur natif jette volontiers un regard exotique sur l’expérience d’étrangers qui, comme le Persan de Montesquieu, vous tendent un miroir de vos propres pratiques langagières” (“the native speaker sees as rather exotic the experience of foreigners who, like Montesquieu’s Persian, reveal your own linguistic practices to you”). Multilingual collaborations can further stimulate participants to reexamine their relationship to one another and the traditional roles to which they have been socialized. Curtis’s decision to give space to Spanish with an invitation extended to Noboa to *conversar en los dos idiomas* in what began as a traditional research interview led the women to interrogate their positionalities “as researcher and the researched, as ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ speakers (of English and Spanish)” in the interview process (103); to reexamine their language ideologies; and to reflect on their relationships to Spanish, English, and speakers of those languages.

Practicing multilingual research means acknowledging the value of engaging in multiple linguistic communities of practice. Such a research agenda can enable researchers to participate in academic discourses as they are unfolding in other languages and research contexts. This was, for example, the rationale that motivated a Mexican sponsor to support Olmos-López’s study of Applied Linguistics in the UK and her subsequent return and introduction of the field in Mexican academia. This was the rationale that prompted the creation of a multilingual research team in Indonesia and subsequent reflections and negotiations around language ideologies in the field and in on-going communications between team members. This was the rationale that informed the establishment of *E-JournALL* as a trilingual journal, positioned to increase researchers’ awareness of conversations as they were taking shape in research circles on both sides of the Atlantic. The decision to not only research multilingualism but to practice multilingual research necessitates a willingness to undergo what may be an uncomfortable, frustrating, and sometimes painful experience of socialization into unfamiliar discourses and research practices. This socialization may support critical reflection on previously unquestioned norms for behavior in one’s academic L1 context. And the process of cultivating a habitus in multiple languages may leave writers with a linguistic uneasiness in “no longer experiencing the comfort of feeling complete ownership of expression / style in any language” (Crozet 47), finding one’s texts to be “written as if in translation” or “[bearing] traces of other tongues” (Kellman 55), searching for a context to fit in, and wrestling with a persistent urge to “run away” (see Olmos-López’s contribution). Such an urge is provoked by the complex linguistic socialization of Hugo Hamilton, whose childhood is caught

in “the nets of language and nationality,” as described by Kellman (51). Hamilton is keenly aware that switching from one language to another represents more than a simple linguistic choice.

Those who commit to researching and writing in multiple languages are confronted with an inescapable dilemma, a “trilingual trilemma” (Kellman, this issue), or a multilingual multilemma: Having been socialized into a language-specific habitus for research and writing, how are we to simultaneously maintain relevance both within and beyond the borders of each of our languages? How does research conducted, say, in Italian not lose its Italian specificity when written up or translated into English for publication purposes? How does knowledge acquired in English preserve English-language specificity when presented in Spanish? How are survey questions translated into a number of local languages reported, collected, and then conveyed in English while still capturing their situated essence? And, as in Payant’s case, how does a researcher trained in US academia report Spanish-language data in a French-language publication? This is the tension experienced by the researchers and writers of this special issue. How, in Crozet’s words, may researchers simultaneously “carve a single and authentic voice” (49) to carry across their findings? The multilingual *équilibriste* walks between discrete endpoints, “moving back and forth between languages” (Olmos-López) and between communities of practice. The key to holding relevance within and beyond the borders of each language seems to lie in the willingness to engage in and undergo socialization as a bi-directional, collaborative, and multilingual process. It requires a conscious effort to remain connected to multiple communities of practice and to research and write with reflexivity—keeping diverse communities present in one’s mind and endeavoring to balance target-language presentational norms with the communication of diverse languages, participants, and contexts that have shaped our experiences as writers and researchers. It is by means of the often painful missteps in which we feel misplaced, misread, misunderstood that we can sensitize our listeners to the complexity of such a multilingual enterprise. “Missteps” represent opportunities to challenge the monolingual ideology that confuses our multilingual agility with deficiency, while increasing our awareness of the unique socializing experiences that have shaped and continue to shape our trajectories as multilinguals.

References

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duff, Patricia & Tim Anderson. 2015. “Academic Language and Literacy Socialization for Second Language Students.” In *The Handbook of Classroom Discourse and Interaction*, edited by Numa Markee, 337–352. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

- Kramersch, Claire. 2009. “La circulation transfrontalière des valeurs dans un projet de recherche international.” *Le Français dans le monde: recherches et applications* 46 (juillet): 66–75.
- Kulick, Don & Bambi B. Schieffelin. 2004. “Language Socialization.” In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, 349–369. Oxford: Oxford Blackwell.
- Molloy, Sylvia. 2003. “Bilingualism, Writing, and the Feeling of Not Quite Being There.” In *Lives in Translation: Bilingual Writers on Identity and Creativity*, edited by Isabelle de Courtivron, 69–77. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ochs, Elinor & Bambi B. Schieffelin. 2011. “The Theory of Language Socialization.” In *The Handbook of Language Socialization*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, Elinor Ochs & Bambi B. Schieffelin, 1–21. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Zappa-Hollman, Sandra. 2007. “Academic presentations across post-secondary contexts: The discourse socialization of non-native English speakers.” *Canadian Modern Language Review* 63(4): 455–485.
- Liddicoat, Anthony J. & Geneviève Zarate. 2009. “La didactique des langues et des cultures face à la circulation internationale des idées.” *Le Français dans le monde: recherches et applications* 46 (juillet): 9–15.