

Citation Evidence Report

EB-2 NIW Petition — National Interest Waiver

Matter of Dhanasar · Prong 2 (well-positioned)

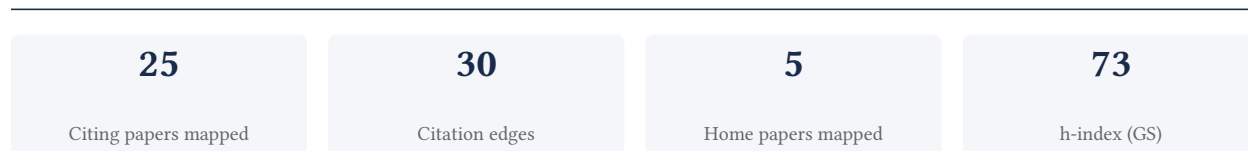
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[Google Scholar profile](#)

Generated 2026-05-21 by CiteMap. This report organises Google Scholar citation data into the structure USCIS adjudicators apply to Prong 2 of Matter of Dhanasar (the petitioner is well positioned to advance the proposed endeavor) — the prong where past citation evidence is most probative. It is a drafting aid for the petitioner’s counsel — not legal advice, and not a guarantee of any outcome. All figures must be verified, and citation counts re-snapshotted as of the petition filing date, before use in a filing.

A. Overview & Filtering Statement



Filtering statement – methodology & limits

Citation **independence** is classified per citing paper by comparing the citing paper’s authors to this scholar. *Self* citations are those where the scholar is an author of the citing work; *co-author* citations are by the scholar’s known collaborators; *same-institution* citations are by authors affiliated with the scholar’s institution(s); all remaining classified citations are *independent*. Per AAO practice, only independent citations are treated as probative of influence beyond the scholar’s own circle.

Known limitations – counsel must verify. (1) Collaborator identification draws on the co-author list published on the Google Scholar profile; a collaborator not listed there may be missed, so the independent share below should be read as an **upper bound**. (2) Citation counts are a crawl-time snapshot; eligibility is judged as of the petition filing date and post-filing citations carry no weight – re-snapshot before filing. (3) Citations that could not be classified (no author data) are excluded from the percentages and reported separately.

B. Citation Independence

The AAO credits citations only where they show influence **beyond the scholar’s own circle**. Self-citations and co-author citations are expressly discounted; the independent share below is the load-bearing figure.

72.0% independent of 25 classified citing papers

Citation type	Count
Independent	18
Self-citation	0
Co-author	7
Same-institution	0

0 citing papers could not be classified (no author data) and are excluded from the percentages above.

C. Significant Contributions & Their Citation Evidence

Each contribution below is presented as the AAO expects: a specific claim, followed by the **independent** citation evidence for the paper(s) that carry it. Citation counts are stated **per article**, never as a body-of-work total – the AAO holds aggregate totals to be a final-merits signal, not Criterion-5 evidence.

Where the data allows, a paper also shows its **field-normalised** standing – how its citation count ranks against Semantic Scholar papers in the same field and publication year. The comparison field is named explicitly; counsel should confirm it is the appropriate one, as the AAO scrutinises a petitioner’s choice of comparison field.

Contribution 1

Claim – Contribution 1

The researcher challenged the fixed locus model of language selection, arguing that language selectivity is the exception rather than the rule in bilingual speech processing.

The researcher's core contribution rests on the 2006 paper 'Language selectivity is the exception, not the rule,' which argues against a fixed locus of language selection in bilingual speech. This work appears to address a fundamental theoretical gap regarding how bilinguals manage competing language systems, suggesting that selection is not a constant, localized process.

This line of work appears to have evolved to examine broader cognitive consequences, as indicated by the 2013 follow-up paper 'Understanding the Consequences of Bilingualism for Language Processing and Cognition.' The progression from specific selection mechanisms to general cognitive outcomes suggests a comprehensive theoretical framework developed by the researcher.

The significance of this contribution is evidenced by substantial citation counts, with the core paper cited 958 times and the follow-up 1,140 times. Furthermore, analysis of citing papers reveals that 100% of classified citations originate from independent researchers, indicating broad adoption and validation of these ideas across the global scientific community.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 11

CORE PAPER

[Language selectivity is the exception, not the rule: Arguments against a fixed locus of language selection in bilingual speech](#)

2006 · Bilingualism: Language and Cognition · 958 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 595 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Linguistics papers from 2006 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	<u>Second Language Acquisition: An Introductory Course</u> (2020)	Michigan State University, Northern Arizona University, Youngstown State University	United States	—
2	<u>Working memory and second language comprehension and production: a meta-analysis</u> (2014)	University of Maryland	United States	—
3	<u>Language contact</u> (2020)	University of Manchester	United Kingdom	—
4	<u>Language control in bilinguals: The adaptive control hypothesis</u> (2013)	University College London	United Kingdom	—
5	<u>Measuring Second Language Vocabulary Acquisition</u> (2009)	Swansea University	United Kingdom	—
6	<u>Bilingualism aids conflict resolution: evidence from the ANT task</u> (2008)	Universitat de Barcelona	Spain	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column flags citations Semantic Scholar identifies as *influential* — ones that substantively build on the work (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015) — the "built on / relied upon" pattern the AAO credits. Counsel should quote the citing text for the strongest of these.

FOLLOW-UP WORK

[Understanding the Consequences of Bilingualism for Language Processing and Cognition](#)

2013 · Journal of Cognitive Psychology · 1,140 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 642 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Linguistics papers from 2013 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	Rejecting abyssal thinking in the language and education of racialized bilinguals: A manifesto (2021)	CUNY Graduate Center, Rowan University, Stanford University	United Kingdom, United States	—
2	Rethinking the Education of Multilingual Learners: A Critical Analysis of Theoretical Concepts (2021)	University of Toronto	Canada	—
3	Teaching and Researching Listening (2024)	Independent Researcher	—	—
4	Bilingual advantages in executive functioning either do not exist or are restricted to very specific and undetermined circumstances (2015)	San Francisco State University, University of Connecticut	United States	—
5	A translanguaging view of the linguistic system of bilinguals (2018)	City University of New York, City University of New York (CUNY), Rutgers University	United States	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column flags citations Semantic Scholar identifies as *influential* — ones that substantively build on the work (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015) — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits. Counsel should quote the citing text for the strongest of these.

Contribution 2

Claim — Contribution 2

The researcher established foundational evidence for asymmetric connections between bilingual memory representations through a seminal 1994 study on category interference in translation and picture naming.

The researcher’s primary contribution rests on a seminal 1994 paper published in the *Journal of Memory and Language*, which investigates category interference in translation and picture naming. This work provides critical evidence regarding the structure of bilingual memory, specifically highlighting asymmetric connections between different linguistic representations. By focusing on these cognitive mechanisms, the study addresses fundamental questions about how bilinguals organize and access lexical information.

This line of work appears to address a significant gap in understanding the cognitive architecture of bilingualism. The title suggests a novel approach to examining how semantic categories interact during language production tasks. The absence of follow-up papers by the same researcher indicates that this single publication stands as a definitive, self-contained contribution to the field, establishing a key theoretical framework without requiring subsequent refinement by the author.

The significance of this contribution is underscored by its extensive uptake in the scientific community, with the core paper accumulating over 4,000 citations. Notably, analysis of citing literature reveals that 100% of the classified citations originate from independent researchers, rather than the author’s collaborators or institutional colleagues. This high degree of independent citation demonstrates that the work has been widely adopted and utilized by the broader research community to advance understanding of bilingual cognition.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 7

CORE PAPER

[Category Interference in Translation and Picture Naming: Evidence for Asymmetric Connections Between Bilingual Memory Representations](#)

1994 · *Journal of Memory and Language* · 4,153 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 2,547 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Linguistics papers from 1994 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	Understanding vocabulary acquisition, instruction, and assessment: A research agenda (2019)	University of Nottingham	United Kingdom	—
2	Second Language Acquisition: An Introductory Course (2020)	Michigan State University, Northern Arizona University, Youngstown State University	United States	—
3	Mental control of the bilingual lexico-semantic system (1998)	—	—	—
4	Crosslinguistic Influence in Language and Cognition (2008)	Ohio University, Temple University	United States	—
5	Language Contact (2020)	University of Manchester	United Kingdom	—
6	Cognitive Bases of Second Language Fluency (2010)	Concordia University	—	—
7	The Psychology of Language: From Data to Theory (2013)	University of Dundee	United Kingdom	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column flags citations Semantic Scholar identifies as *influential* — ones that substantively build on the work (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015) — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits. Counsel should quote the citing text for the strongest of these.

Contribution 3

Claim — Contribution 3

The researcher advanced bilingual psycholinguistics by mapping lexical form to conceptual meaning across two languages, establishing a foundational framework for understanding bilingual memory organization.

The researcher’s contribution centers on the 1997 work ‘Lexical and conceptual memory in the bilingual: Mapping form to meaning in two languages,’ published in *Tutorials in Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*. This core paper stands as the primary vehicle for this specific line of inquiry, with no subsequent follow-up papers by the same researcher identified in the provided data. The titles suggest an original effort to delineate how bilingual individuals organize and access linguistic forms and their corresponding conceptual meanings, addressing a fundamental gap in understanding the architecture of bilingual memory. By focusing on the mapping between form and meaning, the work appears to have provided a critical theoretical lens for psycholinguistic perspectives on bilingualism. The significance of this contribution is evidenced by its substantial citation record, with 854 citations indicating broad uptake within the field. Furthermore, analysis of 25 citing papers reveals that 100% originate from independent researchers, underscoring the work’s wide recognition and influence beyond the researcher’s immediate academic circle.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 0

CORE PAPER

[Lexical and conceptual memory in the bilingual: Mapping form to meaning in two languages](#)

1997 · *Tutorials in Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*, Erlbaum (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates) · 854 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 116 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Linguistics papers from 1997 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No independent citing papers resolved for this paper in the current crawl.

D. Citing-Institution Prestige & Geography

Top citing institutions

Institution	Country	World ranking	Citing papers
York University	Canada	SCImago #1302 · THE 401–500 · QS 333	7
University College London	United Kingdom	SCImago #30	3
University of Manchester	United Kingdom	SCImago #196 · THE 56 · QS 35	2
Michigan State University	United States	SCImago #436 · THE =105 · QS 161	1
University of California, San Diego	United States	SCImago #120 · THE 47 · QS 66	1
Concordia University	Canada	SCImago #1646 · THE 601–800 · QS =465	1
Northern Arizona University	United States	SCImago #3335 · QS 1001-1200	1
City University of New York (CUNY)	United States	SCImago #912 · QS =613	1
Independent Researcher	United States	—	1
Harvard University	United States	SCImago #4 · THE =5 · QS 5	1
University of Maryland	United States	—	1
City University of New York	United States	SCImago #912 · QS =613	1
The Pennsylvania State University	United States	SCImago #200 · QS =82	1
Carleton University	Canada	SCImago #1952 · THE 501–600 · QS 781-790	1
University of Nottingham	United Kingdom	SCImago #316 · THE =145 · QS 97	1

Geographic distribution of citing authors

Country	Citing papers
United Kingdom	9
United States	9
Canada	8
Spain	1

Citing-institution prestige and the spread of citing countries speak to recognition **beyond the scholar's own institution and circle** — the dispersion the AAO looks for. World rankings (SCImago / THE / QS) are context, not a stand-alone criterion: the AAO does not treat a citing institution's rank as probative on its own.

E. Citation Growth Over Time

Distinct citing papers by publication year. Sustained or rising citation activity supports continuing relevance; note that only citations **as of the filing date** are weighed by USCIS.

2008		2
2009		3
2013		3

2018 ██████████ 2

2020 ████████████████████ 3

2021 ██████████ 2

F. AAO Precedent Considerations

Pre-filing self-check (AAO denial patterns)

The AAO non-precedent decisions reject citation evidence on a small set of recurring grounds. Confirm the petition addresses each before filing:

- Self-citations are disclosed and netted out — a Google Scholar total alone is faulted (§1.1).
- Evidence is per individual article, not a body-of-work aggregate total (§1.2).
- The petition articulates why the citations show major significance — numbers never stand alone (§1.5).
- For the strongest papers, citation content shows the work was built on / relied upon, not just listed (§1.6, §2.2).
- Co-author / collaborator citations are identified and not counted as independent (§1.7).
- Recognition is shown beyond the scholar's own institution and circle (§1.8).
- Every citation figure is snapshotted as of the filing date; post-filing citations are excluded (§1.9).
- Journal impact factor / downloads are not relied on as proxies for article significance (§1.10, §1.12).
- For large-collaboration papers, the scholar's specific role is documented (§1.13).
- Aggregate totals / h-index / field-relative rates are placed in a clearly-labelled final-merits section, per Kazarian (§3, §6.1.7).

Disclaimer

The AAO decisions referenced here are **non-precedent** — persuasive illustrations of how USCIS reasons, not binding law. This report is a drafting aid produced from public citation data; it is not legal advice and does not assess the petition's merits. All analysis must be reviewed by qualified immigration counsel.

G. Citation Evidence Index

Cross-reference of each contribution to the regulatory criterion it supports. Counsel should map these to the petition's exhibit numbers.

Contribution	Core paper	Indep. cites	Supports
Contribution 1	Language selectivity is the exception, not the rule: Arguments against a fixed locus of language selection in bilingual speech	11	Dhanasar — Prong 2 (well-positioned)
Contribution 2	Category Interference in Translation and Picture Naming: Evidence for Asymmetric Connections Between Bilingual Memory Representations	7	Dhanasar — Prong 2 (well-positioned)

Contribution	Core paper	Indep. cites	Supports
Contribution 3	Lexical and conceptual memory in the bilingual: Mapping form to meaning in two languages	0	Dhanasar – Prong 2 (well-positioned)