Transliteracy Sponsorscapes: Potential for Attunement and Diffraction in Literacy Learning

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A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

University of Washington

2021

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Abstract

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Many scholars have drawn attention to literacy sponsorship, or ways that different literacy practices are differentially valued and encouraged using an economic/market model. More recently, an ecological model offers additional potential for tracing more networked or constellated literacy *sponsorscapes*. As a multimodal ethnography of six language learning communities, this study takes its point of departure for exploring literacy not from a connection to language itself, but to the more inclusive semiotic repertoires through which linguistic and other literacies emerge. I focus on the contributions of attunement and diffraction to focus on three areas of literacy sponsorscapes in particular: embodiment, genre, and multimodality. The project provides implications for literacy teaching, learning, and research praxis.

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Acknowledgements

The University of Washington occupies traditional lands of Coast Salish people of various tribes and bands connected by kinship around the waters of the region. At the Seattle campus, the group with the closest ties to the area is the dxʷdu?abš, or Duwamish. At Friday Harbor Labs, this is the Lhaq'temish, or Lummi. I have conducted the intellectual work for this project at these locations and start my acknowledgements by naming them and expressing gratitude for their stewardship and care for these places.

Along this intellectual life journey, I have also had many companions, mentors, and supporters. I would like to briefly acknowledge their contributions here before I begin.

Among the members of my dissertation committee, Anis Bawarshi continued to believe in me and help me find action steps. Suhanthie Motha talked over many challenging issues with me over walks, especially on San Juan Island. Dawn Hardison-Stevens stepped in for me at a very low point. Laada Bilaniuk was a cheerful presence with whom I could bond over dogs. Nancy Bou Ayash helped me navigate strategically around standardized language testing requirements to more meaningful forms of assessment through translation.

Of my most consistent writing group members, I wish to acknowledge my sister scholars Zhenzhen He-Weatherford, with whom I was blessed to navigate many spiritual-academic challenges, and Sumyat Thu, with whom I attended my first racial justice protest and shared life as a housemate for a time. Sebastian Kruppert was also a consistent source of encouragement and adventure when I needed it, particularly during the pandemic times. I deeply appreciate the ability to have laughed and cried with all of you through the roller coaster process of academics and life more broadly over the years. Thank you also to the particular friends and conference buddies who help me feel solidarity in a broader disciplinary field and in life: Norah Fahim, Bonnie Vidrine, and Nina Feng.

The University of Washington's Language & Rhetoric Colloquium, more affectionately known as the Lang Gang, was an absolutely amazing group to work with. Of those that came before me, I particularly want to mention Anne Shivers-McNair and Jacki Fiscus as strong mentor-friends. Along with Zhenzhen, Ahmad A. Alharthi and Shane R. Peterson were excellent collaborators on a co-authored project, and I consider us all to be "agents of kairos" in responding to current events and developing discourse during the pandemic. I was also refreshed by Sara Lovett's and Ahmed Al Awadi's shared interest in gaming meetups and participation in the Council for Play & Game Studies at the Cs conference. Shauna Searcy was a good jogging/talking partner during challenging times for both of us as well.

I was able to learn an incredible amount and work with some amazing people at all the programs in which I taught while I was at the University of Washington. Thanks to the folks at the Expository Writing Program: Candice Rai (a consistent, rhetorical listener, who works with wicked problems), Elizabeth Simmons-O'Neill (whose door offered encouragement like "Continue to speak, even if your voice shakes"), Kimberlee Gillis-Bridges (who brought energy and humor to administration), Jacob Huebsch (who keeps things running), and Belle Kim (who was one of my all-time favorite office mates, especially through a very difficult political time, and who shares my love of dinosaurs). Thanks to the folks at the

Interdisciplinary Writing Program: Carrie Matthews and Megan Callow, who centralized anti-racist pedagogy and were excellent mentors; and Karen Wennerstrom, who constantly finds opportunities for more knowledge and cultural connections. Thanks also to the whole crew at Friday Harbor Labs: Megan Dethier for inviting me to teach at FHL for multiple quarters, Kristy Kull for always cultivating community, and the many other people who have collaborated on teaching/service projects or guest speaking in my class, the first of whom was Kirk Sato.

I also wish to acknowledge my cohort from the Kuyper Fellows Program: Christine Chen, Eun Ae Choi, Rong Fan, Melanie Tate, and David Simmons. Our monthly discussions from different disciplinary backgrounds at an intersection with faith issues expanded my thinking and find more purpose in my academic engagement. My Kuyper faculty mentor James Felak was actually the first person to give me feedback on some very early attempts at dissertation chapters. I deeply appreciate the coordinating organization Graduate Christian Fellowship and its leaders: Geoffrey Van Dragt, Ashley Van Dragt, and Calvin Chen.

I would of course like to thank my research communities, without whom this project would not be possible. In particular, three of the instructor participants were also *my* instructors, and I learned a lot about teaching from being their student: Tami Hohn, Nancy Jo Bob, and Kristi Winter. All three of them offered me encouragement and inspiration in my work.

I was also accompanied on this journey for a couple years by two housemates who have been much-loved sources of encouragement, accountability, adventure, food, and other forms of care: Elizabeth Hoffman and Meagan Jackson. Our time together was characterized by both hard work and deep rest during different stages of academic cycles and life events, and I was better for having them with me.

In describing the process of writing a dissertation, I offer the following quote from *Jurassic Park*, one of my all-time favorite movies for insight and advice on life, “If there's one thing the history of evolution has taught us, it's that life will not be contained. Life breaks free, it expands to new territories, and crashes through barriers painfully, maybe even dangerously, but, uh, well, there it is.” Life and knowledge are intertwined, and according to some wisdom that Aunt Thelma shared, “Writing is never done, but it is due.” I thank my readers in advance for their patience in laboring through this project with me.

And consistently through the entire process, before it began, and beyond its completion, I wish to acknowledge and thank my family for their unwavering faith in me. I am lucky and blessed in many ways to have their love and support. My mother helped me with every move I needed to make during grad school and read many drafts of many projects along the way. My brother provided a place for me to stay in Albuquerque when summer wildfires created unhealthy breathing conditions in Washington State. My father always tried to make himself available for adventure. My dogs always valued me, even in the moments I couldn’t see my own value.

Finally, I offer thanks above all to the Creator God - the One Who Sees Me - who gave me the wisdom, courage, and grace I needed to see this project through to the end. For the many other people that I do not have the opportunity to identify by name, I still offer gratitude for their contributions to my life and work over the past many years. Thank you all.

The very nature of materiality is an entanglement. Matter itself is always already open to, or rather entangled with, the "Other." The intra-actively emergent "parts" of phenomena are coconstituted. Not only subjects but also objects are permeated through and through with their entangled kin; the other is not just in one's skin, but in one's bones, in one's belly, in one's heart, in one's nucleus, in one's past and future. *-Karen Barad*

Chapter 1
Storying Transliteracy Sponsorscapes

Twende! Let's go! (Woodland Park Zoo, Seattle)

Characterizing Literacy

Here is where a story of literacy begins. It is not the only story that could be told, but we humans tend to preserve and share information in narrative form, and narratives are situationally (co-)constructed. In this introductory chapter, I will in fact be introducing key concepts that will continue to play important roles throughout this research project. The project overall brings together several strands of research in order to get a bigger picture of entangled literacy phenomena. As I hope to demonstrate, such a bigger picture helps us become more attuned to the ways that semiotic repertoires, operating in dynamic, entangled relation to what I call literacy sponsorscapes, shape the learning and development of literacy in ways that deepen our understanding of literacy.

Firstly, what is literacy? It may ultimately be a more useful exercise to *characterize* literacy rather than define it, but we will start by looking at some definitions and metaphors for literacy that have emerged and developed from different contexts and fields of study. Many dictionary entries identify two main senses of the word "literacy" in common parlance. The first of these meanings is the ability to read and write, and the second is knowledge or competence in a particular subject or specialized area such as information literacy or health literacy. These common definitions are both much narrower than scholarly treatments. In a review of scholarly work in Literacy Studies, Guerra (1998) outlines four major metaphors: literacy as entity, literacy as self, literacy as institution, and literacy as practice. While he acknowledges that each of these metaphors grants different insight into literacy, he sees the fourth metaphor of literacy as practice as able to encompass the other three.

As early as the turn of the century from the field of foreign language teaching, Kern (2000) provides a simultaneously more specific and expansive definition for literacy and outlines some of the relevant resources and repertoires involved in literacy:

> Literacy is the use of socially, historically, and culturally situated practices of creating and interpreting meaning through texts. It entails at least a tacit awareness of the relationships between textual conventions and their contexts of use and, ideally, the ability to reflect critically on those relationships. Because it is purpose sensitive, literacy is dynamic – not static – and variable across and within discourse communities and cultures. It draws on a wide range of cognitive abilities, on knowledge of written and spoken language, on knowledge of genres, and on cultural knowledge.

This quote presents literacy as situated, relational, and dynamic with multiple modes of communication, textual conventions, and genre. Nearly twenty years later, several scholars have recently proposed inclusively attending more to a full range of semiotic repertoires in communication, rather than just discrete linguistic codes (Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Kusters, 2017; Pennycook, 2017). This draws upon scholarship on translanguaging to include attention to spaces, objects, embodied histories, and heterogenous resources that are deployed and configured in response to local circumstances. The framework of semiotic repertoires has been proposed as a more inclusive approach to applied linguistics and language study, and this research project extends that proposal to literacy.

Kuster et al. (2017) explains that "the concept of repertoire offers a way in which to articulate the ways individuals draw on their diverse resources mapping them onto functions in a communicative act. [...] A semiotic repertoire can thus be understood as a heteroglossic realm of embodied potentialities and constraints" (pp. 222 & 228). Creese & Blackledge (2017) add, "In communicating with resources available at particular times and in particular spaces, [people] do not separate the linguistic from the embodied, but make meaning through repertoires of signs which integrate verbal and non-verbal action" (pp. 255). A semiotic repertoire approach to language and literacy again accounts for the situated, dynamic nature of literacy. It also centralizes multimodality, not just as an alternative to spoken/written language, but rather positions spoken/written language as just one aspect or resource within a larger scope of multimodal potential for meaning-making. For Kuster et al., semiotic repertoires allow for considering spoken/written languages and signed languages within a single framework bridged by multimodality. For Creese & Blackledge, semiotic repertoires help trace the complex forms of meaning-making in a transnational marketplace. With the attention to the embodied nature of communication and action, it should be clear that semiotic repertoires are both fundamentally multimodal and material in nature.

Focusing on ways that meaning is mapped differentially onto the body and world broadens the scope of what can be considered within a single study; for example, dichotomies such as spoken/written and signed languages, heritage and non-heritage language learners, native and non-native language speakers are no longer categories that must be considered divided a priori, but individuals and communities traditionally included in such categories may rather demonstrate patterned language and literacy practices that emerge from their differential

circumstances and repertoires. Many studies have, in fact, shown that such traditional categories actually represent very heterogeneous experiences, and categorization along these lines can be complexly entangled in racist, paternalist views.

For language teaching purposes, Lin (2019) talks about the need to recognize trans-semiotizing for both holistic and critical reasons. Doing so decenters analytic focus from given discrete language(s) or pre-existing semiotic systems and broadens the focus to language as it is entangled with other semiotic meaning making in a variety of modalities, ensembles, and spatial repertoires. Lin contrasts trans-semiotizing as a broader set of practices against deficit or replacement models of immersion or bilingual language education, particularly for content or discipline-based learning.

> Dynamic translanguaging and trans-semiotizing [...] while it cannot resolve the problems of racism and classism, aim at deconstructing the binary, deficit/replacement model by seeing different semiotic resources as constituting a continuous (rather than binary, discrete), expanding, holistic repertoire of students. It is important to see these 'genres, registers, styles' (both linguistic and beyond linguistic) as semiotic configurations that are open, dynamic, changeable and changing patterns [...] (pp. 12)

She suggests that the appropriate starting place for analysis is not language itself, but the entanglement of all the available semiotic resources and patterns of dynamic use of which language is but one manifestation. In this commitment, trans-semiotizing shares a tradition with translanguaging from the field of applied linguistics and translingualism from the field of composition, while situating both within a focus on multimodality. My purposes here are not to trouble distinctions between these models, but to preview the shared impulse toward moving across available semiotic resources to view student literacy learning more holistically through the repertoires they are dynamically developing through dialogic encounters with others over time.

So how do these calls for a paradigmatic shift toward semiotic repertoires fit with conversations around literacy? They continue a tradition of attending to the situated and dynamic nature of literacy as well as the need to recognize a range of abilities and knowledges. However, they expand the focus of literacy from primarily textual meanings, or at least expand what counts as a text, to focus more inclusively on resources for making meaning in an embodied space. However, there are some convergent strands and traditions within literacy scholarship and related fields that also lead naturally toward a semiotic repertoire approach.

Scholars of New Literacy have long drawn attention to the multiple nature of literacies (multi-literacies) through multiple modes of communication (multimodality) that is always already inherent to communication, especially communication practices that increasingly cross national boundaries, languages, and cultures through physical migration patterns or digital platforms and

work spaces (Street, 2007; Cazden, 1999; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Ivanic et al., 2012). Street (2007) introduces two contrasting views to literacy including autonomous approaches (literacy as a set of universal and discrete skills autonomous from the workings of ideology) and ideological approaches (literacy as always already inherently ideological). However, autonomous models of literacy that seemingly treat literacy as a neutral topic separated from ideology fail to identify real life exigencies that promote and discourage certain kinds of literacy. The resulting Critical Literacy approaches push further for more transformational practices that reconfigure power relations, rather than merely responding and adapting to globalizing economic systems (Branch, 2007; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Janks, 2010). Both New & Critical Literacy traditions share the assumption that literacy is inherently multiple while Critical Literacy recognizes the ideological aspects of literacy shape development and practices.

As previously noted, Juan Guerra (1998) finds that treating literacy as practice can represent other conceptions of literacy as different aspects of those practices. In fact, Alastair Pennycook traces a 'practices turn' across the social sciences more generally, and many literacy scholars have participated in this movement. This tradition is exemplified in Suresh Canagarajah's approach to 'translingual practices' as the forms of literacy/communication activities that people engage in when they activate and combine various language, cultural, emotional, and semiotic repertoires across difference. To this conversation, Horner & Lu (2007) draw attention to the power and privilege of recognized literacy practices involved in monolingual (perceptually monolithic, essentializing, and autonomous), multilingual (an additive approach to the monolingual), and translingual (ideologically inclusive of heterogeneity) approaches to literacy. This brief overview shows how various scholars across disciplines are treating literacy as dynamic and situated practices, not just as static or discrete skills to acquire and/or possess with uniform value in all contexts.

Based on these traditions that have come before this study, then, literacy is taken to include dynamic and diverse material-discursive practices that create meaning and mattering through deployment of semiotic repertoires in a variety of modalities, both conventionalized and emergent. The deployment of these literacy practices and resources act upon the world, even as literacy practices are afforded and constrained by conditions of the world. This networked and recursive interaction lies at the heart of what I and other researchers call literacy sponsorscapes.

Spatio-Temporality and Mobility of Literacy

A further dimension of situated literacies is the idea of place-based literacies. In K-12 education scholarship, this has often been described as students reading their natural or social worlds as texts. At tertiary levels of education, the University of Hawaii at Manoa has used integration of geographic place to increase student engagement in their Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) and Writing in the Disciplines (WID) classes. In an interview on two ways of knowing as demonstrated in her 2013 book *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge,*

and the Teaching of Plants, Kimmer says, "Both Western science and traditional ecological knowledge are methods of *reading* the land. That's where they come together. But they're reading the land in different ways" (Tonino, 2016, emphasis mine). Reading the land in both existential modes means making observations and interpreting what those observations mean. If the world is a text in this sense, it is continually unfolding, adapting, and becoming over time. Similar to the traditional division of linguistics by diachronic and synchronic changes or differences between longitudinal and cross-sectional research studies, in-the-moment literacies and snapshots of the world as text necessarily connect to trajectories of what has come before.

The next major question to address, then, is the role of spatio-temporality in literacy. In recent years, there has been increasing interest in tracing the movement or *mobility* of literacy practices (along with the people who use them) across time and space. Such movement is inherently messy and ecological, rather than unitary, uniform, and unidirectional in nature. Such movement also follows and forms rhizomatic networks as people move and interact across physical and digital spaces (Lynch & Rivers, 2015; Spinuzzi, 2008; Shipka, 2016). The many terms that have entered circulation such as translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014; Canagarajah, 2011), translingualism (Horner et al., 2011; Canagarajah, 2013), transmodality (Horner, Selfe & Lockridge, 2015), transnational literacy (Alvarez, 2015; Rouansville, 2017), and transcultural literacy (Fraiburg, Wang & You, 2017) indicate a trans- turn to varying degrees within and across the fields of Applied Linguistics, Composition, and Literacy studies. The 2015 TESOL conference theme of 'Crossing Borders, Building Bridges' and the 2016 Watson Conference theme of 'Mobility Work in Composition: Translation, Migration, Transformation' highlight attention to these issues of moving across difference.

In a multi-sited transnational ethnography, Fraiburg, Wang, and You (2017) have explored 'mobile literacies' to show how students adapt and develop literacy practices across contexts at university campuses in the US Midwest and China. Lorimer Leonard (2017) studies 'writing on the move' to show the ways and extent to which literacy practices are transferred and adapted as bodies, material resources, and ideas move across time and space. Cardinal (2019) uses the term literascape to talk about emergent literacy geographies. Such studies again counter the conception of literacy as singular and static while pointing towards the material entanglement of all these elements in literacy practices. In fact, Wargo & De Costa (2017) have outlined a literacy sponsorscape framework that combines mobilities, ideologies, identities, and technologies. They identify this framework "as a locating mechanism for studying a range of hybridized repertoires that are shaped and constituted by the physical and social spaces [inhabited]" (pp 101). For this current project, *locating* refers to both where and when literacy is taking place and how this connects to semiotic repertoires that students are developing and deploying. We will return to the idea of sponsorscape in the next section.

The shift towards mobility in literacy brings us to the more recent and relevant terms of transliteracy and/or transliteracies. Many scholars approach "transliteracy" or "transliteracies" as a framework for understanding the fluid and contingent nature of literacy, but there are significant differences in the etymological development of this term. Some scholars adopted transliteracy from "transliterate," to focus on the interpretive nature of re-mapping literacy skills and practices to new situations (Sukovic, 2017; Thomas et. al., 2007). Other scholars use the trans-prefix to indicate a crossing or between-ness plus a plural form of "literacy" to trace its academic genealogy from New Literacy scholarship (multi-literacies). It also maintains a productive ambiguity on what is mobile (or not) in a complex network of both human and non-human actants/artifacts (Smith et. al., 2018; Stornaiulou et. al., 2017).

In fact, according to Sukovic (2017), "transliteracy includes different abilities and skill sets, but transliteracy is mainly about movement across a whole range of contexts, technologies, and modalities" and includes "not only an abstract idea but also an embodied practice and sensory experience" (pp. 2-6). This first path to transliteracy has gained traction within Library Sciences for reflecting (but not limited to) research activities as people adapt to continually developing media technologies. Meanwhile, Storniauolu et. al. (2017) write, "Our expanded definition understands transliteracies to be critical and creative social semiotic practices arising within complex ideological networks and characterized by the movement of people and things" (pp. 72). This second path to transliteracies arises at the intersection of Composition and Education with more attention to physical mobility and materiality. However, either path (transliteracy or transliteracies) leads to a comprehensive view and framework for literacy as dynamic, contingent, relational, mediated, and fluid/mobile. Transliteracy/transliteracies also both attend to human-material interfaces.

In sum, particular spaces and times feed into the ensembles of semiotic resources, literacy technologies, and practices that are potentially manifest, taken up, recognized, and valued as part of literacy repertoires. However, just like languages, semiotic repertoires are not singular, discrete entities or axes that can be accounted for either. Lefkowitz (2004) represents historical recursiveness in discourse as a spiral that accounts for both hegemonic and resistant practices. With this spiral, he accounts for three important aspects of sociolinguistic symbols:

- The meaning of a symbol may change over time.
- The meaning of a symbol may differ for various socially positioned speakers.
- The meaning of a symbol at any particular time recalls earlier and differently positioned meanings.

Approaching literacy practices based on a trans-semiotic view and full range of semiotic resources involves a similar recursive spiral related to how meaning can be conveyed not just in one space and time, but how those meanings are also entangled with literacy resources/practices at other spaces and times. Students (and others) participating in literacy activities are bringing

their own assemblages of dialogic repertoires that include their social and physical positioning not only in that space and time, but others that have come before and their imagined futures.

Sponsorship, Ecology, and Materiality of Literacy

As we have seen, literacy practices are dynamic and mediated. Viewing literacy ideologically is important for identifying social processes and practices that systematically or individually recognize and value or misrecognize and devalue literacy practices differentially. As part of the larger sponsorscape across time and space, identifying 'funds of knowledge' from student communities that they bring to a classroom is just as important as the knowledge that is valued in those classrooms by the teacher, other students, the school as an institution, and the broader context in order to understand the literacy practices those students engage (González et al, 2009). Bourdieu et al. (1991) outlines ways in which economic, social, cultural and linguistic capital and resources are recognized to legitimate and privilege (as well as de-legitimate and de-privilege) certain language practices and varieties, and by extension, the people who use them. Many language and literacy scholars have taken up transnational or even post-national perspectives as in Heller (2011) to highlight the more porous and heterogeneous nature of globalizing economies and communicative situations. This flow and interaction of people, resources, and practices (literacy and otherwise) across cultures also inherently references power arrangements as a non-neutral process.

Building on and further extending the line of inquiry with transliteracies, this study aims to identify the extent and impact of various literacy sponsors that inherently cross time, space, language, culture, modality, etc. Originally coined by Brandt (2001), the term "literacy sponsor" refers to an entity that has a vested interest in promoting certain kinds of language, literacy, or identity practices, usually tied to economics or prestige, which can change over time. Other scholars have expanded and complicated this idea into other realms (Duffy et al., 2014). Within academic conversations on the cultural politics of literacy, Curry and Lillis (2018) use the notion of 'literacy broker' for more direct and immediate production of literacy activities and 'network broker' for more indirect access issues related to literacy activity networks and opportunities. Notice the grounding of sponsor and broker in a market metaphor, which connects also to Freire's *banking* model of education and Norton Peirce's idea of language *investment* (Freire, 1970; Norton Peirce 1995). While the market metaphor highlights connections between language, literacy, and materiality through access/allocation of systemic and personal resources toward development of certain literacies, an ecological metaphor can offer new insights into the interplay of human-material systems in which literacy activities play a role.

As previously noted, Wargo & Costa (2017) write about literacy sponsorscapes, centralizing the role that complex networks and configuration of influence can play. The term sponsorscape is important to highlight ways that power is distributed and dynamic, not monolithic, unidirectional, or uniform. Thomas et. al. (2007) explicitly tie transliteracy to the concept of a

media *ecology*, which they situate as both global and historical. Smith et. al. (2020) outlines three often underdeveloped aspects of literacy sponsorship: that sponsorship is dynamically networked, that it involves human-material assemblages, and that it involves reciprocal relations.

To this ecological understanding of literacy sponsorscapes, I apply the agential realism framework of Barad (2007), which she introduces below:

> I propose "agential realism" as an epistemological-ontological-ethical framework that provides an understanding of the role of human and nonhuman, material and discursive, and natural and cultural factors in scientific and other social-material practices, thereby moving such considerations beyond the well-worn debates that pit constructivism against realism, agency against structure, and idealism against materialism. Indeed, the new philosophical framework that I propose entails a rethinking of fundamental concepts that support such binary thinking including the notions of matter, discourse, causality, agency, power, identity, embodiment, objectivity, space, and time [...] Our knowledge making practices are social-material enactments that contribute to, and are a part of, the phenomena we describe. (26)

One crucial aspect of this framework in relation to literacy sponsorscapes is the conflation - or rather entanglement - of epistemology (as ways of knowing) and ontology (as ways of being). The activities of this study, this study as reported in a dissertation genre, and myself as a study coordinator all participate in the literacy ecology and contribute to what is within the realm of knowable and be(come)ing as well as limits within the time(s) and space(s) available. Binary thinking must also give way to a more ecological approach to the ways that power, agency/consequentiality, identity, etc. are also distributed across systems and that individuals as nodes within their own broader networks of lifewide connections are bringing together strands of disparate sponsorscapes to and across particular times/spaces as they engage and develop literacy practices.

Barad contrasts visual/optic metaphors for knowledge based on her background in physics to describe how an agential realism approach offers different insight. In western traditions, sight in particular and "reflection" are often used to represent understanding. However, reflection sets up a problematic understanding of objectivity and the ability of a researcher to stand outside a system as with a mirror to accurately reflect observed phenomena. She proposes "diffraction" as an alternative way of conceptualizing research activity where noticing phenomena as they take shape within and around elements in their environment (including the researcher) is both more accurate and ethical. So in order to understand the ecological nature of transliteracy sponsorscapes, this study approaches research and knowledge-making ecologically as well. Specifically for issues of sponsorscapes, "a diffractive methodology is a critical practice for making a difference in the world. It is a commitment to understanding which differences matter, how they matter, and for whom" (90). So at its heart, this study explores what elements of

literacy sponsorscapes matter, how they come to matter, and for whom they matter across six language learning communities. Patterns across communities as well as differences between communities are both important, and the heterogeneous nature of these communities is important to keep in mind at all times. What these "communities" actually represent are particular configurations of human-material circumstances where meaning and mattering may be sponsored in different ways that can impact student literacy practices. Within/across these communities, the study focuses on particular assemblages of literacy activities to trace a story around what is happening.

Also, as part of a decolonial commitment, Powell et al. (2014) explain a preference for the metaphor of "constellating" practices, rather than intersectional ones. They find that focusing on linear nexus points can impose certain relationships of causality and/or origin while obscuring other forms of relational meaning and mattering. In their own words:

> A constellation, however, allows for all the meaning-making practices and their relationships to matter. It allows for multiply-situated subjects to connect to multiple discourses at the same time, as well as for those relationships (among subjects, among discourses, among kinds of connections) to shift and change without holding a subject captive. [...] It also allows for different ways of seeing any single configuration within that constellation, based on positionality and culture. (n.p.)

Therefore, instead of just following a *line of inquiry*, I invite my readers to explore what a *constellation of inquiry* might look like in this study through a focus on different assemblages I describe in the following chapters, rather than a more traditionally linear journey between start and finish points. After all, what are constellations themselves other than assemblages of stars as viewed from a particular space and time (and across different spaces and time) connected by a story? Tensions remain in efforts to describe the networked, relational aspects of knowledge in this study, though, so descriptions and methods may sometimes shift between linear and constellated metaphors to meet some of these challenges.

The following sections introduce three key areas that were significant to transliteracy sponsorscapes in this project and previews the role of each within the larger scope of the project overall. The three areas are embodiment, genre, and modality. Again, these are not the only stories that could be told, but were compelling themes that emerged at the confluence of the learning activities of the communities and research activities of the study. Embodiment helps establish patterns and particularities within and across learning communities based on how students are framing their language and literacy experiences and the spaces, times, and texts with which they may be in relation. These patterns and particularities at the university setting are featured in chapter four. Genres are both texts and social actions that students take up and are taken up by during their literacy activities. This was particularly relevant in the Southern Lushootseed language learning community, which serves as a focal case study in chapter five.

Modality is always involved in literacy activity as it is enacted and expressed. In this study, variation needed to be addressed based on current-historical ideologies and their impacts on student learning, and the American Sign Language Community serves as a focal case study in chapter six. In the tradition of Barad's agential realism, I refer to these key areas as *assemblages* to describe the entangled, constellated relationships and non-linear causality and influence of literacy sponsorship. Pennycook (2017) has previously used assemblages to talk about semiotic repertoires:

> The notion of assemblages allows for an understanding of how different trajectories of people, semiotic resources and objects meet at particular moments and places, and thus helps us to see the importance of things, the consequences of the body, and the significance of place. (269)

Assemblages are a way of finding or locating a manageable scope within a large realm of semiotic possibilities.

Assemblage Element 1: Embodiment

Like many scholars in a variety of other fields, Smith (2009) writes from a theological position challenging the traditional mind-body dichotomy in Western thought systems that privilege logic over felt and embodied experiences. Instead, using an approach based in Philosophical Anthropology, he describes the state of being human as "homo liturgicus," or inherently participating in and submerged in cultural liturgies of embodied practices where the mind is part of the body (not separate) and desire for moving toward a felt conception of human flourishing is primary to logic regulating actions and desires. Likewise, Spivak (1988) has identified the drive to communication based on desire that comes from bodily sensations prompting a child to cry out even before specifically codified ways and forms of communication have been taken up. Derrida (1976) similarly talks about the original "writing of the world" by projected perception that must precede that world being written through words despite the prestige and primacy ordinarily afforded to the written word over other forms of literacies. Crucially for this study, Derrida points to ideographic orthography systems and signed language as examples of expanded meaning-making practices that disrupt the hegemonic perception of written language primacy. These forms of literacy are inherently and explicitly multimodal. Literacy engages bodily senses even as they emerge from the situated relational experience of inhabiting these bodies.

Bourdieu identifies the language habitus as a set of dispositions and patterns of thinking that are developed relatively early in life and impact how people experience and react to the world thereafter. While this view accounts for learned dispositional habitation on individual and cultural levels, the idea that this dynamic system moves into a static form may be too deterministic. For example, Pavlenko (2006) writing about bilingualism and affect/emotion, has shown how different languages do condition how people are able to experience and express the

world, but multilingual individuals are able to experience and express their emotional processes in different ways. Koven (2007) has documented the ways that bilingual French and Portuguese speakers fundamentally reframe the experience when they tell a story about a single experience in their different available language varieties, evoking different value systems and ways of existing in the world. Literacy practices inhabit the body as much as they are produced by or external to bodies. Storytelling will be particularly important for exploring literacy practices in the following chapters, and previously sponsored forms of literacy continue to exert influence on new literacy activities and situations.

It is important to note that embodiment is not individually isolated phenomena, but relational. Just as language varieties demonstrate a certain conventionality, Volishinov (1986) has pointed to the intersubjective nature of language generally with signs acquiring meaning only between at least two socially situated individuals and that language does not exist as an essential entity exerting pressure on individual speakers. Using the novel as an example, Bakhtin (1981) has also shown how an individual "voice" is actually multiple for any individual. Perceptions, then, can be both mediated and conditioned. Therefore, as Violi (2009) has identified, embodiment is not just a biological phenomenon, but situated, subjective, and intersubjective. The ability to consciously identify with others is important for communication (Burke, 1969). Drawing on insights from Disability and Deaf intersections with Composition, embodiment is also inherently tied to mobility and modality in the body as the world is both experienced and expressed (Cedillo, 2018; Butler, 2018; Butler, 2017). Even as individuals constantly reconfigure themselves socially, their available semiotic resources that can be deployed come from accumulated experience, so individual literacies can be seen as multiple and contingent.

In addition, experiencing and expressing the world involves interacting with more than just human actants in the environment. From the area of material rhetoric, Bennet (2010) talks about vibrant matter, or vital materialism, in which nonhuman objects in the material world actively participate in events. Latour's actor-network theory within an object oriented ontology proposes that objects are consequential and even grants them a form of agency and desire in this consequentiality to impact the world around them (Lynch & Rivers, 2015). Thus, navigating the world in a human body means that both human and nonhuman object "bodies" in the environment are also acting upon any given individual. These views in material rhetoric also coincide with many indigenous forms of knowledge that acknowledge the role of the local environment and living space on what is experienced and expressed. The human individual is not separate, but coincident with environmental factors, conditions, and systems.

Assemblage Element 2: Genre

Literacy sponsorship/sponsorscape issues have been previously addressed by those with interest in genre scholarship. Not all of this research uses a sponsorship/sponsorscape frame or departure

point; however, much of it engages these topics using alternative or related terminology. For example, Fisher (2018) addresses the influences and influencing nature of genre within the tradition of disciplinary literacy as "recurrent *mediating* tools used within multilayered, laminated activity systems" (emphasis mine). He synthesizes Russell's genre-oriented activity theory and Moje's disciplinary literacy work. Crucially, Russell (1997) writes that genres represent shared group expectations, or "ways of recognizing and predicting how certain tools (including vocalizations and inscriptions), in certain typified - typical, recurring - conditions, may be used to help participants act together purposefully." How group members come to develop expectations and learn to recognize and perform typified communication are central to sponsorship issues. In a study about scientific text genres in a middle school setting, Faller (2018) identifies metadiscussion about "how and why the text is put together in particular ways" as part of students' literacy practices. While the concept of "sponsorship" is not operationalized in the article directly by the author, the presence and type of genres and engagement with science literacy practices is once again described as "influenced" by the teacher, materials like the textbook, and national criteria such as the Next Generation Science Standards. Her findings suggest that guided metadiscussions around genres are an important but often neglected type of literacy practice that can help students enact new disciplinary identities.

While many studies addressing the reciprocal influence of genres that emerge from and shape group activities and values may not use sponsorship terminology directly, there are some that do. Jacobs (2013) explicitly connects the multiliteracy and semiotic systems of comic genres to literacy sponsorship. As Humphrey (2014) notes, Jacobs starts from the assumption that "our ideas about what literacy means are learned social constructs, with multimodal literacy being a relatively recent development" and traces the role of comics within literacy sponsorship efforts in North America from the 1930s-1980s with visuals being used to encourage children to start reading or even specific messaging about types of life activities in which readers are encouraged to participate (n.p.). As a literary genre, Alexander et al. (2017) positions young adult fiction novels within multimodal multimedia webs that both portray and invite participation in different notions of valuing certain forms of literacy and what it means to be literate: for example, personal branding strategies in the Hunger Games series or the ideology of appropriateness in standardized testing in Harry Potter. Alexander demonstrates that readers are not just passively influenced by sponsoring agents, but actively engage with literacy sponsorship in their own responses and practices through fan fiction and other literacy situations (Harrison, 2018).

To synthesize some of the important take-aways, then, genres play an important role in literacy sponsorscapes. Within the networked activity systems of language learning communities and across other activity systems in which learners participate outside of class settings, engaging with and about genres both involves and mediates literacy and social activity. Such engagement involves both encountering and performance of genres, metadiscussion around genres for greater

awareness, relationships of genres to each other, and relationships/purposes for activity (literacy and otherwise) between group members.

Assemblage Element 3: Modality

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, particularly in light of attending to semiotic repertoires, literacy practices and their sponsorship are both inherently material and ideological, and this is especially true of literacies across a range of modalities. Ong (1982) influentially introduced the idea of marking a distinction between oral and literate cultures. While his division of societies as primarily oral or literate has been read as presenting movement toward progress/civilization, Hartley (2012) has shown that his work and observations still inform more current understandings of networked intelligence and the ways that human thought is fundamentally intertwined and impacted by technologies of literacy. In fact, orality/oralcy - or oral literacies - do(es), in fact, involve sophisticated practices of meaning making and communication by alternative modalities than printed text. In the field of Communication, McLuhan (1964) had also influentially proposed that "the medium is the message" (pp. 7). When communication is indeed considered inclusively to be literacies of different medium/modality, then that medium/modality itself and its technologies (embodied or otherwise) are part of literacy sponsorship with the differential valuation of particular practices in particular mediums/modalities for particular reasons.

The observation that literacies are shaped by available technologies is important for networked and material understandings of literacy activity. The New London Group (Cazden et al., 1999) credits larger worldwide shifts toward globalization and digital information systems for driving trends toward different forms of literacy being valued as they outline their "pedagogy of multiliteracies," acknowledging five major modalities involved in literacy activity: aural, gestural, visual, spatial, and linguistic. One aspect of a dichotomous "orality" vs. "literacy" cultural division between oral/spoken and literate/written cultures that is problematic from the outset is the role and status of signed languages like ASL from Deaf communities and cultures, which may have no written form, but have recognizable associated visual-gestural literacies and practices. At the intersection of Deaf Studies and New Literacy, Czubek (2006) calls for "comprehensive definitions for understanding literacy, which includes both written and signed languages" (pp. 374). What Czubek calls comprehensive, I would also call inclusive. Czubek contrasts a comprehensive view of literacy against other approaches that propose that what orality is to a written language (literacy), signacy is to a signed language that has no real literacy. This view he also deems parochial and distractingly categorical in light of video mediums and other ways that Deaf people communicate, especially in terms of the ways that New Literacy scholars like Gee and Street have helped collapse an oral-literate dichotomy by focusing on semiotics and power relations in society more broadly.

Snoddon (2012) documents tensions between education for Deaf children because of concerns about literacy transfer across modalities; however, she points out that Cummins (2005), who developed the interdependency hypothesis on literacy transfer, specified that literacies transferred across languages are not narrowly limited to decoding written text, but includes transfer of conceptual elements, metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies, pragmatics, specific linguistic elements, and phonological awareness (p. 16-17). This is important to show how pursuing literacy in different modalities has been historically viewed as threatening and/or necessarily subtractive with oral communication privileged, but are actually beneficial for literacy transfer through greater awareness of learners. Goldin-Meadow & Brentari (2017) document changes in understanding of the relationship between sign, gesture, and speech over time to show that gesture is often ignored, but important and concurrent with both signed and spoken languages. Particularly crucial to this study, Hilger et al. (2015) documents a lack of research on second language acquisition for adult learners of ASL.

From the field of Composition, Gonzales (2015) has shown that students conceptualize their experience composing print-text, monolingual projects and multimodal, translingual projects very differently in both reported and performed ways (linear gestures to accompany descriptions of the first and more circular, fluid gestures for the second). To refine Ong's and McLuhan's earlier insights through more recent and comprehensive/inclusive views of literacy, the particular technologies, mediums, and embodied modalities of literacies continue to demonstrate consequentiality for semiotic repertoires and how students engage them.

Assemblage Contributions and Chapter Overview

The smaller stories around literacy sponsorscapes that each of the assemblages collectively provide contribute to a larger story of how semiotic repertoires offer an approach that can more inclusively account for literacy phenomena and sponsorscapes. Focusing on particular assemblages also reveals the potential of agential realism and decolonial contributions to this type of work. The introductory chapter has addressed the importance and intentionality of metaphors at various points for how we understand literacy and knowledge. In the chapters that follow, metaphors and modalities of the learning communities themselves are incorporated into this study as additional semiotic resources available to a responsive research repertoire.

To investigate transliteracy sponsorscapes, the study was located at a *convergent set of constellated locales/circumstances*, or rather several learning communities as dynamic yet somewhat stabilized environments with favorable conditions for observing the entangled transliteracy sponsorscape phenomena in focus. While transliteracy and sponsorscape issues may be observed across a wide range of sites, media, and circumstances, it was useful for this study to place oneself within a configuration where literacy development is both intentional and explicit. To avoid the cultural facade of monolingual supremacy and guarantee that variation in semiotic

resources (including at least two recognized languages) would be valued institutionally as well as individually, the study focuses on six non-English language learning classes and groups: American Sign Language, French, Southern Lushootseed, Spanish, Swahili, and Tagalog.

Chapter two addresses the holistic approach and mixed methodology used in this study, which is predominantly a multimodal ethnography. Chapter three highlights particularity and relationality of the communities in which situated literacy activities of the study take place. Chapters four, five, and six address how embodiment, genre, and modality mediate literacy in a constellated, networked manner, and how the situated nature of these activities impact learning trajectories and development of literacy practices. Specifically, chapter four provides a survey across all learning communities (which involved contributions from a team of undergraduate research participants) while chapter five focuses on the Southern Lushootseed learning community and chapter six focuses on the ASL learning community.

For now we see only a reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known. And now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love. 1 Corinthians 13:12-13

Chapter 2
Holistic Knowledge, Multimodal Ethnography, & Transcultural Sightlines

ʔuhaytx^{W} čəd
ʔuhaydx^{W} čəd
ʔəshayalbut čəd

Extending Multimodal Ethnography

In Southern Lushootseed haytx^{W} refers to intentional knowing as 'learning' while haydx^{W} refers to unintentional 'knowing' from having perceived something through existence in the world. In addition, 'hayalbut' is the knowing within oneself in which one is involved, or 'being aware/alert.' These examples show the importance of accessing the 'intellect of a language,' or ways of knowing and existing in the world that are encoded in language itself. This particular example of (un)intentionality in knowing holds important implications for the practice of ethnography, a Western-based research methodology that originated in anthropology as an essentialistic and often exoticizing activity that sought to capture discrete, essentialized cultural descriptions. While most modern approaches to ethnography have split from the essentializing impulses of the past, imbuing ethnography with attention to the *intentionality* of knowledge can help mitigate some of these vestiges. Approaching ethnography in terms of the Southern Lushootseed conception of the root *hay*, 'to know,' shows that some insights are gained through intentional searching, others through being present and interacting within a community, and still others through self-awareness and reflection.

In this vein, this methodology chapter begins with a commitment to holistic knowledge to investigate issues of literacy sponsorscapes. As Schiller (2006) shares in the *Journal of the Assembly for Expanded Perspectives on Learning*, "Holistic educators believe that activating the whole person is necessary to initiate deep and permanent learning experiences. The learner's intellect, emotions, physical body, spirit, and social being are developed together rather than independently" (71). Various aspects of this commitment are engaged more deeply in the International Handbook of Holistic Education (Miller et al., 2019); however, in simplistic terms, holistic knowledge is integrated knowledge. The commitment to holistic learning/research means treating knowledge as both deeply situational, deeply relational and phenomenological in nature.

In Deaf culture, 'maintaining sightlines' means moving the self or others in space to keep visual communication and information accessible to everyone through line-of-sight. In the same way,

this study uses a holistic approach to 'maintain sightlines' with line-of-inquiry (and constellation of these lines) that requires repositioning researchers, participants, and readers across a variety of socially situated ways to examine literacy issues. Committing to holistic knowledge means connecting different ways of knowing, or "funds of knowledge" as described in educational fields. Extending Friere's banking metaphor for education, funds of knowledge are types of knowledge within a community that are seen as valuable and usually refer to practices outside of a formal educational curriculum. However, bridging such funds of knowledge into classrooms can have powerful impacts on student learning. In this study, I also focus on the funds of knowledge (or constellated knowledge) that the researchers, participants, and others are bringing to the research sites, which co-constitute and inform observations and activities related to this project.

While scholars such as Street (2007), Smith et. al. (2020), and Cardinal (2019) show the importance of incorporating non-academic spaces and practices in literacy studies for more complete insight into lifewide literacy practices, this study relies primarily on reported data to include and represent this type of information. This is partially to not intrude on vulnerable spaces for student communities (many of which include or interface with minority communities) and also due to capacity constraints at representing a situated survey of six unique learning communities hosted by the same institutional entity - namely a large, public university on the US west coast.

Similarly, in relation to moving across contexts, Guerra (2007) has described the ability to reposition the self across social spaces as transculturation, and this concept is important to this study as both a research disposition and practice, or rather an ethos and an approach. Transculturation refers to the deployment of symbolic and material resources and literacy practices as a form of identity navigation across contexts. For research, transculturation can advance the practice and value of 'maintaining sightlines'. Shifting stance and modality as a researcher means including and inhabiting multiple perspectives and positionalities that provide more insight than a singular positionality or existential mode. I use the term existential mode here to indicate the sense of modality from rhetorical tradition as discussed by Latour and other scholars, which chapter one placed in dialogue yet contrast to (multi-)modalities from a literacy tradition. Existential (rhetorical) modalities of human-material relations will often emerge or be manifest through literacy modalities; for example, a spiritual mode and disciplinary mode may offer very different ways of experiencing and understanding the same set of circumstances, text, relations, actions, etc. Cultures may also represent a shorthand for particular/patterned configurations of semiotic resources and repertoires.

Transcultural inquiry is important to this study within a broader practice of multimodal ethnography to maintain sightlines during a holistic, situated, and relational research process. Participating communities, individuals, and myself are all engaged in a variety of heterogeneous

(un)intentional, ʔuhaytxʷ/ʔuhaydxʷ, knowing practices. Transcultural navigation to follow a line of inquiry - or rather, maintaining a sightline of inquiry - involves shifting stances within deeply enmeshed rhizomatic networks of literacy practices and their development into awareness, ʔəshayalbut, through involvement.

In the last chapter, literacy was characterized as ideological, transmodal practices of resource deployment from an inclusive range of semiotic repertoires. The research methodology used to investigate such a holistic view of literacy therefore required a responsive set of mixed methods. In responding to this study's holistic vision, I also propose and expand upon the concept of multimodal ethnography as an emerging tradition of qualitative methodology.

In a recent review article, Varvantakis & Nolas (2019) overview approaches to multimodal ethnography to show that it is an emerging and emergent field of scholarship with a commitment to "making connections between methods in fieldwork practice" often including techniques such as conversation analysis, content analysis, discourse analysis, grounded theory, interpretative phenomenological analysis, and thematic analysis with many ad hoc and novel techniques to data analysis. They also identify multimodal ethnography's essential role for identifying inherent embodiment of existence with holistic contextualization of ethnographic practice. They make the claim that "sense-making [both] in the field and after is a multi-sensory practice that is at once an intellectual and visceral process." In other words, to conduct multimodal ethnography is to take seriously the human and material condition in research. Both collecting and analyzing semiotically-inclusive data means attending to mattering and significance at all stages of research, which allows us to advance an agential realism approach to tracing literacy sponsorscapes in this study. As such, multimodal ethnography is uniquely suited to respond to questions about literacy sponsorscapes that arise from Barad's agential realism outlined in the last chapter. The material conditions of how literacy activities are taking place and how data is collected at the juncture of human-material assemblages impacts what can be studied and how. It also involves the intentionality and involvement of knowledge entailed in a 'hay' framing of ethnography.

There are several diverse ways that a multimodal approach has been applied to ethnography in the past. Following an academic geneology from Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, which treats language as a semiotic resource with meaning potential, by way of multimodal extension from Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001), and further refinement by Hurdley and Dicks (2011), Aru, Memoli, & Putilli (2017) propose that ethnographic multimodality is a "post-disciplinary research practice that seeks to hybridize different approaches, competences, and methodologies from different disciplinary and nondisciplinary (e.g. artistic) domains," which specifically fosters openness and reflexivity (pp. 152). In a preliminary call for considering affordances of multimodal ethnography, Dicks et al. (2006) state that "a key challenge for the researcher is how to understand the various semiotic resources (or *modes*) that diverse *media*

involve" (pp. 78, emphasis in the original). Dicks et al. further address the representative nature of data in visual (photo/video) or descriptive field notes (written linguistically) for research sites that already operate according to a multimodal and multimedia world, acknowledging different subjectivities and affordances of both forms of data. In a recent editorial introduction for a special edition of *Qualitative Research*, Flewitt et al. (2019) propose that "a key focus for multimodal research [in a social semiotic approach] is systematically to document and map the relationship across and between modes in texts, interactions, social practices, artefacts, and spaces" (pp. 3). For researchers just as much as the community sites of study, a range of modes and media are important.

In the current study, I use the term multimodal ethnography both in the rhetorical sense of modality as ways of existing and acting in the world as well as the sense of modality from literacy, linguistics, and anthropology as channels of communication based on media (including the interaction of a variety of senses, bodies, and materials). The previous approaches to multimodal ethnography I have reviewed only focus on the latter sense. Crucially, what this means for this study is that perspectives and practices from each of the communities and individuals within and across these communities contribute deeper insights into phenomena observed/experienced for other communities, individuals, and the whole. This means never losing sight of the fact that participants/communities are heterogeneous in their own modalities (both senses) across time and space, and the researcher(s) must also intentionally shift between modalities (both senses) as a form of stance-shifting for both attunement and diffraction with(in) communities in order to "maintain sightlines" on the issues in focus. The particularities are also sometimes more significant than the patterns across. It is important to note that this approach is not simply comparative. It involves various layers of "seeing through" and "seeing with" various modes of experiencing and navigating the world and a practice of shifting stances for different perspectives and insight. The concept of transculturation is important here as both a research disposition and practice within multimodal ethnography.

Similarly, the idea of rhetorical attunement was introduced by Lorimer Leonard (2014) to show that individuals adjust their relational communication to multiple communities, circumstances, and purposes in their everyday lives. Similarly, rhetorical listening attends to a speaker's purpose (and the role of silences), just as much as what is spoken or reported (Ratcliffe, 2005; Glenn & Ratcliffe, 2011). Ratcliffe (1999) defines rhetorical listening as "a stance of openness that a person may choose to assume in relation to any person, text, or culture." Drawing on Lunsford (1995), Ratcliffe indicates that listening is a site for interpretive invention (including recovery) and likely a necessary precursor to the process of Burke's conscious identification within the field of Rhetoric. Furthermore, Glenn & Ratcliffe (2011) identify the performance of silence and listening as equally important to traditionally emphasized rhetorical arts like reading, writing, and speaking. Most importantly for this study, they argue that "the arts of silence and listening are particularly effective for historicizing, theorizing, analyzing, and practicing the cultural

stances and power of both dominant and nondominant (subaltern) groups" (pp. 2). For this study, that means practicing a transcultural shifting of stances to keep open lines of *rhetorical* sight, or rhetorical listening as it were.

As an ethnographer, then, I adopt rhetorical listening and attunement as means of maintaining an open stance to individuals, communities, and texts in the study in order to consciously identify with these individuals, communities, and texts in their sensory meaning-making processes. In an earlier ethnographic study on religious conversion, Harding (1989) from sociology writes "We must listen too, and we must explore the consequences of listening." Rai (2016) refers to the importance of a researcher in ethnography being a "generous listener of perspectives" (pp. xi). These practices entail a researcher's willingness to be changed, persuaded, or transformed by the communities engaged in research projects. Where I am able to identify silence as salient, I will try to either simply identify its presence or suggest actions that these silences perform, rather than just recovering what they might indicate based on observations or information collected in other ways. This is part of the intentional knowing (ʔuhaytx^{w}) and awareness (ʔəshayalbut) of recognizing limits of what is known or even currently knowable based on researcher positionality and stance at particular moments, junctures, or circumstances. Blindspots may remain despite adjusting for sightlines within and across communities.

Deferring Expectations

It is customary in most methodology chapters to identify and discuss the research context in fairly standardized ways. This detailed discussion of research context is something that I will be deferring until the next chapter for a few intentional reasons. Firstly, instead of a backdrop to the study itself, the interaction and representation of different communities participating in this study is an opportunity to model the multimodal ethnographic approach I am proposing in a more holistic and relational manner. Secondly, at a recent panel on indigenous science, several scholars identified ways in which Western science and researchers talk about valuing and engaging indigenous knowledge, but typically only take what is most relevant to maintaining a perspective in Western science without recognizing and acknowledging the ways of knowing and modes of existence that have allowed for the knowledge to be legible or meaningful in the first place. The commitment to holistic knowledge means foregrounding and making legible what is typically less prominent or even included in typical Western research reports. A storied or narrative approach can at least partially mediate these impulses. Thirdly, foregrounding community situatedness in a way that resists conventionality leads to a connection to the various forms of 'hay' knowing that introduce this chapter and constellated knowledge as introduced in chapter one. It means that I am balancing the intentional knowing that comes from following a line (or constellation) of inquiry related to research questions on developing literacy practices and sponsorscapes that are motivating this study while simultaneously recognizing the awareness and the unintentional knowing that comes from existing with a particular community and

individuals with a variety of modes of existence. I am conscientiously making all of these aspects of knowing legible.

Within my broadly multimodal ethnographic approach, narrative plays a key role. I view narratives as socially situated practices that represent human consciousness that function as "an event-driven tool of research" so that both construction and reconstruction of stories are useful for highlighting complexity (Webster & Mertova 2007). Crucially, Coffey & Street (2008) have made earlier and explicit connections between narrative and ethnographic methodologies in the experience of language learning as meshed experiences, which are discursively constructed with "the learner as a social actor who derives and acts upon different identity positions that are institutionally and culturally situated but that are also dynamic and individually interpreted." They situate language learning accounts within life histories and demonstrate their importance for identity practices. This will be important as I later describe the role of surveys and interviews as self-reported practices.

Finally, the Bible verse from Corinthians that opens this chapter provides two remaining and encompassing aspects of my own lifewide trajectory in assemblaged knowledge, knowledge-making, and existence. First, it provides an acknowledgement that all individual human knowledge is and must always remain partial and incomplete. Secondly, multimodal ethnography as a process is a relational and reciprocal act of love. Love signals the open disposition of rhetorical listening and attunement as well as the involvement or diffraction of a researcher within a system. Love also includes both intentionality and consequentiality of actions within a relational system, and researchers must attend to both.

Data analysis in this project emerged from a convergent nexus/constellation (or rather series of convergent nexuses/constellations) where literacy practices could be reasonably expected to be developing and mediated by certain sponsrscape elements. The data chapters themselves address various aspects of *how* this was happening. Specific questions that recursively emerged during the process of the study as well as more specialized research methods will be presented in these individual chapter introductions.

Site Overview

The University of Washington is a large, R1 research university in Seattle, a diverse urban setting located at the Montlake Cut waterway between Lake Washington and the Puget Sound of the Pacific Northwest on the US west coast. It occupies traditional lands of the Coast Salish peoples, specifically the Duwamish, or dx^{w}duʔabš, the "people of the inside." The language learning communities in this study do not represent all of the diversity of the local region, but each provides unique insights into particular and situated responses, innovations, and conformities that contribute to implications for larger literacy patterns.

In order to investigate the effects of literacy sponsorscapes on learners' developing literacy practices across difference, six language learning communities at this institution formed the basis of this multi-sited multimodal ethnography. These included five introductory or 100-level language classes and one weekly community language table hosted by the university which later became an introductory accredited class itself. The focal learning communities that participated in this study are listed below:

- American Sign Language 101 (Linguistics Department)
- French 103 (French & Italian Studies Department)
- Spanish 102 (Spanish & Portuguese Studies Department)
- Swahili 101 (American Ethnic Studies Department)
- Tagalog 101 (American Ethnic Studies Department)
- Southern Lushootseed Language Table (American Indian Studies Department)

The language classes which functioned as a unifying structure organizing the learning communities in this study took place for 50-minutes, five days a week, except for the Southern Lushootseed language table, which met once a week for 90-minutes. In the year after the main data collection, Southern Lushootseed became an accredited course through the university (American Indian Studies 313) that met twice a week for 2 hours each session. As lead research coordinator for this study, I sent emails to ALL departments at the university that host language courses at the university during the summer of 2017 to contact willing/interested instructors for the Autumn 2017 quarter. The communities that are included in this study are the only ones who responded. Southern Lushootseed was added to the study later after my participation began showing examples of themes that were emerging in other language learning communities

The fact that all of the participants in this project are studying at a large, public university in the US means that they have a high level of proficiency in English according to high-stakes standardized testing although they may or may not consider English to be their primary/dominant language. Learners' enrollment and participation in these classes inherently involved navigation of a wide range of semiotic repertoires.. It also guaranteed at least minimal knowledge and/or contact across more than one language or language variety. In actuality, learners' experiences often included several background languages or language varieties. The university's admission requirements include two years of foreign language in high school. Depending on undergraduate majors, some colleges within the university require additional language study, which would require a 2.0 in the third quarter of the language series to fulfill. Language classes can also count towards required Visual, Literary, and Performing Arts (VLPA) credits for graduation.

To provide some institutional demographics, the university's Office of Minority & Diversity Affairs identifies the undergraduate population as 38.6% Caucasian, 22.3% Asian, 15.2% International, 8.4% Latino, 6.1% Southeast Asian, 4.1% African American, 1.8% Filipino, 1.2%

American Indian/Alaska Native, 1.2% Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and 1.1% not indicated. Except for Caucasian, Asian, and international students, all of these groups are considered by OMA&D to be Underrepresented Minorities (URM). This is notable for the Filipino and Southeast Asian groups, which do not have this federally recognized status that the other groups are granted. The university's International Student Services also reports that the vast majority of the 4,857 undergraduate international students are from China with at least three times as many students as the next highest country, which is India, followed by Taiwan, South Korea, and Indonesia. It is important to add a qualifying note here that census categories and reporting often do not best reflect their participants' identities and experiences, rather revealing the values of the sponsoring institutions. These statistics are provided primarily to establish a general context as quantified by the university.

Data Overview

Various data collection methods were used for this study throughout the 2017-2018 academic year (and 2018-2019 for Southern Lushootseed). The table below represents an overview of the major types of data included and the general timeline of data collection. A discussion of each type of data andits role within the study is integrated in the following three chapters.

Table 1

Overview of Data by Type and Timeline

Type of Data	**Timeline**
Language Background Surveys	Beginning of Autumn 2017
Classroom Observations	Weekly Autumn 2017
Research Team Focus Groups	Autumn 2017 - Spring 2018
Individual Student Interviews	Winter 2018 - Spring 2018
Instructor Interviews	Spring 2018
Class Texts/Materials	Throughout
Student Writing/Assignments	Throughout

For each of the learning communities in this study, I visited the class to introduce the study, invite participants, and distribute language background surveys. The purpose of the survey was to identify overall trends and diversity within and across each language community. It would also provide insight into self-reported language, identity, and literacy trajectories and

investments. The surveys themselves incorporated visual and spatial elements as well as written linguistic elements to communicate meaning that could more inclusively account for embodied practices in a wide range of modalities. Questions related to list order prioritization, language portrait body association mapping, and central/periphery relationships were developed from Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and Coffey (2015)'s work on metaphors and analogy to identify conceptual values. A major motivation behind this survey, then, was for students to represent not only "factual" or "descriptive" biographical information, but their perceptions and conceptualizations of this information as well. A copy of this survey is included as an appendix.

While the study recruitment information followed IRB protocols, it is important to note that the framing of the study within these communities adapted according to the instructor, class structure, and even my own language familiarity/proficiency. I greeted each class in the language they were studying before describing the study primarily in English. I provided more context about myself and the study in Spanish and ASL before the English description because of my background experience in these two languages and a heightened awareness about what kind of language the students were most likely familiar with. My visit to the ASL class coincided with a day that interpreters were present for planned class activities so that I could switch between the two languages. The Tagalog instructor introduced me as someone who could increase awareness about the language class, which could help the classes continue in the future. As a result, there was a much higher response rate in this particular class than all the other learning communities, except Spanish, where the teacher insisted on providing time during class for students to participate, rather than asking them to take the surveys home to be completed and collected during the next class session.

The timeline for the Southern Lushootseed invitation/recruitment was different because of the structure of the once weekly community language table, rather than an official class offered for credit that would meet several times a week. Recruitment of Southern Lushootseed participants took place at the end of the Autumn Quarter and beginning of Winter Quarter. This was also partially due to the importance of relationships within the community, rather than entering it at the beginning as an outside researcher, which has been experienced in many tribal communities in the past in ways that were inappropriate, harmful and/or disrespectful. I started my participation in this community as a learner, rather than researcher, and asked the instructors about inviting student participants from Southern Lushootseed after I noticed some interesting trends in student literacy activity in this community and set of circumstances.

Because learning spaces, identities, and recognition of literacy skills are co-constructed and navigated, class observations were important for exploring these relational interactions and the extent to which experiences in other spaces were referenced or included. Crucially, the practices in other spaces absolutely impact the literacy, identity, and language practices within these classes, but documenting and tracing practices in these other spaces lies outside the scope of the

current study. This decision was partially due to capacity constraints of working with six language learning communities and partially because the multimodal nature of taking video and audio devices into home and other community environments requires a much higher level of sensitivity and protection for participants. I purposely did not ask for citizenship status or similar factors that have an impact on the central issues in this study, but which could reveal vulnerabilities or create barriers to participation. One consideration - rather than limitation - for the study, then, is that it therefore relies on self-reported perceptions of practices in other spaces, rather than direct observation. It is important to note that the classroom is not the only or even primary learning space for many of the participants. For examples of literacy studies that do successfully include participatory multimodal insights and in-the-moment literacy activity, see work from Cardinal (2019) and Gonazlez (2018).

Participant Overview

Ethnography involves knowing deeply while also recognizing the limitations of partial knowledge based on remaining difference. The learning communities themselves are heterogenous groups and spaces. While the language classes are being described as communities, it is important to acknowledge the reality of contact that is present at all times in these spaces based on the difference of background experiences and lived realities of each "member" of these communities. These differences contribute to the construction of such conglomerations that are imagined to be communities based on the shared experiences of the class itself.

Because of the distributed nature of sponsorscapes, it was important to identify ways in which instructors were sponsoring and being sponsored, their institutional and relational positionalities according to their lifewide trajectories. Instructor interviews were conducted when available for greater insight into instructor trajectories and investments and how this might be impacting the learning communities they were helping to construct. Only three of the instructors were available for such interviews, but their insights were useful for mapping language, literacy, and identity-related activities and practices in their corresponding learning communities.

The table below represents an overview of the instructors for participating learning communities. The instructor column represents how the instructors represented themselves to their students, many by first name. However, the Swahili and Tagalog instructors include their titles within the language of instruction, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. Notice also that tribal membership is listed for national origin for two of the instructors in recognition of tribal sovereignty and affiliation.

Notice that both the Spanish and French classes are grouped together by geographic regions with other Romance languages. Other departments at this institution such as Asian Languages & Literatures, Slavic Languages and Literature, Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, and

Slavic Studies also follow this geographic distribution pattern for offering language classes, but they will not be further represented in depth for this particular study. American Sign Language is specifically offered through the linguistics department since it is not geographically foreign, but uniquely 'American.' Swahili and Tagalog are also considered to be American Ethnic languages, rather than geographically grouped with Africa or Asia.

Table 2

Overview of Instructors and Learning Communities

Instructor	**Language**	**Department**	**Status**	**National Origin**
Kristi	American Sign Language (ASL)	Linguistics	Lecturer	US
Lise	French (FRE)	French & Italian Studies	Predoctoral Instructor	France
Ramón	Spanish (SPA)	Spanish & Portuguese Studies	Predoctoral Instructor	Mexico
Nancy	Southern Lushootseed (SLU)	American Indian Studies	Other	Lummi (US)
Tami	Southern Lushootseed (SLU)	American Indian Studies	Other	Puyallup (US)
Mwalimu	Swahili (SWA)	American Ethnic Studies	Lecturer	Kenya
Kuya Richard	Tagalog (TAG)	American Ethnic Studies	Lecturer	The Philippines

Within these learning communities, the following table shows the rate of student participation by class.

Table 3

Overview of Participation Across Communities

	Surveys Returned	Individual Interviews	Registered /Enrollment	Sections Offered	# Instructors for this course
ASL 101	32% (8)	3: ASL04, ASL06, ASL08	25/25	4	3
FRE 103	46% (11)	2: FRE04, FRE11	24/24	3	3
SLU	(4)	3: SLU01, SLU02, SLU04	variable	1	2
SPA 102	92% (12)	2: SPA05, SPA12	13/24	3	3
SWA 101	18% (7)	0	20/20	2	1
TAG 101	62% (16)	3: TAG01, TAG08, TAG15	26/25	2	1

In general, the Spanish class had the highest percentage of survey participation while Swahili had the lowest. The two sections of Swahili were taught back-to-back by the same instructor, so the classroom learning community was more porous across the two sections of the same class than the starker separations for sections in other languages/departments. Swahili students were allowed to attend the earlier or later class section depending on their shifting scheduling constraints, so a total of 40 students across these two sections of Swahili were invited to participate, which is why the percentage is so low despite a comparable number of total responses to a single section of a class like ASL. (For this reason, classroom observations for Swahili were distributed across both sections as well.) While the physical classroom communities of the two sections of Tagalog were separated, there was evidence of digital communication and friendships outside of these classroom separations; for example, two students in the later Tagalog section were overheard discussing adjustments to an online quiz activity before class based on some information texted to them from a student in the earlier class section.

Notably, all the Swahili and Tagalog classes each have just one instructor - Mwalimu and Kuya Richard respectively - across all sections of classes and at all levels. This means students experienced a consistent, cohesive teaching style and relationship across multiple quarters in their course of language study. This stands in sharp contrast to the Spanish and French language

sections, which typically rely on Academic Student Employee labor to teach one language course per quarter with many more sections of each class at every level being offered each quarter. Ramón's section of Spanish has a lower enrollment than the department average - approximately half the available enrollment spaces - potentially due to the perceived difficulty of his teaching style and high expectations, which was an observation identified by both himself and his students during individual interviews. Therefore, while the Spanish surveys may be more representative of the class itself, the class is not necessarily representative within the Spanish Department more broadly.

The three ASL instructors for the Linguistics department are all employed full-time or part-time specifically for language teaching. Kristi, the instructor of the focal class in this study, was teaching two sections of ASL 101 and one section of ASL 301 at the time. Each of these instructors are also Deaf - note the capital 'D' indicating Deaf cultural affiliation, not just deafness as a medical status . When one of the 200-level instructors had a long-term absence due to health reasons, other local Deaf ASL instructors were prioritized as substitute teachers over hearing signers.

The Southern Lushootseed language table participants changed each week with new participants joining or missing sessions as their schedules or other commitments changed although there was a consistent core group of about 10 people each week. The two instructors were members of local tribes and involved in tribal language work, who would commute to campus for these language sessions at the university. Language table participants included both indigenous and nonindigenous people as well as people both with and without university affiliation.

Students in each of these learning communities were able to contribute auto-ethnographic insight into that classroom community experience. Students may or may not be self-identified or practicing members of related language communities outside of these classes. However, they all have a contact relationship with the language and/or people/communities who use the language and were part of a learning community by virtue of participation in the class. It was therefore important to include insights from students/learners of these classroom communities.

To this purpose, I coordinated a team of participant researcher students, which held semi-regular focus group meetings to focus on specific aspects of their learning practices, experiences, and communities. This allowed for more constellated knowledge collectively, intentionality/awareness of learning, and more/better sightlines for the study as a whole. We met every week at the beginning of the first quarter and then every few weeks for reflection and data analysis over the three quarters of 2017-2018. As the research coordinator, I observed each class once a week for Autumn quarter. Participant researcher team members could observe and reflect on their experience across a greater number of class sessions and activities. Each member had deeper insight about their own learning contexts while I was able to gain and facilitate insight

across learning contexts by observing multiple classes. Some research team members shadowed or participated in other stages of the project like recruitment based on their interest and/or desire for more research experience. Not every research team member was able to attend every focus group meeting. We established a culture of stepping up and stepping back as the research team members' schedules and other commitments allowed. Since most of the participant researchers were upper-level undergraduates focused on their impending graduation and plans for future work and/or graduate school, most of the collaborative experience and analysis is presented in chapters three and four. The research team approach allowed for more transculturation through our various positionings and ways that we could conceptualize the research study holistically based on more individually situated experiences and insights.

Uniquely, the research team co-coordinator, Brytnii, was actually not a current member of the focal Tagalog class. She was a 200-level language student who joined the research team upon the recommendation of the Tagalog instructor for her interest in research experience and potential future graduate studies in language education. She had a unique role in contextualizing the experience of the Tagalog sequence and program over time and was more involved in data analysis and group facilitation than the other members of the team.

One important trend to notice in the table below is that all of the members of the research team were familiar with at least one language other than English and the one they were currently learning, so they already had some experience navigating across difference in language and/or culture through diverse semiotic repertoires prior to the beginning of the study. The purpose of listing background languages or varieties is not to identify these languages as discrete units in themselves, but to highlight the ability to recognize and participate in diverse forms of communication. The language labels simply serve as a shorthand way of referencing a constellation of heterogeneous yet often sedimented semiotic resources often perceived to be stable and relatively homogenous.

Table 4

Overview of Research Team Participants

Participant	**Community**	**Language Background**
Holly Shelton, coordinator	SLU	English, German, Spanish, ASL, Turkish, Russian
Brytnii Cariaso, co-coordinator	TAG*	English, ASL, Tagalog, Hawaiian
Jacob Hubsch	SPA	English, Spanish, Chinese

Sophia Cedeño	FRE	English, Spanish, French
Sofia Morrison	TAG	English, Spanish, Tagalog
Emma Spurlock	SWA	Swahili, ASL, French, (English)
Mike Jadick	FRE	English, Spanish, French
Byron Dondoyano	ASL	English, Chinese (Mandarin), Spanish, ASL
Zakkir Abdu Rahman	FRE	Malay, English, French

For some participants, the background languages listed in the table above simply meant fulfilling a high school requirement. For others, everyday flexible communication involved an inherent mixing of many languages like the concept of *rojak* - or 'fruit salad' - language practices in Malaysia. Some team members used their background languages for interacting with family members or coworkers. Jacob and Byron learned Chinese specifically through teaching/living experiences in China. Dancing background was another rich semiotic resource experience that connected several members of the research team: Bryttnii with Hawaiian for hula, Sofia with Tagalog for Philippine folk dancing styles, Zakk with French for western-based dance styles like ballet, and Holly with Spanish for cueca and Turkish for halay as folk/social dances. In addition, two of the research team members were learning or had learned one of their languages specifically because of motivation/challenges of dyslexia. While (dis)ability indeed played an important role across many participants' experiences, an in-depth analysis of these particular issues lies beyond the scope of the current study.

Data Analysis Tools and Procedures

The goals of this research project are best achieved through a variety of qualitative approaches and methodologies, which are broadly included in the overarching multimodal ethnographic framework. As stated earlier, previous researchers have identified the necessarily ad hoc nature of most multimodal ethnographies responding to situational inquiry. This study is no different in that it required a variety of mixed methods in order to keep the variety of literacy practices across modalities in view, documenting these in a systematically responsible manner, and constructing these observations into a cohesive research narrative.

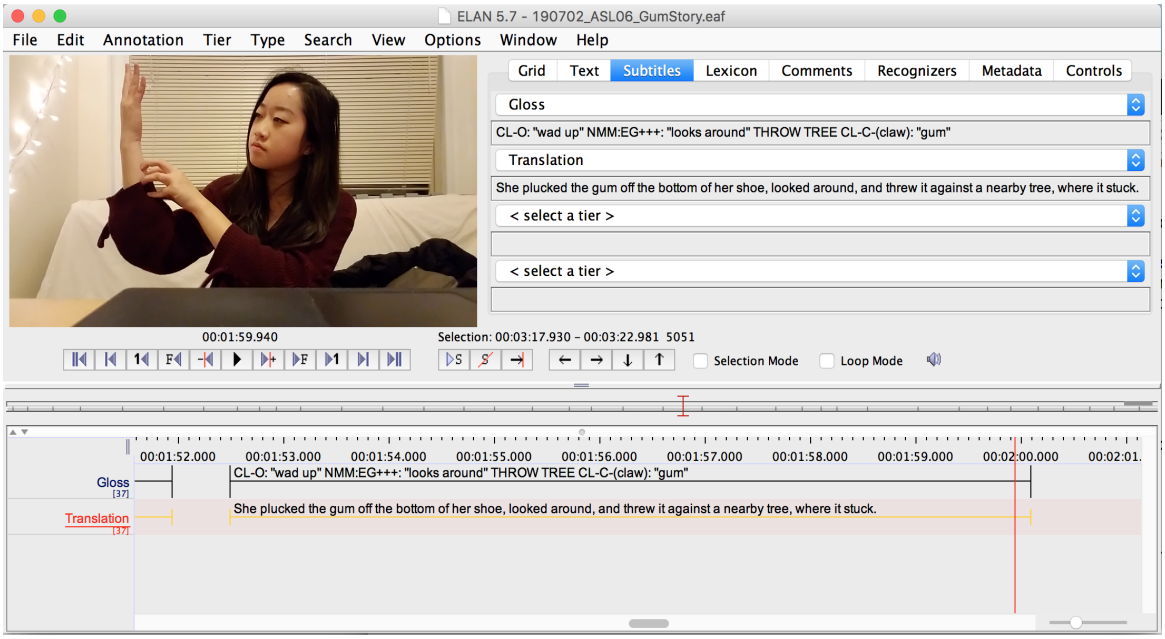
Because of the study's inclusive focus on the transmodality of literacy practices and a full range of semiotic repertoires, photo documentation of spaces/objects and video recordings of interactions were preferred whenever/wherever possible. Videos were used to record interviews and most of the classroom observations. However, for individual interviews, participants could indicate consent for video, audio, or non-recorded data. For a visual/spatial language like ASL,

video recording was absolutely essential for accessing meaning. For Southern Lushootseed, on the other hand, no video or audio recording was allowed during learning sessions as an instructor policy. For Southern Lushootseed sessions then, only written notes were used. During one of the individual interviews with a language table participant who had granted voice recording permission, one elder explained her decision against video recording. She said that many indigenous ancestors viewed taking images as capturing the soul in some way, and this is why many historical images that do exist show profile perspectives, not direct eye contact. In recognizing this tradition, she prefered voice recording only for the study. Therefore, issues of data accessibility and cultural appropriateness sometimes posed conflicting values to systematic data collection methodology in the overall study, but we remained flexible and inclusive to respond to the situated appropriateness of the research contexts and process.

For video data, ELAN was used for its multi-tiered transcription capabilities so that various modes and translations could be tracked separately for analytic purposes. This provided better opportunities for considering the role of spatial, gestural, aural, and visual communication modes within each community's learning space. It was also absolutely necessary for transcribing ASL interviews and assignments since it allowed for the visual and spatial elements of the linguistic data itself, a gloss of the signed communication, and an English free translation to be accessible simultaneously. In fact, as a tool for annotating multi-media, multimodal resources, ELAN was specifically designed with three different groups of users and purposes in mind: linguistics research, documentation of endangered languages, and gesture and sign language research (Brugman & Russel). This study incorporates at least two out of the three of these purposes, so many of the features were uniquely tailored to the needs of this study. An index of specific transcription conventions is included as an appendix.

Figure 1

ELAN Screenshot



Note. This screenshot represents an ASL video story assignment and demonstrates the tiers of annotation used to track layers of transcription synchronized by time.

In addition, visual rhetoric and other inclusive forms of multimodal analysis were a necessary part of the data analysis process for engaging class texts and student coursework, especially for analyzing visual data such as pictures in addition to and in relation to printed text. Previous researchers have shown the ideological aspects of language course materials like text books. Prendergast (2008) simply provides illustrative excerpts from English Language texts in Slovakia over time that connect to concepts of her overall research narrative across economic restructuring during Soviet and post-Soviet periods, but she does not show the analysis process of the texts themselves on an individual basis. On the other hand, Chappelle (2016) provides a relatively quantitative approach to identifying instances and nature of cultural representation in both content and visuals, which still includes some qualitative analysis in French Language books in Canada and the US over time. She also deals with aspects of cultural narratives available and in circulation outside of textbooks that manifest within the text. I address both content and ideology in textbooks, other class materials, and learning spaces, but the multimodal approach required flexible analytical and representational methodologies, which will be specified in later data chapters.

Because this study relies on self-reported activities in other spaces beyond the classroom, I use narrative analysis to engage with the stories that participants are telling about themselves and

their language, literacy, and identity practices across time and space to identify what is saliently meaningful to them and how that significance is being constructed. I treat the individual interviews as co-constructed narratives that include and respond to the research team's role in this practice. This, in turn, requires tools and practices from conversation analysis. One example of such a confluence is Bryttnii's participation in two of the interviews for the Tagalog class. As a member of Filipine American Students Association (FASA), a registered student organization at the university, and second year student of the language, the interview participants during these interactions referenced values related to experiences they were assumed to share. These values can be identified during the conversation.

At other times, different members of the research team had different perspectives on the interactional data based on what kind of story was being co-constructed and recognized (or misrecognized) during the interview relationship, even if the researcher did not share the same learning community or background experiences as the interview participant. For example, during an interview with a French student originally from China, Jake noticed some potential directions in the conversation I/Holly did not follow-up on that may have been significant for the participant because I had already started to form expectations about the significance of the narrative that was being constructed. In another interview with an ASL participant, Jake was able to ask some useful follow-up questions as a non-signer that encouraged the participant to explain her signing processes and examples much more explicitly than she had been doing for me/Holly since she knew I could sign. Bryttni participated in many of the interviews with Tagalog participants and helped set a relational context. Multiple perspectives and research team members with a variety of positionalities were therefore extremely valuable for deeper insight during this process of fostering and recognizing co-constructed narratives during interviews.

The research team used grounded theory to conduct coding of data according to emergent categories, rather than pre-established codes. In some cases, disciplinary knowledge or institutional terms had an impact on what was visible or identifiable to members of the research team. For example, the Spanish Department makes a distinction between heritage language learner classes and non-heritage language learner classes. Even though our study focused on a non-heritage language Spanish class, this term and concept was something that the research team recognized as salient to many members of the Tagalog and Southern Lushootseed communities based on observations, the language background survey, and member checking. Discussing "Heritage Language" issues therefore became a useful shorthand for identifying shared or recognized semiotic resources based on cultural or ancestral background. Similarly, references to specific types of communication situations like story-telling conventions and practices called to mind or activated disciplinary genre knowledge.

Member checking with learners and instructors during interviews and other interactions was important to give research participants the opportunity to read the research analysis and findings

to invite their response, increasing the transparency and inclusion of participants' voices in the research process itself along with greater validity to the account given. These responses are synthesized and represented in the final version of the study.

A Return to an Expanded Sense of Multimodal Ethnography

As I indicated in the last chapter during the literature review, each of these languages in themselves do not exist as an external system divorced from the experiences and practices of users. Communities themselves are also heterogeneous conglomerations of many human-material assemblages, but they often share some form(s) of similar or unifying values, identities, and other sense-making practices in a more collective arrangement or patterned use of semiotic resources based on similar experiences, purposes, impulses, or commitments. Often these practices, conventions, and influencing elements are distributed.

These caveats taken into consideration, each of the learning communities in this study represent different and non-essentialistic ways of existing and acting in the world as well as a diversity of communication channels and media involved in the literacy practices of their member/participants with important intellectual insight and value. They contribute to the concept of literacy sponsorscapes through both impulses toward conventionality (fixity) and innovation (fluidity) in literacy sponsorscapes, the particular and the patterned across heterogeneous communities. The learning communities as ethnographic sites can be seen as dynamic nexus points or constellations with particular sets of sponsorscape circumstances. Multimodal ethnography can help account for a full range of semiotic resources and repertoires under sponsorship and development.

Multimodal ethnography in the dual sense I've proposed in this chapter (rhetorical existence and medium of communication), helps account for the following elements:

- Communities are not monolithic and essentialistic – diversity both within and across communities must be assumed across time and space
- Considering community intellect on its own terms, not as a deficit or even comparative, means multiple perspectives, approaches and measures have unique contributions to a research inquiry
- Maintaining clear perspective as a researcher means maintaining an open stance and continually repositioning oneself and others in order to orient towards the issues at the heart of a research inquiry
- Conducting interpretive inquiry must not only account for researchers' own sensory practice and metaphors, but provide ways of reconsidering and reflexively reshaping them based on community practice and systems of metaphors

These are characteristics of multimodal ethnography that I enact for my research methodology in this study. Specifically, I will be practicing multimodal ethnography according to various forms of *hay* knowing and using transcultural repositioning to "maintain sightlines" and rhetorically listen to literacy issues.

Upon this first, and in one sense this sole, rule of reason, that in order to learn you must desire to learn, and in so desiring not be satisfied with what you already incline to think, there follows one corollary which itself deserves to be inscribed upon every wall of the city of philosophy: Do not block the way of inquiry.

-Charles Saunders Pierce, The First Rule of Reason

Chapter 3
Attunement and Diffraction across Networks and Constellations

"'Nakasasayaw ako.' I have the ability to dance." (Ramos 59)

Context and Complexity

I have previously written about the concepts of attunement and diffraction, which are both important for this study. As a quick reminder, attunement involves a stance of openness and adjustment to a particular set of relationships/circumstances while diffraction involves the observations from inside a system where the observer's presence exhibits consequentiality and must also remain in focus. The differential ways these concepts take on new forms of meaning and mattering are important within each of the communities for both myself as research coordinator and the other participants in various roles. This chapter foregrounds some of these processes.

The other purpose of this chapter is to provide transparency into the practice of maintaining sightlines within transcultural research and multimodal ethnography specifically. It further contextualizes the complexity of the various research communities and hints at collective community narratives that exist within and across an institutional context. The narrative approach at representing this information requires some extra labor on the part of my readers to read slower and deeper for a more holistic engagement with the learning communities and the transcultural process of the research team. During initial member checking, one of the Southern Lushootseed instructors indicated that I "listen deep." This chapter, then, is an invitation to engage with the learning communities beyond the metaphorical still waters.

Seeing with and through different modalities (both senses) that each of these learning communities makes possible provides insight that is not available from one stance alone. I opened this chapter with a phrase from the Tagalog class's source text with an example sentence about dancing. In transcultural research practice, shifting modalities means sometimes taking fixed stances within the fluidity of the continuously shifting dance as a holistic activity overall. This process affords unique insights afforded into specific topics, which the next three data chapters will explore.

A uniform or standardized form of representation of each of the participating research communities is more than just insufficient, but inappropriate. The research process and community engagement itself was necessarily relational, and the communicated reporting of findings must reflect this process. In addition, equity frameworks often point to the insufficiency of equality frameworks at viewing the effects of past and current oppression, and language ideology and use are often connected to inequitable distributions of symbolic, material, and embodied power. An equity framework as adopted in this study means that each community must be considered on its own terms uniquely, rather than flattened into a standardized treatment or representation. The quote from the beginning of this chapter is from a philosophical pragmatist. In order to learn, or want to learn, a researcher must follow inquiry beyond what is currently comfortable or known. This means resisting the standardizing impulse of dragging the community's representation onto the researcher's disciplinary terms.

Therefore, the tone will noticeably shift in the following subsections as I describe the context for each of the language learning communities. This functions as an enacted practice of stance shifting according to rhetorical modalities of existence that are appropriate to each community. I also include variety by way of literacy modes in each section with media excerpts that have relevance to the ways that semiotic resources relevant to each of these communities are present in a larger sponsorscape. Again, this chapter is not meant to take a comparative approach, but represent the ability to listen deeply and attune to community values based on some form of shared experiences and desires, which impacts my own modalities (dual sense) and practices as a researcher and the readers' access and orientation to particular insights.

Since the research team was comprised of all current or former members of the various language learning communities included in the study, they brought many other diverse assemblages of semiotic resources from their backgrounds to the project. These various areas of proficiency and expertise are heterogenous in nature and allow the participant researchers to contribute unique insights to various situations in a variety of ways. The research team's ability to navigate and reflect across various available rhetorical and literacy modes meant that they were able to notice when other participants were using such practices as well. There was less impulse to apply a restrictive definition to literacy or adopt an overly narrow scope on what counts as significant literacy practices when the research team was actively engaging and valuing more holistic practices.

For example, one member of the research team used the sign for FEAR in ASL when searching for the right word in English about the inner state of the Tagalog instructor reacting to a disruption in classroom technology. In addition, the way we were able to notice and think about the way that students and instructors take up space and use gestures in communication for a French class as influenced by our backgrounds with dancing in various cultural traditions. During a session to analyze observation data, we took up shared terminology in the moment like

‘stage right’ and ‘stage left’ to refer to classroom space and then reflected on what this meant for taking the perspective of teachers vs. students when considering classroom observations and how this relates to education as ‘performance.’ These background experiences and practices are resources that contribute greater insight that would not be possible by a single, uniform, or rigidly standardized methodology.

The sections that follow provide an overview of the learning communities involved in this study. Individual stories and observations create patterns for collective stories, which provide a crucial contextual background. Establishing this background means that particular examples can take greater significance for the reader to understand the insights in the following chapters. In many ways, Tagalog responds to the experiences of a fluid diaspora, Southern Lushootseed of disruption and resilience/continuity, ASL of access and accountability, Swahili of differential purposes and silences, and Spanish/French of requirements and desire. All of the communities respond differentially to enacted or assumed mobility within a situated space and time, and each of these understandings are simultaneously layered into participants’ navigation of these spaces, time, and their semiotic repertoires and literacy sponsorscapes within and across spatio-temporal, human-material assemblages.

Co-Construction and Relational Positionalities

No matter if a researcher introduces herself as a researcher or not, she will be “‘interpreted”’ by the members of a given community and positioned in ways that make sense to them according to their past experiences and expectations of who that researcher is during their interactions (Agar, 2008). I had unique insider/outsider perspective and as my researcher role was taken up in different ways by various learning communities. The instructors for the Spanish and French classes in this study were fellow graduate students and classmates in graduate-level courses. The French instructor would discuss graduate student union issues and dissertation progress outside of class hours, and the Spanish instructor occasionally shared coffee with me, discussed publication projects/feedback, and communicated bilingually during emails and face-to-face conversation. We would always use the informal ‘tu’ pronoun when addressing each other in Spanish and talked about other places we have traveled or lived.

The ASL instructor was a former teacher of mine with an established relationship over several years, and we only interacted in ASL face-to-face and in English by email unless we had arranged for an interpreter during office hour meetings. Since I left her class, we also discussed teaching methods, research, conferences, or travel more as colleagues when we met on campus. She still sometimes corrected my signs during conversation, and we share an interest in dogs. One of the Southern Lushootseed instructors identified some of my facial expressions and mannerisms at learning the language as “‘just like my daughter”’ and referred to me as an “‘unofficial assistant for the class”’ to some newer students. Both instructors were also

simultaneously involved in a language teacher mentorship program for certifying K-12 language teachers in the Muckleshoot tribe and often shared teaching and curriculum tips and insights.

I started using the title 'Kuya' for the Tagalog instructor that his students used and later discovered that I had been referring to him as my brother, which he had also started using to sign his emails. This signaled my – albeit unwitting – participation in broader values and metaphors of family in circulation for the local Filipino community. The Swahili instructor explicitly provided the title 'Mwalimu' for herself that would be appropriate for me to call her as a teacher. In addition, she often provided spiritual advice on integrating and engaging faith issues in academic issues and settings when our bus commuting schedules overlapped since we shared the same 372 route heading north from campus.

Disciplinarily speaking, my demographic descriptors include white, middle-class, cis-female scholar. Beyond this disciplinary mode of identity reference practices, in a researcher role in this study, I function beyond any of these essentializing category references in relation to the research team and learning communities. I am also a "'follower of Jesus,'" a label I began intentionally using while living in two Muslim-majority countries because community members and I were better able to identify with each other and communicate about issues of spirituality than if I used a cultural/disciplinary identity label of "'Christian.'" Several of the learning communities engaged or overlapped spiritual modalities in a variety of meaningful ways despite the secular commitment of a public educational institution, so these insights too were significant.

There were various forms of reciprocity where it was appropriate for me to contribute to the learning communities or individuals in some way, but each of these were deeply situated and responsive to my role within those communities. While these interactions are not immediately the focus of the study, they play a role in the kinds of observations and interactions I was able to have with each of the learning communities based on our co-constructed positionality exchanges. These issues of positionality need to be made transparent, especially since they include issues of moving across space and sociolinguistic conventions/practices as well as the identities being offered, taken up, or co-constructed.

The 'Manokjoy' Effect: Migration and Hybridity

Bryttni's father and maternal grandmother share a regional language of the Phillipines. However, Bryttni's grandmother never taught Bryttni's mother the language because she never expected that her daughter would meet and marry someone outside of English, which illustrates both the imaginaries of an immigrant family as well as wider migration patterns. Several students during interviews identified Filipino family backgrounds in Hawaii before coming to the US mainland in Washington to attend the university although some were born and raised in Washington State.

For the Filipino community across the Puget Sound region, there is a reported/observed income disparity among participants with larger, lower-income families based south of Seattle and smaller, more affluent families based to the north of Seattle. These disparate experiences within local Filipino families reach a confluence at the university in both Tagalog classes and other communities organized around student groups like the Filipino Students Association. B identifies how this can cause frictions, but that everyone has to find ways to get along within a broader local Filipino community, especially people who are from "elsewhere" like herself from Hawaii. She described the situation of two Filipino students who started dating – one from the South and one from the North – as an "Aladin story," in reference to the socio-economic disparity of the couple's backgrounds and the character Aladin's humble roots in relation to Princess Jasmine's royal position. She said such situations are rare, but notable.

A few representative screenshots of local/regional Filipino community organizations are included below. Notice the use of community images over individual shots, frequent references to the importance of family, the presence of Tagalog phrases in ways that are contextually relevant without requiring the reader to have an in-depth knowledge of the language, and integration of social media like Facebook and applications like google maps to organize community information-sharing and events.

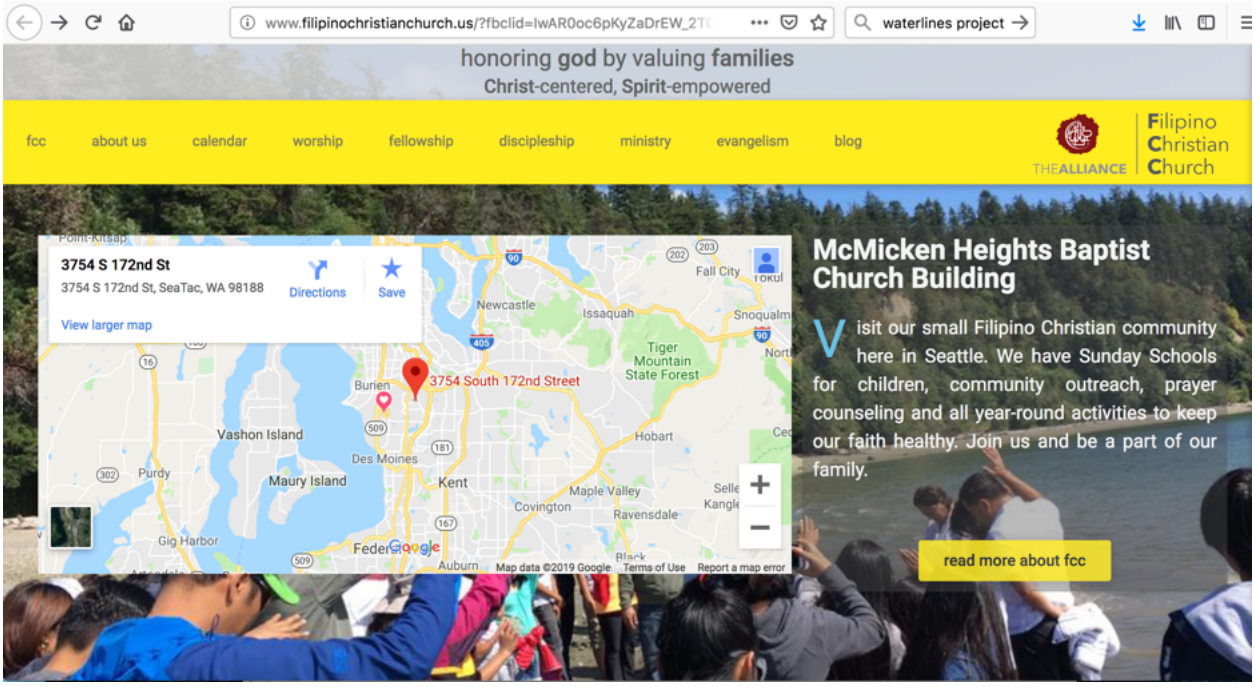
Figure 2

Screenshot of FACSPS Homepage

Note. The homepage for the Filipino-American Community of South Puget Sound welcomes readers in Tagalog with 'Mabuhay' and contextual English with more in-depth description provided below the greeting.

Figure 3

Screenshot of FCC Website

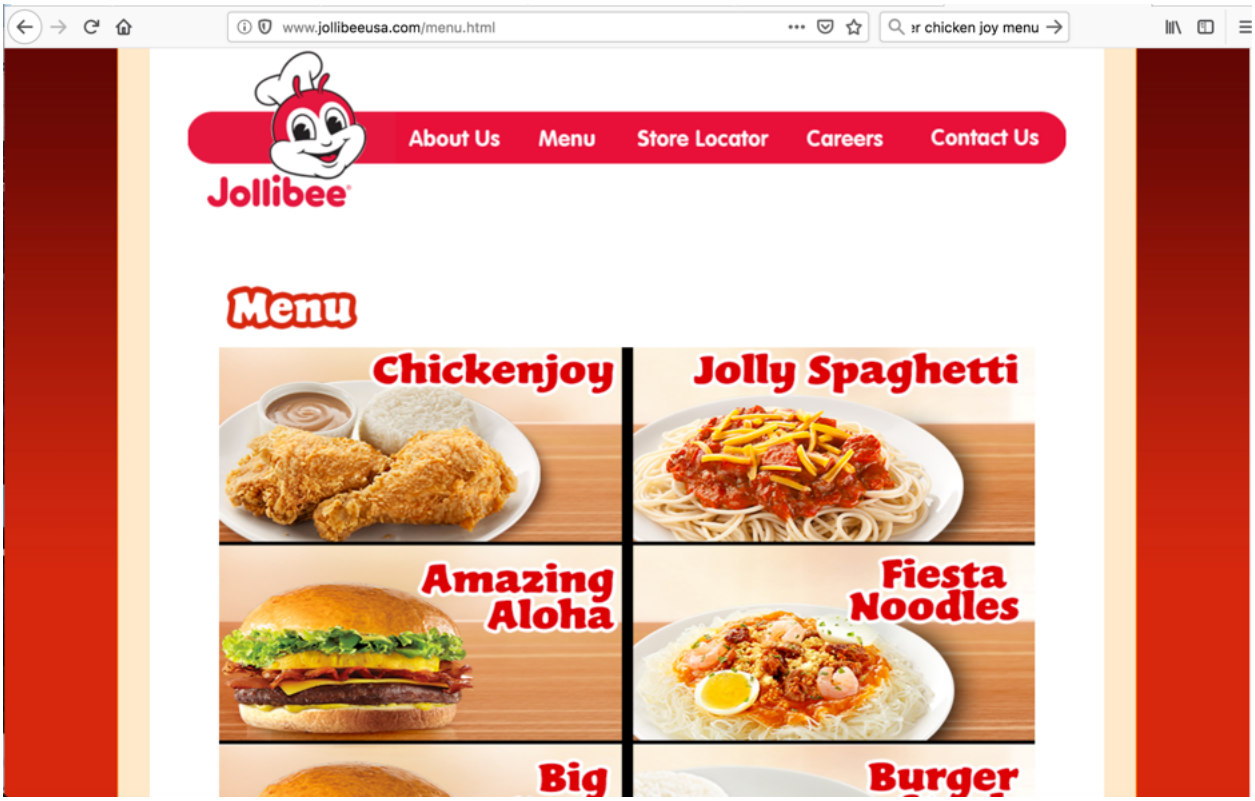


Note. The Filipino Christian Church in SeaTac references the church as a singular family in 'be a part of our family' as well as a place 'honoring god by valuing families' plural.

A few of the shared community references among students of Tagalog include recognizable phrases such as *jesus maria cristo* from Filipino church backgrounds and experiences with family. This phrase was often invoked and incorporated during video and skit projects for class where characters were responding to stressful situations, and it was often met with laughter from their audience of fellow classmates. Another common reference is the Jollibee restaurant in the Southcenter Mall in Tukwila, South of Seattle, which features food described online as "Filipino cuisine," which highlights the cultural hybridity and transculturation of Filipino mobility and experience in the US considering the dishes served. Notably, one fried chicken meal is called "Chickenjoy" and one of the featured burgers goes by the name of "Amazing Aloha," which once again points to migrations of people between the Philipines, Hawaii, and the mainland US. An image of the online menu is included below for reference.

Figure 4

Screenshot of Jolibee Restaurant Online Menu



Note. The Jollibee menu includes images with their online menu. Items like Fiesta Noodles include fusion meals.

In the "About Us" section of this website, Jollibee USA claims to be "spreading *langhap sarap* goodness across the USA," "catering to the Filipino and Filipino-American families," and "endear[ing] itself to the Filipino communities and locals in every area where it operates" with its "family values." *Langhap-sarap* is a Tagalog advertising slogan for Jollibee, which literally translates to 'inhaling deliciousness,' evoking the image of breathing in a delicious aroma. Jollibee USA restaurant locations are listed to operate primarily in eight states including Hawaii and Washington.

During an in-class translation task about food and eating chicken (translating a teacher-generated conversation from English to Tagalog), one of the student groups that demonstrated/presented their work for the class orally translated the word 'chicken' as *manokjoy*, which is a literal translation and code mesh of the Tagalog word *manok* for chicken and the English 'joy.' Their classmates laughed widely in response to the unexpected translanguaging, or word play. It was a shared reference where the language activity was applied to students' local context and experience.

The motivation for students learning Tagalog is almost universally reported as a desire to connect with their family or the Filipino community better. Students refer to their teacher as *Kuya*, or elder brother, and say that his 'kuya-ness' is demonstrated in how he cares for them, but also holds them accountable. Kuya himself makes allowances for students to enroll in his class beyond the university limits even though it makes more work for him because he 'will not disenfranchise any student who wants to learn,' and some students whose schedules do not allow them to continue classes once they have started the series are still invited to class events such as skit performances as full participants, not just audience members. Several students report regional languages in their family backgrounds, and Kuya himself is from the Visayan region of the Philippines.

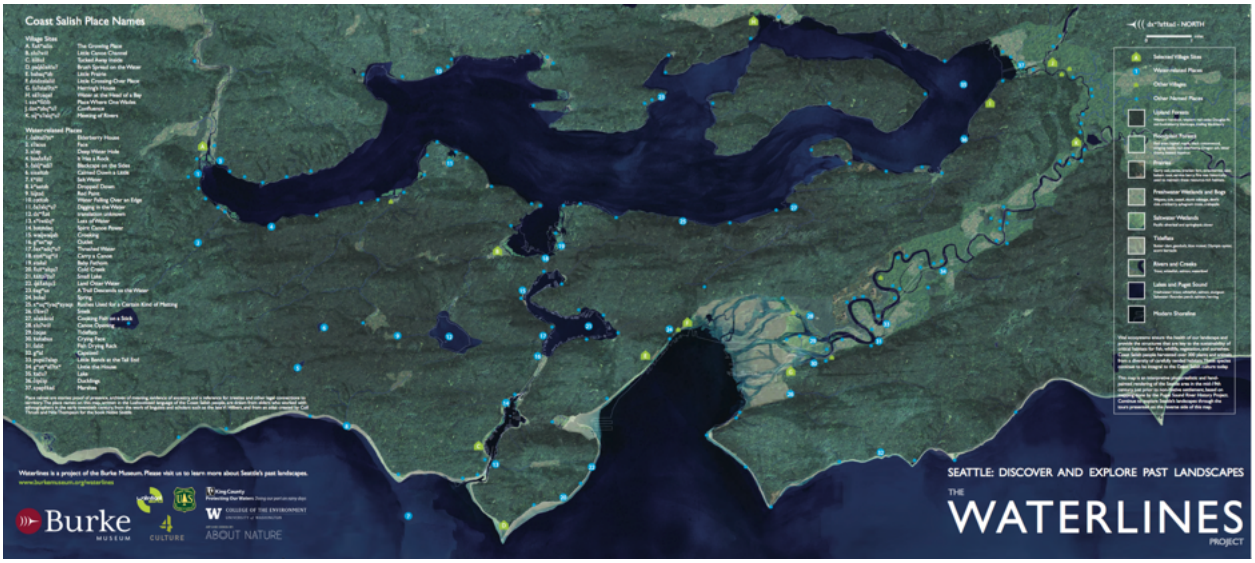
Raven Brings Light to this House of Stories

For Southern Lushootseed, the state of the language and practices for its teaching and learning are very much tied to the history of place and changing contact relations over time. The University of Washington itself occupies the traditional lands of the Duwamish tribe, a Coast Salish people that were included in the pivotal 1861 treaty between local nations and the US government; however, the Duwamish are not currently a federally recognized tribe. Many Duwamish people are registered with other local tribes that do hold federally recognized status such as Muckleshoot in order to receive legal recognition. There have been efforts toward achieving reunification and federally recognized status, but one such attempt was denied as recently as the Obama administration. The tribes that traditionally used the Southern Lushootseed language are Puyallup, Nisqually, Muckleshoot, Suquamish, Duwamish, Snoqualmie, and Squaxin, which are located around the water area of the Puget Sound region.

Many local place names come from words in Southern Lushootseed or related Coast Salish languages that reference culturally salient features such as water or other geographic features, resources, or activities. For example, Puyallup and Wellachet Bay [word breakdowns here from notes]. The image shows a list of place names in Coast Salish languages that document villages and other significant sites throughout the Puget Sound Region before heavy European influence. Notice the orientation with North along the left edge to maximize the visual-spatial mapping around the regional water features.

Figure 5

Waterlines Project Map with Traditional Place Names



Note. "Waterlines" is a historic mapping project developed by the University of Washington Burke Museum in collaboration with researchers and Coast Salish language experts.

Later interventions after Euro-American contact such as the construction of the Port of Seattle,which dredged the Duwamish River delta; the Lake Washington Ship Canal project (including the Montlake Cut and Ballard Locks), which connected the fresh water Lake Washington and salt water Puget Sound; and the rerouting of the Duwamish river have drastically reshaped the terrain, water currents, and traditional resources associated with these locations such as plants and animals. During the mission and boarding school eras, tribal children were punished for using the non-English languages of their families, and there was a widespread generational break in transmission of the language. Many current elders can understand or recognize recordings of Southern Lushootseed when they hear them played from memories of hearing the language as children, but do not speak it themselves. The instructors still refer to this as 'carrying valid language' and reject the label of Southern Lushootseed as a 'dead language.'

Figure 6

The Raven Room at the University's Allen Library

Note. Northern Lushootseed, a related Coast Salish language is prominently displayed with the translation, "Raven Brings Light to this House of Stories."

In the above image, "Raven brings light to this house of stories" is displayed at the Allen Library on the Seattle campus, contributed by former linguist, language teacher, tribal elder, and storyteller Vi Hilbert, who helped document and create the Lushootseed Dictionary with Thom Hess and Dawn Bates. Raven plays a key role in many traditional stories and is associated with knowledge. Northern and Southern Lushootseed share similar roots and language structure.

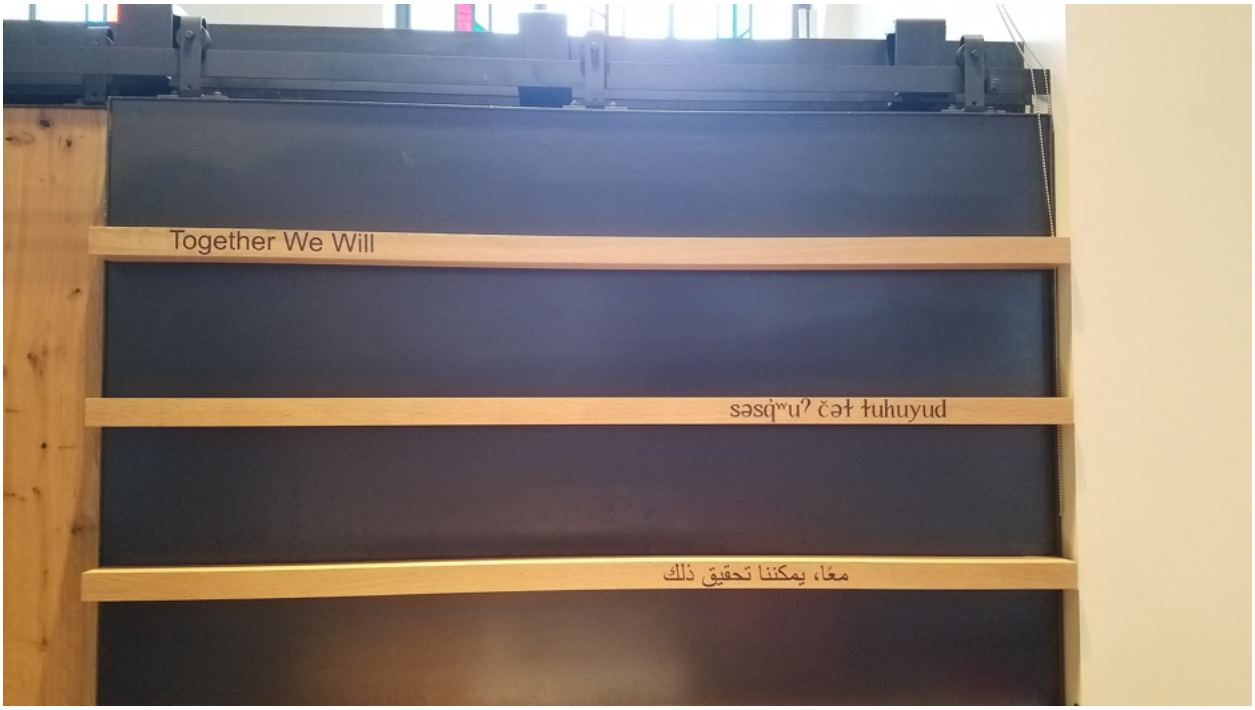
The Southern Lushootseed language was documented by settler scholars over time for a variety of purposes (although notably not for preservation due to perceived widespread distribution). Researchers of various European language backgrounds contributed to inconsistent transcription and orthographic documentation. Some language is recorded in story collections, word lists, interview style recordings, place name collections, and recorded elders sending conversational messages to each other. The instructors describe the language as existing in a 'preserved' state and that language learning and curriculum development include a process of 'extracting' language from these historical documents, and 'putting that out there' for people to understand the cultural intellect. This is often referred to as the 'intellect of the language' to recognize conceptual meaning, rather than literal translations between Southern Lushootseed and English that may seem 'broken' or 'stupid' by surface comparison. They often highlight the importance

of becoming a ‘thinker of the language’ and recognizing both context and multiple meanings connected to language for lifelong learning, rather than just memorizing sentences.

Southern Lushootseed translations for various phrases appear on the walls of the Starbucks coffeeshop in Suzallo Library of the Seattle Campus, incorporated during a remodeling project in 2017. The language instructors provided these translations upon request in which they sought to convey concepts, rather than literal translations from English. Other languages included in this project are Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, and Vietnamese. One such example phrase is provided in the image below.

Figure 7

Inspirational Sayings/Translations in Multiple Languages



Notes. The middle phrase is a Southern Lushootseed translation, which communicates ‘being gathered together, we will make/do/finish it.”

Along with other language workers from other regional tribes, the instructors helped to establish the “Alive Alliance,” a group of native language workers who meet every three months to share resources like checking if neighboring tribes have words that are missing from the documentation of other their own, work towards language revitalization efforts, and consider ways to modernize the state of the language such as using the ‘intellect of the language’ and traditional naming practices to consider modern objects and experiences such as ‘recycling’ and ‘baby car seat.’ These meetings often have a thematic focus such as language relevant for canoe

journeys; however, the instructors do not take a teaching approach organized around ‘domains of use’ like language for the kitchen since anything is potentially significant to talk about in all aspects of life.

While language is especially important at ceremonial, spiritual, and cultural events, the instructors see Southern Lushootseed as a ‘language for the world’ with important contributions for projects like museum displays, street signs and poetry on buses. They note that tribes have more power to be secure – or less protective and defensive – of their language now than they used to in the past. One instructor attributes this power and security to increased economic resources of the tribes due to revenue from tribally-operated casinos. They also identify deep hurts and fear that still exist among people in the tribes who cannot speak ‘their own language’ when they are confronted with others using it because of painful histories and personal experiences.

In fact, there was an event at the intellectual house directly after the language table one week to which many of the participants walked over together as a group. The speaker, Bryan Brayboy, traced ways that the cutting of indigenous people’s hair is intimately connected to oppression and genocide against native peoples throughout US history. After the talk had finished and the floor was opened for questions, several native students responded with questions or comments in which their voices were forceful and yet noticeably shaking with emotion. One of the tribal elders from the language group opened up the Lushootseed Dictionary and pointed to the word ‘yəlɑb’ on pg. 277 to show to two white female language table participants sitting next to him (including me). This word refers to a relative who is deceased, a forebearer, or an ancestor.

There is current pain based on current-historical circumstances. Observations from such events outside the language table need to be considered to more fully understand the language instructors’ stated purposes of taking the pain and hurt and ‘making it healthy,’ of taking some teaching methods that were used by missionaries that undercut Southern Lushootseed at the expense of English and ‘flipping it back.’ For them as educators, the most important thing for the language table is to create ‘language thinkers’ who understand the ‘intellect of the language,’ which is both a cultural and conceptual practice.

Figure 8

Traditional Plantlife Teachings at Daybreak Star

Note. Lushootseed, English, and Latin labels for plants are posted in proximity to examples of indigenous plants like evergreen huckleberry, western red cedar, and sword fern.

The images above shows signs of Southern Lushootseed plant names along with symbols that indicate traditional value and uses in medicine, food, and culture. They were taken at the Bernie White Bear Daybreak Star Garden in Discovery Park, Seattle. This is an example of language 'in the world.'

Maintaining Clear Sight Lines

In a section of the American Sign Language syllabus devoted to classroom communication policy, the instructor identifies *audism* as behavior that does not make communication accessible to everyone or does not treat Deaf people present as equals. This is the primary motivation behind the 'voice off' policy for ASL class since the instructor for the course is Deaf (the other two instructors for the other courses in the program are also Deaf). The language policy syllabus section also provides alternative strategies for supporting classmates if they have forgotten a particular sign such as using other signs or writing, instead of resorting to spoken language. During the first weeks of class, students are first introduced to principles of Visual Gestural Literacy before they begin official language learning that follows their ASL textbook curriculum in order to develop strategies for communication based on shared visual norms like using different hand shapes, drawing shapes in space, differentiating dominant and non-dominant hands, relying on the signer's perspective, and keeping 'sight lines' open (moving the self and others in space to keep visual communication and information accessible to all).

Based on a variety of class texts and materials, there are two main approaches and narratives on d/Deafness in the US, which I will overview here briefly. The first is a medical perspective, which defines deafness according to quantifiable hearing disability. The second is a cultural perspective, which defines Deafness as an identity according to shared experiences and values such as visual communication. In many ways, these perspectives translate to educational approaches for d/Deaf students with significant impact on Deaf community and culture based on oralism or signing approaches respectively. For reasons of both equity and appropriateness to the

curriculum values at the University of Washington, I will be representing both perspectives from a stance weighted towards the cultural perspective. As such, there are a few key historical moments, figures, movements, and institutions that need to be identified as a backdrop to the way this course is taught.

Due to a genetic feature of a community that immigrated and settled on the relatively geographically isolated island of Martha's Vineyard in the US, there was a very large population of Deaf people, and it was common for all members of the community to sign, even hearing people. The sign language that developed came from principles of natural language in communication. In 1814 Hartford Connecticut, the Reverend Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet met a young deaf girl through his younger siblings named Alice Cogswell. Through their initial interaction, she demonstrated that she could connect meaning to objects and learn written language. Her father, Mason Cogswell, financed Gallaudet to travel to Europe and discover what methods for deaf education could be used to establish a school in the US. Education in the UK and Germany was primarily based on oralism at the time, but Gallaudet also saw a demonstration given by students from a signed system of education in France. He invited one of the Deaf French teachers, Laurent Clerc, to help him establish a school for the deaf in America. Many of the early deaf students who attended the school came from Martha's Vineyard, which is how the modern American Sign Language developed from the confluence and contact of French Sign Language and Martha's Vineyard signing practices.

In 1880, the International Congress on Education of the Deaf (ICED) in Milan issued a resolution supporting education through speech or lipreading only and discouraged the use of signing in education as detrimental. The Deaf educators representing the US were excluded from this conversation, process, and decision as there were no interpreters. Around this time period in the 1880s, Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, was also heavily influential in oralist deaf education in the US. Closely connected to the eugenics movement, he sought to ban sign language and prevent Deaf social organizations that could lead to the development of a Deaf Race. There was a heavy push toward oralism in deaf education and the active suppression of signing including corporal punishment such as holding heavy objects or even tying student hands. This is known as the dark ages of deaf education, and the National Association of the Deaf, which was also formed in 1880 as a response to the Milan resolution, says the Milan Congress "did irreparable damage to deaf individuals, educators, professionals, schools and communities around the world."

The images below are art pieces shared by the language instructor that depict Deaf sentiments about the Congress of Milan's resolution include Deaf artist Mary Thornley's painting "Milan, Italy 1880," referencing Frances Goya's earlier painting "The Third of May 1808," which depicts a firing squad scene of Spanish resistance to Napoleon. ASL is used metonymously to represent a violent act of aggression against Deaf people through an attack on their language.

Figure 9

Deaf Art References Cultural/Linguistic Oppression

Note. Thornley's painting references Goya's work where ASL language, like people of an invaded country, face a firing squad.

There are many examples of individual and community resilience and achievement, even during the "dark ages" of predominantly oralist approaches to deafness and signing continued as a matter of necessity among deaf people. In the 1960s, the linguist William Stokoe did important and groundbreaking work in proving that ASL was a full and natural language, and the student-led Deaf President Now movement at Gallaudet University in 1988 is referenced as the civil rights and liberation movement for the Deaf in the US with implications around the world. It was only in 2010 in Vancouver, Canada that ICED formally rejected their 1880 resolution and adopted a new resolution recognizing the key role of signed languages for Deaf education.

It is therefore necessary to affirm in this study that ASL is a natural language, and it is also the third most used language in the US after English and Spanish. It is a uniquely American language based on the contact between French Sign Language – another natural signed language developed by a Deaf community – and the signed communication practices from the historical signing community in Martha's Vineyard. It is not a manual form of English or dependent on English, but due to extensive contact with English over time and the historical suppression of ASL in favor of English, there are some influences within ASL from English borrowings on signs or word play.

Based on the history of Deaf education in the US, Deaf culture and interaction with the local Deaf community and Deaf perspectives are forefronted at all levels of the ASL class. Students at all levels are required to participate in Deaf Culture Hours in which they attend events and

spaces organized by the Deaf community. They submit a write-up about their observations and reflections. The particular events and distribution of hours across events is the students' choice. Instructors provide links to local organizations that might be hosting events during the quarter, and they also send emails for special events like performances, enacting Deaf cultural values of sharing information. There are also several regularly occurring consistent events such as conversation hours that happen in different neighborhoods or communities on the same designated day each month like the "first Thursday" at a designated location. There are also regularly occurring Deaf church services or ASL interpreted church services on Sundays although not all Deaf Culture Hours can be interpreted events.

One event advertisement circulated to all students in the ASL program from one of the other instructors in the program was for the movie "Baby Driver." The advertisement enacts many practices valued by Deaf culture. The subject line of the email read "Deaf Movie Event with a Deaf actor in the movie!" Factors of both Deaf organization and inclusion in the event were important values identified. Specifically, notice the identification of the hosting organization WAGUAA (Washington Gallaudet University Alumni Association), which is clearly displayed at the top left and the emphasis on CJ Jones as a Deaf actor. Accessibility is identified with the phrase 'open captioned movie.' Visual elements with pictures and images fill the advertisement itself.

Figure 10

Example of a Deaf Cultural Event

Note. This *Baby Driver* movie event was advertised by email on 10/30/17 and was available to be counted for 3 Deaf Culture Hours.

Surveys show that students in their first quarter of ASL were very likely to associate ASL with their hands as one of the most salient embodied features of the language. However, a student in another class (Swahili) – who was not currently enrolled in ASL, but had studied ASL for several years in the past – identified the eyes as one of her most important embodied associations. This observation that ASL was a "visual language" was also reported by an ASL interview participant two quarters after her initial survey response. These observations both indicate that contact with this language over time leads to a greater understanding of the visual experience of d/Deafness and ASL, rather than just the manual aspects that were initially most striking to hearing students, who tended to have less exposure and experience with signing or Deaf experiences.

In relation to the importance of visual life, it is also important to note that when I refer to disciplinary blindspots in this study, I am not using blindness in a derogatory sense. Both sight and hearing have metaphorical relationships to understanding in English. While this has sometimes been used in ways that marginalize peoples across abilities, it is important to note that there is a large Blind Deaf population in Seattle, which the ASL classes intentionally engage through explicit *pro-tactile* instruction and activities and inviting members of the Blind Deaf community to class. Knowing what range or area of vision that a Blind Deaf individual may have has direct implications on how and what kind of communication is most appropriate. Sometimes signs need to be articulated within a certain range and sometimes signs need to take place through physical contact. Recognizing blind spots allows for identifying ways that communication needs to adjust for both accessibility and ethical relational engagement.

"You were all already doing this all along. You just didn't know it." - Mwalimu

Mwalimu is the title of respect given to an educated person in Swahili and the one used by the Swahili language instructor at the university. It is a title that her father also held. She grew up and received her education in Kenya, where she spoke Swahili, English, and one of the regional tribal languages among other tribal languages that her classmates spoke. Mwalimu says that most of her students at the university tend to be athletes, from the African diaspora, or interested/involved in NGO work in Africa. There are two sections of first year Swahili that are held in the same room with one hour difference in starting time. Mwalimu allows students to attend the different section than the one in which they are officially registered if they have outside conflicts on particular days, and there are some apparent connections and relationships among students across sections from conversations observed during the ten-minute transition period between classes.

One particular silence in this study involves the students from the African diaspora, and their contributions and experience can only be indirectly referenced through observation. With one

exception, all of the female black students in both sections sat in the same section of the classroom, in the back left corner against the walls from the students' perspective. At this particular university, students need to apply for their majors after being accepted to the university in general, and this can be a very competitive and stressful process. During one transitional period conversation, this group of students was discussing one of their number being accepted to her major. They were congratulating her and using features of Black American English such as third person verb agreement, which does not require an 's' such as "Look at her stand there like she own the world!" One of the students in this group wore a hijab, and another student was overheard to discuss her family making goat for Thanksgiving instead of turkey, which follows traditional east African cuisine. A student from a different seating area of the room referred to this group as 'the Somali students,' and at least one survey respondent identified Amharic as a language from her family background, which is the official language of Ethiopia. Since there were no direct participants from this group for interviews, however, I need to point to a silence that nevertheless indicates the presence of intersectional and transcultural/transnational identity and literacy practices that cannot be addressed in depth by this study. These students chose not to take a participant role in this particular study with this particular researcher (me).

For Mwalimu's identified category of NGO workers, I will both expand and specify that this broadly refers to students engaged in cultural, service, or research work in an African context in the past or in their prospective plans. One student majoring in Public Health was previously involved in a summer research project on sexually transmitted diseases in East Africa. She had discovered with her team that the language of familial roles was related to barriers of information distribution and reaching their target audience of young women. According to Western practices of doctor-patient confidentiality, only a blood relative could be included in a patient's personal medical consultations. However, within a local community, a young girl or woman would have an "Auntie" or group of Aunties that she would look to for advice and guidance, and these Aunties were not necessarily related closely by blood. The fact that Aunties were restricted from medical consultations meant that many young women would not go to a doctor for consultations. This student and her team realized that they really needed to be working with focus group information sessions for Aunties, rather than the young women they were hoping to reach directly in order for information to be distributed. This led her to realize the crucial role of language, even in English, to the local culture and enrolled in Swahili when she returned to the university for the Autumn quarter.

Another student chose a study abroad experience in Africa to practice her French because she was afraid that people in France 'would be mean to her.' She enjoyed her study abroad experience so much that she enrolled in Swahili when she found it at the university specifically because she was looking "for another African experience," and although she had no immediate plans to use Swahili, she knew that it was used in several African countries as a linga franca. She later worked as a consultant for a US State Department program called English Language

Fellows Program for English teacher training and professional development in several African countries including Tanzania, Berundi, Uganda, and Rwanda. Now back in Washington State, she often wears a necklace she bought in Africa with a distinctive type of beads made from rolled paper. This style of necklace was both recognizable and identified by the language instructor, researcher, and this student "NGO worker" on separate and meaningful occasions. These two example background experiences show the diversity that exists even within seemingly salient categories such as 'NGO worker.' The image below shows the style of African necklace with beads made from rolled paper.

Figure 11

Rolled Paper Beads from Africa

Note. These two particular necklaces were sold to support humanitarian activities in Africa fifteen years apart in two different US states.

One of the activities for the class that stands out includes visiting the local Woodland Park Zoo, which has an African Village display. Mwalimu says that following the class visit, some students write about zoos being problematic or the village representation being problematic, but she says that it is still a resource that is available locally, so students can still engage with it and write about their learning and responses to this resource in their own ways. She also recommends that students visit local craft fairs to connect with artisans from the African diaspora, and the final activity for the year is to have a traditional barbeque down by the stadium at the campus

waterfront, which is where she says many student athletes see and encounter the class for the first time if they do not have a friend already participating.

The image below appears on the Woodland Park Zoo website for the African Savanna. It shows the entrance to the African Village display, and the sign includes Swahili with "Karibu Rafiki (Welcome Friend)." In the free materials available online for a "Self-guided Tour for Teachers and Chaperones," other Swahili phrases like "Twende! (Let's go!)" appear with English translations provided in the parentheses that follow.

Figure 12

African Village at the Woodland Park Zoo

Note. This image shows educational displays that include Swahili words like Karibu Rafiki (Welcome Friend).

There are typically three Swahili classes offered each quarter during the normal school year – two for first year students and one for second year students. Mwalimu is the instructor for each of these classes.

Crepes, DIY, and Wonderful Intensity

While the previous language learning communities have been led by a single or small partnership/team of instructors, the Spanish and French classes are a different situation entirely. At one time, the Spanish and French classes were organized under a single Department for Romance Languages, but they split into two divisions that functioned independently for many years, even before they were formalized into two departments. The comparatively large number of courses offered each quarter are predominantly instructed by graduate students. In contrast to a more unified modality based on the instructor, this distributed nature has important

implications for how the French and Spanish courses pattern later, which is why I am including both of them within a single section to describe the research context. In some ways, the modalities of being and acting that they represent are more distributed or less uniform in nature because of their institutional positioning as one class among many options.

The first quarter of their assignment, graduate instructors in the French & Italian, German, and Slavic Languages Departments all take a teaching methodology course with Klaus Brandl from the German Department. The Spanish graduate instructors were also historically included in this cohort, but they are now instructed separately by Ana Dobao from the Spanish & Portuguese Department. The difference is that the Spanish instructors focus specifically on teaching Spanish. The training sessions themselves are conducted in Spanish: they work with Spanish examples, analyze Spanish materials, and design Spanish tasks. Both instructors use the same textbook written by Klaus, however, and they both take a task-based approach to language teaching.

The C-wing of the Padelford building on campus houses Spanish & Portuguese Department offices on the 2nd floor and the French & Italian Department offices on the 3rd floor. The map pictured below is displayed on the 2nd floor of the C-wing of Padelford and asks for interactive participation by placing pins in study abroad locations on "THE WORLD." Notice most of the pins cluster in Europe.

Figure 13

Interactive Study Abroad Map

Note. This image shows an interactive map for students to indicate study abroad experiences.

Another distinction about the Spanish Department is that they have a specific Heritage Language Learner (HLL) program for students with a variety of previous background experiences (usually in their family) in Spanish. For now, it is important to recognize and establish that this is a relevant concept and distinction within the program. It is also important to note that the HLL program starts in the last quarter of the second year. Since the learning community in this study is at the 100-level, they are already either less likely to be heritage language learners entirely, or if they do have family backgrounds in Spanish, their actual proficiency or comfort in Spanish communication is at a relatively lower level than students who have either self-directed or been institutionally advised toward HLL courses. The 100-level course content is not designed with a HLL experience in mind.

The Spanish instructor is from Mexico, and he also learned English along with many other languages through his education in Mexico and extensive traveling experience. He had previous language teaching experience in both Mexico and Spain. One notable feature of the class in 2016 was the shift to a cultural portfolio requirement. Students were required to complete three cultural activities with write-ups as part of their course grade. Before this time, students could choose two such cultural activities with a write-up as an option for extra credit. In the instructor's opinion, the implementation of this portfolio project was not straightforward. There were lists of possible activities or events provided to students, but he said that students were sometimes going to a Mexican restaurant and ordering an enchilada and just describing that it was delicious and they enjoyed the experience, rather than describing deeper cultural issues about how to make an enchilada or how they were related. He took it personally when he felt that students had not engaged in the task sufficiently for its purpose and said that he would 'even grade their grammar in English' to make them take it more seriously.

One of the Spanish instructors' students described him as 'wonderfully intense' and said that his high standards for them actually drew the class together as a whole. They started a group chat, created study groups outside of class, and served as a support network in groups for students across proficiency levels during in-class activities. This class had 13 students, which is lower than the enrollment cap of 14. The instructor said he was very aware that he had very high standards and that in his experience across quarters, many students preferred to transfer out of his class at the beginning of the quarter into other sections, but that the students who stayed with him were really committed, which was the most important thing for him. He would spend hours grading student work at the expense of his own research writing.

The French instructor is from France, and she learned English during her education in France before coming to the US. She had previous experience teaching French before coming to the current university. One of her activities for the class included organizing a day for crepes in class. Students signed up in advance to bring different items to go into the crepes (both savory and sweet), and she brought a supply of crepes she had pre-cooked for the occasion. All the food

items were placed at the front of the room on a long rectangular table, and students put their own crepe from the stack onto a plate and then added the toppings they each wanted themselves. For savory crepes that included cheese, the instructor brought tin foil and a clothes iron and created a heating station by the side wall near the windows. Students brought their crepes to her heating station and she placed them between layers of tin foil before applying the clothes iron for a short period of time until the cheese was melted. She recommended for students to watch YouTube videos on DIY (Do It Yourself) projects such as this one. In a later interview, the instructor said that she intentionally did not want to replicate the same educational system that she experienced in France, which she felt was based on the power discrepancy between students and an authoritative teacher.

There was always a French music video on display before class during the 10-minute class transition. These songs were student selected and posted to a discussion board list on Canvas, the university's learning management system. The instructor would feature one of the songs from the list each day as she set up her computer and readied other materials as students were walking in to create a welcoming environment and French space. During class periods, the instructor would sometimes use English to explain concepts and even made a Spanish reference for one student with *más o menos* to describe a roughly equivalent phrase in French. Students would also move between French and English during group activities for the class, and one section of the students against the wall by the door also often used Chinese for conversation before and after class.

Notably, despite the rich multilingual/multicultural backgrounds of the instructors, there were some ideologies of danger with a new language or boundary guarding across languages within the sponsorscape. For example, in the review pages at the end of a chapter in the French textbook, there were bolded phrases like "Watch out!" and "Careful!" to introduce particular features of language. On several occasions, the Spanish instructor was observed to tell his students "Cuidado!" about some feature of language that was new or different from English. Both courses used textbooks from the same publishing company, Pearson.

Attunement and Diffraction as Systemic Complements

Attunement and diffraction are both important to systemic understandings of sponsorscapes and ethical onto-epistemic participation within and across research communities. While attunement focuses on the orientation of individual elements to a system, diffraction shows the consequential nature of individual elements throughout a system. Given the networked and constellated nature of sponsorscapes, attunements and diffraction together can help locate the multidirectional ways that literacy sponsorship moves within and across human-material assemblages. Telling stories from, with, and for communities can have a huge impact on modalities (both senses). In addition to providing more site-specific and community specific background, this chapter also models the

role of stories and the way that standardized stories may not provide either the most valid or meaningful insight in relation to what matters to that community.

"Before we are thinkers, we are believers; before we can offer our rational explanations of the world, we have already assumed a whole constellation of beliefs - a worldview- that governs and conditions our perception of the world. Our primordial orientation or comportment to the world is not as thinkers but as believers."

-James K. Smith

Chapter 4
Language Embodiment: Conceptual Frames

"Dandelions" by Clayton Valli (ASL gloss)
YELLOWFLOWER
MANY IN THE GRASS
WAVING IN THE WIND
[…]
FINALLY THEY BECOME A WHITE PUFFBALL, OPEN UP
WAVING IN THE WIND (MORE THAN DANDELIONS)
MAN COMES, YELLS "T-H-E-R-E"
PULLS ONE OUT
SPREADS

Background

This chapter begins with the assumption that literacies are embodied practices and the result of embodied experiences that influence literacy development, so it is important to study how literacy learning is experienced on and in relation to the body. Embodiment has been used in a variety of fields with diverse conceptual grounding. In cognitive sciences, inquiry follows "embodied cognition," or conceptual ways the brain processes the world based on the perceptions and lived experience in a body (Gibbs, 2005; Gibbs, 2011). While embodied cognition can often be seen as privileging the individual over social experience, Zlatev (2018) highlights the role of phenomenology and mimetic schemas to describe interactional embodiment to help reconcile the tensions of an individual and social dichotomy to meaning making. Feminist and post-colonial scholars have also seen the individual body as a nexus of social factors, and studies in sociology have shown ways that embodiment is socially constructed (Fisher & Dolezal, 2018; Threadcraft, 2016; Ahmed, 2000). Within Composition Studies, scholars have considered bodies in space as important to the mediated nature of composition and learning (Cedillo, 2018; Arola & Wysocki, 2012; Cox, 2018). Other fields such as anthropology, sociology, philosophy, theology, and medicine have also addressed the important role of the body in experience, meaning making, and communication. In this study, embodiment takes a holistic and inclusive view of the mind as part of the body, not separated from it. It also primarily

interfaces with literature from the fields of linguistics on conceptual metaphors and composition on multimodal literacies since such literacies are inherently embodied practices.

In the field of Cognitive Linguistics, Lakoff & Johnson (2003) draws on Erving Goffman's (1986) work with frame analysis to outline "metaphors we live by," or ways that the human experience in a body is reflected in the language that we use. Various semioticians and psycholinguists have shown that analogy from the body is a powerful mechanism of human language development. For example, the "foot" of a table or a mountain is conceptually the bottom of these entities just as the foot is to the human body. In addition, processes extending body functions like the mouth being associated with door as an opening lead to instances of the ideograph for door in ancient Egyptian hieroglyph being depicted as a mouth or the "mouth" of a river as the entrance point from the sea. In other words, communication, language, and literacy often develop from the experience of living in a body.

During the ASL class, Clayton Valli's famous poem "Dandelions" was shared as an example of Deaf storytelling. An excerpt of this poem is provided at the beginning of this chapter. During the poem, dandelions represent the Deaf people and their experience of oppression and resilience. These abstract concepts are grounded in plant bodies. In turn, even though plants are not often granted agency or desire in Western thought systems, they are personified in the poem through depiction of human emotions. The dandelions demonstrate consequentiality in surviving and spreading despite attempts to remove them. Abstract concepts are understood through grounding or identification with experiences in a body situated both socially and materially in the world.

As established in the first chapter, literacy practices are mobile and the result of both desire and affordances. Given that literacy sponsorscapes are relational, distributed, co-agentive, material, and embodied, the cluster of questions guiding this chapter specifically address how learners experience and enact these embodied relations in literacy development and practices. For these reasons, identifying embodied associations with language is crucial for understanding how literacy practices take place and develop within and across language varieties. What kinds of material, relational, and ideological elements shape literacy development in situated environments? What are some of the embodied sponsorscape elements (influences and/or agency) that learners experience, enact, or report in their language choices and desires? How do these embodied influences and/or agency connect to literacy practices themselves?

"Language" or linguistic modality is only one aspect of literacy, but the term language for this chapter is conceptualized broadly and includes a full multimodal repertoire of practices around particular student-identified varieties, not limited to a uniform written, oral, or other essentialized form. The question then becomes: what kinds of embodied experiences and expression are

salient to language users in the process of literacy development? How does this salience relate to practices and conceptualizations available in their learning environment?

This chapter explores these questions in three main ways. The first is by briefly establishing the ideological nature of visual and spatial texts in the institutional environment of the study (University of Washington) to introduce some key principles and context for the ecological nature of literacy engagement. The second is by identifying trends across student surveys on reported language backgrounds and embodied relationships. The third is a series of examples from classroom observations on how students are invited, encouraged, or required to position their bodies within and across time and space. The concluding discussion section (re-)connects findings from all three sections to the concepts in this introduction and establishes a connection between embodied literacy and uptake.

Study Design and Methods

Students in six first-year language classes or communities at the University of Washington – a large, public, urban research university with high levels of diversity – were asked to identify the location on or around the outline of a body to indicate where they associated self-identified languages or language varieties in their repertoire. They were then asked to explain their choices in the space provided below this diagram. Using university language classes as a research population guaranteed that students would have at least one non-English language variety in their repertoire. In reality, most students reported several languages or language varieties.

In total, 58 students participated in these surveys across 6 introductory level language learning communities at UW. As described in Chapter 2, the participating language communities were American Sign Language (ASL), French (FRE), Southern Lushootseed (SLU), Spanish (SPA), Swahili (SWA), and Tagalog (TAG). Participants are labeled using these three letter codes along with a randomized two digit numbering system starting from 01. For example, “SLU07” refers to participant 07 from the Southern Lushootseed learning community. At this particular institution, students from China vastly outnumber any other group within the international student population, so references to Chinese language are also significant in the reported frequency of survey responses.The three most common languages reported across language classes were English, Spanish, and French. Chinese was the most reported language NOT included as a focal language in the study at 15-26%.

There are three main sets of data in this chapter. While they are presented separately and consecutively to demarcate the particular contributions that each type of data provides, they should more accurately be considered three strands within an overall tapestry of a larger literacy sponsorscape. The first section serves as an introduction and establishes context for the survey data, which provide the bulk of the findings in this chapter. The classroom observation section

highlights key moments or concepts from different classes that require or invite students to perceive or act as a body in time and space.

In order to explore ecological literacy factors, I combined phenomenology with peregrination. Peregrination, or conscious noticing while walking/sojourning, has been used by interdisciplinary researchers from backgrounds in architecture, writing, geography, and history (Schrenk et al., 2016). Peregrination, or intentional walking, as a research method assumes a body in space with intentional observations directing attention to how structures, persons, and objects interact and impact each other (Springgay & Truman, 2018). Quinn (2020) describes peregination as opening opportunities for "ambulatory writing," or writing connected with walking. For agential realism (as a material tradition), this means identifying significant literacy objects and tracing the "consequentiality" of the way these objects impact space. I use these practices along with the idea of ambient rhetoric and a new materialist visual rhetoric to explore material and ideological influences of course texts and campus environment (Rickert, 2013; Gries, 2010).

In order to increase the range of semiotic resources that students could use when discussing their language backgrounds and better include their lifewide trajectories in relation to their current language learning communities, I incorporated a language portrait (LP) activity, first used by Krumm & Jenkins (2001). Kusters & De Muelder (2017) describe language portraits as "empty whole-body silhouettes in or around which research participants color or draw languages, language variants or other aspects or modalities of communication" often accompanied by an explanatory narrative. In their own work, they have demonstrated that language portraits can show multimodality much more explicitly than many other methods of representing multilingualism. Coffey (2015) has used language portraits to trace the ways that individuals relate and invest in languages and that such activities cue expanded "modes of reflexivity" in language teachers. With LP methodology, I hoped to encourage a range of existential modalities as well as literacy modalities.

While a single body may appear to encourage individual knowledge representation, it is important to remember that the personal is also always social. All models have limitations and assumptions. While this body mapping activity expands and invites participation beyond more conventional alphabetic-based linguistic reporting, it cannot account for all configurations of conceptual embodiment. We can consider the ways participants' uptake of the task demonstrates both patterned and unique ways of interacting with the prompt to guide future studies. The primary purpose behind this body mapping activity was to move beyond the traditional limitations of academically conditioned frameworks privileging a limited form of written linguistic response.

Grounded theory identifies salient categories for analysis from the available dataset, rather than predetermined categories. This study therefore considered survey responses across the entire sample and identified general trends, which the research team and Iused to establish our coding scheme. Some of these trends did, in fact, support some previously known or studied forms of language/conceptual relationships; for example Descartes' mind-body distinction as influential in Western philosophical traditions. However, these were not categories we originally brought to the analysis, and we were still able to show some nuances among these trends.

To see the important of distinctions between sponsorscapes across different learning communities, the third section of data includes excerpts and examples from classroom observations and interviews related to themes of spatio-temporal embodiment. Between the overall or general ecology of embodied literacy practices differentially available through contextual circulation/ecology and the individual experiences reported on survey responses, my findings reveal that the classes themselves (and the various intersecting communities they represent) mediate and sponsor embodied literacy activities.

Phenomenology and Peregrination: Embodied Literacy-scapes

Course texts and institutional settings are always already ideological spaces and written language is not the only or most powerful modality of communication. These are important threshold concepts to establish when considering students' representations of their relations to various language varieties in their repertoires. Students are constantly bathed in an ideological sea of symbols as they move through their environments. In this first section, I will offer a few illustrative examples that specifically model forms of language embodiment that are available for uptake or reinforcement of ideological views of the body and meaning-making. Instances of body mapping practices as a form of literacy are modeled in circulation, and the nature of these mappings is already inherently ideological. The examples below show the relevance of ecological metaphors to learning - and therefore a sponsorscape approach to literacy - and highlight the validity of visual/spatial survey elements beyond a primarily linguistic format.

In its introduction, the ASL course textbook reproduces a painting by Deaf artist Chuck Baird, who depicts a person with the CL-5 hand shape at the place and palm orientation for COLOR. Each of the fingers is – in fact – a different color, which represents the sign directly on the body and moves the signed language meaning from a symbolic association to an iconic one.

Figure 14

"Color" by Chuck Baird in ASL Textbook

Chuck Baird was one of the founders of the De-VIA art movement, which explicitly represents Deaf Culture, so meaning expressed through the hands and eyes are prominent and recurring themes. Supplementary resources for De-VIA were shared by the instructor during the ASL class. In focusing on the importance of the eyes and hands in signed language for Deaf visual culture/experience in the face of continuing pressure and privileging of Oralism in education, the message is not just artistic, but also political. The representation of the meaning "color" through iconically coloring the fingers bodily maps meaning via visual and spatial modes as natural, not needing an English intermediary.

Meanwhile, in the Spanish course textbook, each chapter features a different Spanish-speaking country. The table of contents features a picture next to the chapter title that contains a flag of the featured country projected onto the face of a stock photo. The same stock photo of a face is used for each chapter.

Figure 15

Table of Contents in Spanish Textbook

	TASK	OBJECTIVES
1 Gente que estudia español 2	Choose a Spanish-speaking country for an end-of-year class trip.	**Communicative** ■ Talking about oneself ■ Spelling names and countries ■ Identifying people and places **Cultural** ■ The Spanish-speaking world ■ Puerto Rico ■ Hispanics in the United States
2 Gente con gente 20	Meet some important Hispanic-Americans and group them for an imaginary dinner.	**Communicative** ■ Requesting and giving information about people (name, age, profession, personality) ■ Justifying decisions **Cultural** ■ México ■ Hispanics in the United States
3 Gente de vacaciones 38	Plan a vacation in Venezuela	**Communicative** ■ Talking about likes, dislikes, and preferences ■ Talking about existence and location of places ■ Expressing agreement and disagreement **Cultural** ■ Venezuela ■ Hispanics in the United States
4 Gente de compras 56	Plan a class party and decide on gifts for classmates and teacher	**Communicative** ■ Talking about needs and obligations ■ Talking about the price of products and services ■ Describing and valuing products **Cultural** ■ Argentina ■ Hispanics in the United States

The mapping of national flags onto a face is a visual representation of Herder's conflation of place, language, and community. While this design choice by featuring different countries for each chapter disrupts an essentialized singular representation of a singular identity or experience in the *mundo hispano*, or Spanish world, the "diversity" presented in this way simply multiplies an essentialized national model into many Spanish-speaking national identities where a flag represents a country, represents a language. This is a visual example of what Horner and Lu have called a multilingual model as simply additive of a homogenized "monolingual" model, rather than recognizing the ideologically charged heterogeneity of literacy practices in real communities. It is also interesting to note that "the face of the place" is the same for all countries since a face and eyes are particularly important for identity, a seemingly neutral image on which different identities can be written. Note that this face has blue eyes, which I will discuss further in the next example.

In addition to class materials, the landscape of the campus area itself contributes to experiences with embodied literacy representations. The following image of a sandwich board sign advertises University Vision Clinic on University Avenue, one block from campus where many students frequent food and other services. It contains writing in both Chinese and English along with a closeup image of an eye in which an image of the globe has been superimposed onto the face.

Figure 16

Vision Clinic Sandwich Board on "the Ave"

Instead of a flag representing a particular country, the image here represents a "world" or "transnational" identity. The combination of Chinese writing and the global identity caters to Chinese international students in particular. It is worth noting that the eye in this advertisement as well as the eyes in the stock photo face in the Spanish textbook are blue. These racial images are example of commodification in offering specific racial desires or attributing greater value to whiteness and standards/indicators of whiteness than the majority norms of the communities they represent (Cuny & Opaswongkarn, 2017; Ayu Saraswati, 2010). As Motha (2014) and others have noted, language can be used as a proxy for race. I would add that language occurs alongside and coincident with race and racial representations in ways that result in consequentiality of messaging. In this image, the visual advertising offers informational and invitational access to the clinic space in Mandarin, but the facial mapping of a global identity presents whiteness as the desirable reference. Visual and spatial literacies play an important role in these commercial

materials to communicate ideological information as well as content using symbolic mapping on a body.

Additionally, bilingual body labels in Chinese and English are posted on the dance studio walls of the university's Department of Dance. While dancing styles themselves are forms of performative, embodied literacies, these bilingual texts invite greater access and transfer of knowledge to these literacy practices across language backgrounds. However, the bilingual diagram with a labeled skeleton assumes a relatively 1-to-1 correspondence across languages grounded in objective, scientific locations. The body images and vocabulary appear medical.

Figure 17

Body Labels in Dance Department Studio

These examples demonstrate not only that body mapping practices are being modeled in circulation, but also the ideological nature of these mappings. The following survey responses should therefore be considered to reflect ideological embodiment, rather than biologically cognitive embodiment. These ideologies are incorporated into language and literacy practices.

Student Surveys: Embodied Language Portraits

At the beginning of the quarter, I met with instructors and conducted class visits to explain the research and invite participants. Depending on instructor preferences, survey administration adapted to each particular class or learning community. Southern Lushootseed was different in that surveys were given at the end of the first quarter of the language circle and beginning of the second quarter of the language circle based on the more fluid and changing nature of this group.

It was also vitally important to have established relationships within the Southern Lushootseed group before engaging in language research due to the sensitive nature of the language status and historical precedence of researchers taking and representing knowledge from indigenous communities in harmful ways. Surveys were also given to participants at the end of the first year of the official Southern Lushootseed class to accompany translation assignment materials; their trends are not reported in the following analysis, but will be referenced in later chapters in relation to identified trends.

Surveys first asked participants to list any languages, dialects, accents, and varieties they knew, their proficiency, how/where they learned them, and with whom they used them. They were also asked to explain the order they listed these languages or language varieties since the spatial listing on the physical page could represent many kinds of relationships. These items on the survey were included to establish self-reported background experience and lifewide learning trajectory as well as salience for the individual. The next part of the survey asked participants to "label the location on the body or space around the body" where they felt that language most belonged to represent their relationship to the language or how they use it. An androgenous outline of a body was provided, and a follow-up question asked participants to explain why they chose to place the language where they did. This question encouraged several modalities of response, not just printed text, so students would perform and explain multiliteracy activities on the survey, not just report them. The next question asked students about their reasons for taking the current class, wanting to learn the language, and expectations for using it outside of class. This question reached both backward and forward to situate answers in time and once again connect to a lifewide learning trajectory. The following questions asked about names and/or nicknames in any of these language varieties and was used to identify/address related identity issues; however, this part of the survey was used for another study and will not be a focal area for this chapter.

In the table below, "site" refers to where surveys were actually completed by students. This site was determined in coordination and conversation with instructors' wishes and intentions for the activity. The "class incentive" also depended on the instructors and provided framing for the extent of integration with other group learning activities. The "responses/total" column refers to the total number of learners in each community and the number of participants who responded/submitted their surveys for this study.

Table 5

Location, Incentive, & Rate of Participation

Language Group	Site	Class Incentive	Responses/Total	Rate
American Sign Language	home	interest	8 / 25	32%
French	home	credit option for required cultural activity	11 / 24	46%
Southern Lushootseed	home	interest	7 / flexible	N/A
Spanish	class	"understand learning"	12 / 13	92.3%
Swahili	home	interest	7 / 40 (2 classes)	15%
Tagalog	home	"help class continue"	16 / 25	64%

Unsurprisingly, classes where the instructors demonstrated stronger support or investment for the project correlated with higher response rates. The Spanish instructor wanted the survey to happen in class as a form of language reflection and dedicated 20 minutes for students to complete them. Completion was therefore nearly 100% except for an absent student. In his introduction and framing of the study and myself as a researcher, the Tagalog instructor told students that their responses could help the Tagalog class to continue to be offered at the university. Considering that many Tagalog students indicated on their surveys that better connecting with their families was a primary motivation and there was high personal significance to the class, this framing likely significantly boosted student response rates.

The flow of the survey itself included students listing languages or language varieties in their background along with their self-reported proficiencies in different skills and who they use them with, an explanation for why languages were ordered in the way that students had chosen, the language portrait body mapping activity. From the survey responses, we used grounded theory to identify major themes or patterns. We then used codes for five major conceptual frameworks that emerged indicating embodied relationships to language.

To determine emergent frameworks, we first read through the surveys holistically and noticed major trends in responses. We then began placing student surveys into physical piles representing which trend they were primarily demonstrating to determine prototypicality and variation of these patterned trends. We also noted where other trends were still present or represented for each survey response. We later coded and numerically quantified the presence of each coded category to show its relative significance across participants.

The emergent categories included the following: identity/affiliation, corporeal metaphors, physiological articulation, cultural/relational association, and proficiency or learning strategies. The following scans show representative examples to illustrate each category. Please note that these mappings often demonstrate multiple frames, but only the focus frame will be central to the discussion within that section. During all available follow-up interviews, we used member-checking to see if and to what extent our analysis of participants' relationships to language accurately represented their own perceptions.

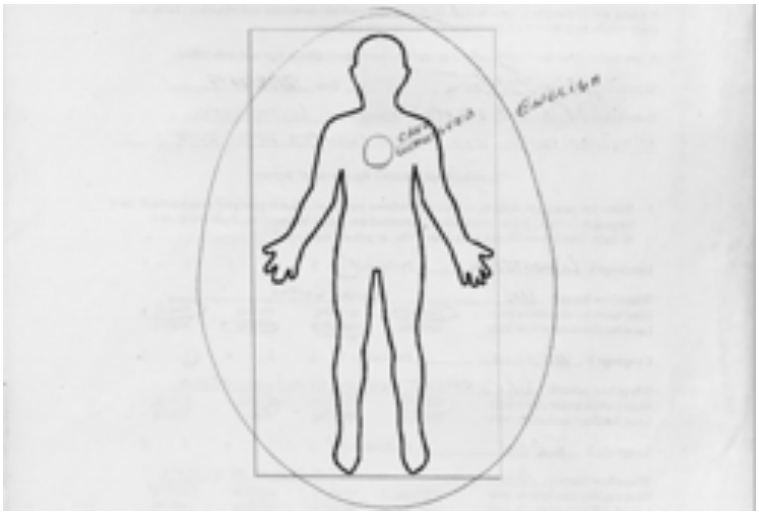
Identify/Affiliation

The first conceptual framework describes the way participants treat language as a proxy for identity or linguistic/cultural affiliation regardless of current or past proficiency and use. The findings represented language on a spectrum from more internal or core to more external or periphery.

SLU01 is a Southern Lushootseed language circle participant, professor at the university, and elder in the local tribal communities. She draws a circle within the chest area labeled "Cree and Lushootseed" and an oval around the outside of the entire body labeled "English." In explanation, the student writes: "English is all around me environmentally. Cree and Lushootseed […] are 'voices' of my ancestors." Cree is listed as an ancestral language she uses minimally with herself and Lushootseed is used in class at the university, where she's been learning it. This example shows the importance of language centrality and significance as a relationship of identity, rather than proficiency.

Figure 18

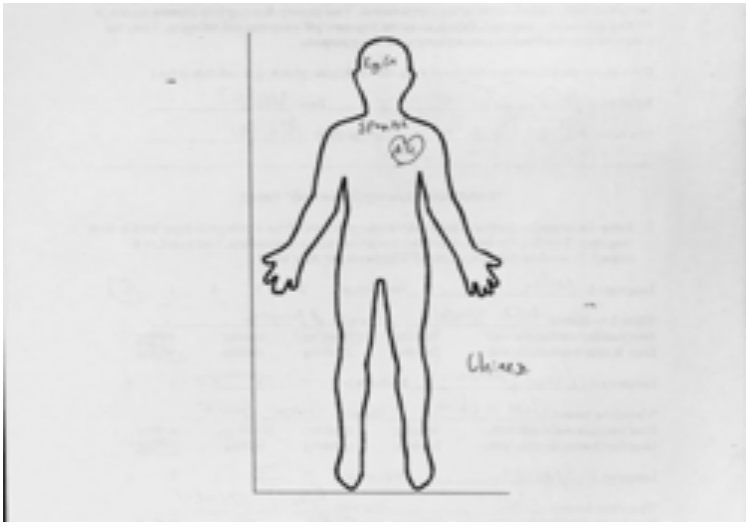
Language portrait for SLU01



On the other hand, ASL07 draws a heart at the chest with ASL inside while writing Chinese outside and to the side of the body at knee height. Chinese for this student was learned in class and in China. English is in the head and Spanish is at the throat.The explanation for the visual: “I have a love for ASL. Chinese doesn’t mean much to me.” This example shows the importance of intentional affiliation, rather than past experience or even physical location. This particular student had formerly lived in China for a year after high school, but felt less emotional attachment to Chinese than American Sign Language. While living in China, in fact, this student had encountered music videos online of people using ASL to interpret English songs and began creating them himself through self-taught language before taking an official class or meeting any Deaf people. This practice of interpreting music without connections to the Deaf community can be problematic for linguistic appropriation. This study did not track how the students’ awareness and practices may have changed as he progressed with learning of ASL in a formal class setting with requirements for interaction with the Deaf community. In any case, this was an expressive identity/affiliation taken up by the student according to his own initiative, rather than one recognized by a Deaf community or even through participation with a Deaf community. Our purpose is not to discuss language authenticity here, but to point out that there was a digital third space community of signing music interpreters to which this student developed a meaningful personal affinity.

Figure 19

Language portrait for ASL07

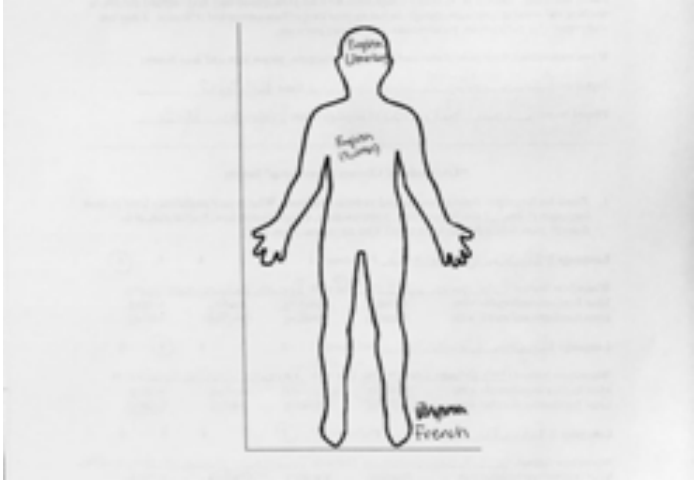


FRE07 writes English (American) inside the head area, English (Scottish) inside the chest/torso region, and French outside of the left foot. The reasoning on the survey identifies the Scottish dialect as “my birthplace and roots,” the American dialect as “I think in this dialect,” and French

as “my weakest foot and far away.” FRE07 used Scottish English with parents and other people until the age of 5, but after moving to the US, American English was learned from peers and others from age 5 onwards. He later studied in French in high school and traveled to France. This example is important to show differential relationships for varieties not just across, but within a conceptually singular language (English). Once again, proximity to the body core shows more personal significance in contrast to external and/or extremity relationships as less significant.

Figure 20

Language Portrait for FRE07



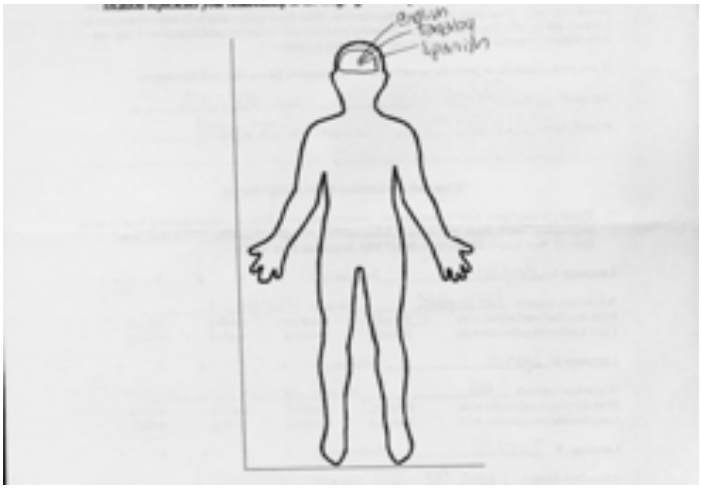
Corporeal Metaphors

The second conceptual framework included corporeal metaphors. A very common contrast or dichotomy students used was the heart for emotions and head for logic. The next most common was the hand or arm for utilitarian purposes.

TAG11 uses linear labeling association for English, Spanish, and Tagalog in a compartmentalized head space, explaining that they are “all near the brain because I need to think to use them all.” This example does not distinguish between differential ways of relating to languages, but locates all language as a primarily cognitive endeavor.

Figure 21

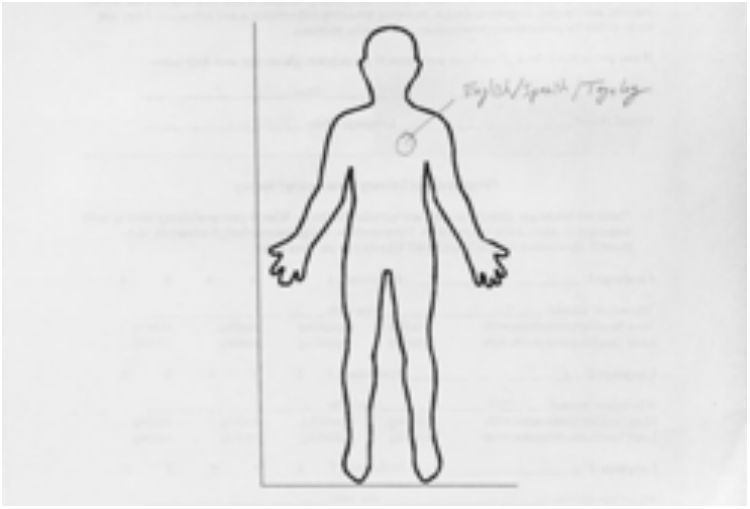
Language Portrait for TAG11



By contrast, TAG06 uses a similar labeling technique to associate English/Spanish/Tagalog within a circle in the upper left chest and explains, “I am very passionate about my cultures.” This example also does not differentiate different language relationships, but locates them all as equally emotional associations with the heart.

Figure 22

Language Portrait for TAG06

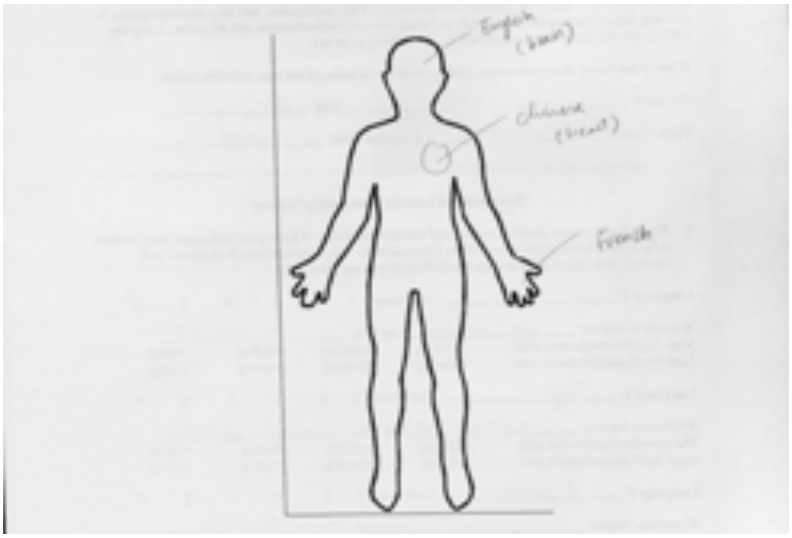


While this pattern was evidenced in many ways across the surveys, FRE02 specifically identifies the contrastive relationship between the heart and brain for a specific individual. The English

label at the head is followed by “brain” in parentheses, and Chinese at the chest is followed by “heart” in parentheses. These associations are explained thus: “For Chinese, it’s my first language and I love China and Chinese. For English, I study in USA so I need to put it into my brain because I use it everyday. For French, I used hand to learn how to write French.” This last statement about the hand also represents a significant trend that will be discussed in a later section on proficiency and learning strategies.

Figure 23

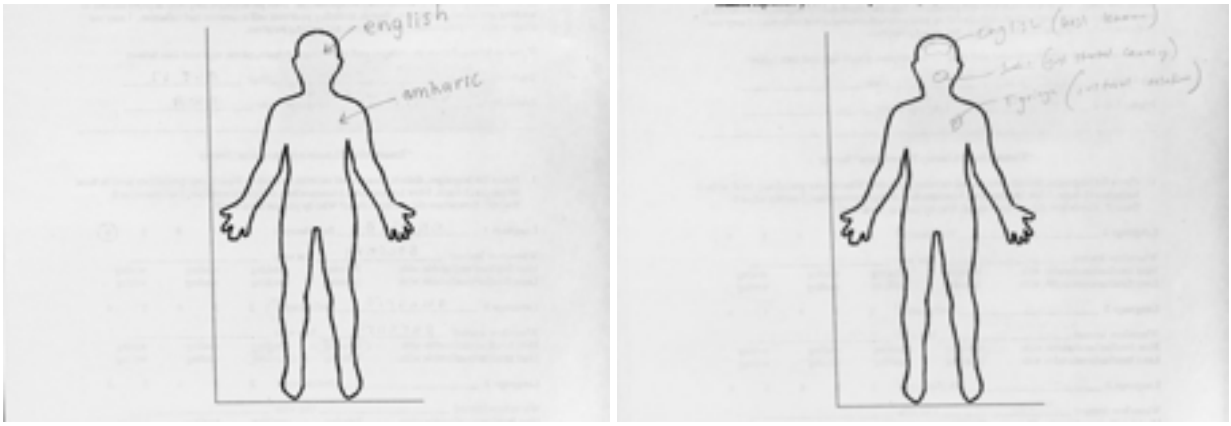
Language Portrait for FRE02



SWA02 uses arrows to indicate English at the head, Amharic at the chest, and explains, “English is what I think in. Amharic is culture.” Similarly, SWA3 associates English with the brain as the “best known,” Swahili at the mouth for “just started,” and Tigrinya at the heart as “culture.” These examples are important to show the contrast between language relationships, and they also indicate some similarity and overlap to the core-periphery relationship described earlier with a very important distinction. While the heart and emotions are still often more central to identity relationships, the head and mind are not necessarily considered of lesser importance or external in nature.

Figure 24

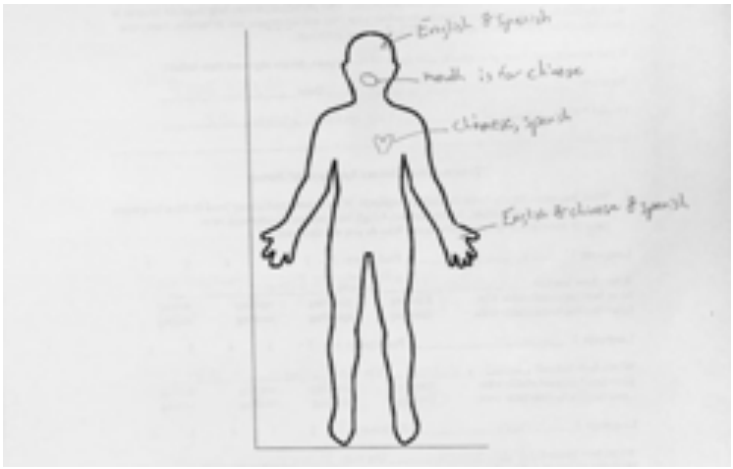
Juxtaposed Language Portraits for SWA02 & SWA03



In fact, many language relationships coincide in ways beyond a singular or additive nature. For example, SPA12 associates English & Spanish at the head, Chinese at the mouth, and Chinese & Spanish at the heart. Two of the languages - Spanish and Chinese - are associated with multiple locations. For the mental association specifically, “When I speak Spanish or English I am often thinking about language construction and sentence structure.” This also references the functional nature of the body in language, which will be further described in the section on physiological articulation relationships below.

Figure 25

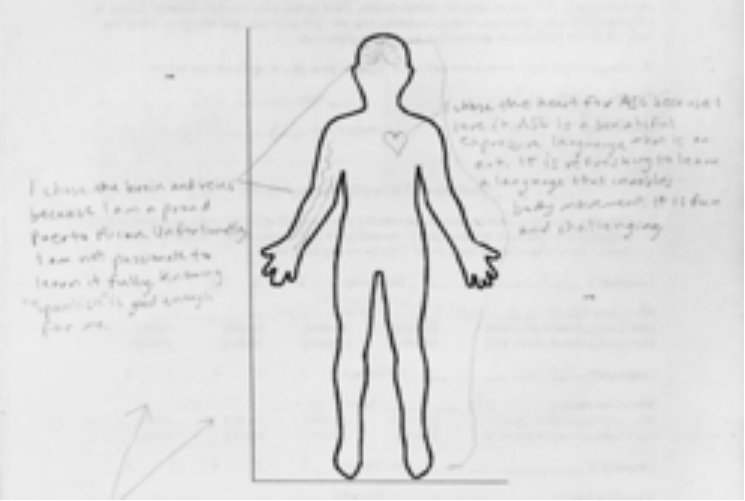
Language Portrait for SPA12



Interestingly, blood or veins served as an extension for the relationship of heart as the site of emotion and identity for two participants with Spanish language heritage backgrounds (participating in the ASL and French classes at the time of this study). They both report a current lack of proficiency in Spanish, but still identify a significant relationship to the language. For example, in proximity to veins that have been drawn in the arm and connected by a line, ASL04 explains, "I am a proud Puerto Rican," and evaluates her language proficiency as "unfortunately […] good enough" with knowledge of "Spanglish," rather than "full" Spanish. FRE11 explains that "Spanish is a blood language, it's something I feel naturally comes to me." The idea of "Spanish blood" indicates a heritage language and emotional/identity connection to that language while also referencing ideologies of blood quotas and language authenticity as markers of race and racial purity. This is an area of overlap between corporeal metaphor (blood) and identify/affiliation.

Figure 26

Language Portrait for ASL04

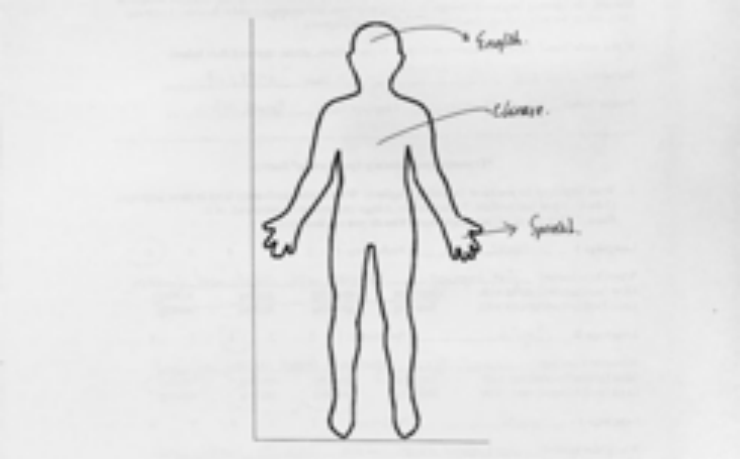


It is important to note that this common conceptual breakdown for the heart-brain contrast drawing on the mind-body dichotomy may not always be the most available or appropriate conceptual framework across all contexts. For example, in Southern Lushootseed, the term "x̌əč" encompasses both thoughts and feelings toward something and is associated with chest although literal translations to English usually only use "thoughts." This phenomena highlights both the limitations of English and the indigenous research documentation conducted by Western-based cultures. All the students were taking this survey in English, however, with likely shared access to shared metaphors in circulation including the widespread Western tradition of a mind-body distinction.

Another significant metaphorical relationship that several students represented beyond the brain and heart was the hand or arm for language as a tool or skill. For example, SPA08 places English at the head, Chinese at the chest, and Spanish at the hand, specifying that Spanish is "a tool that might help me at life." This particular example shows a utilitarian approach to learning language, or motivation for learning language in order to get or access something beyond the language itself.

Figure 27

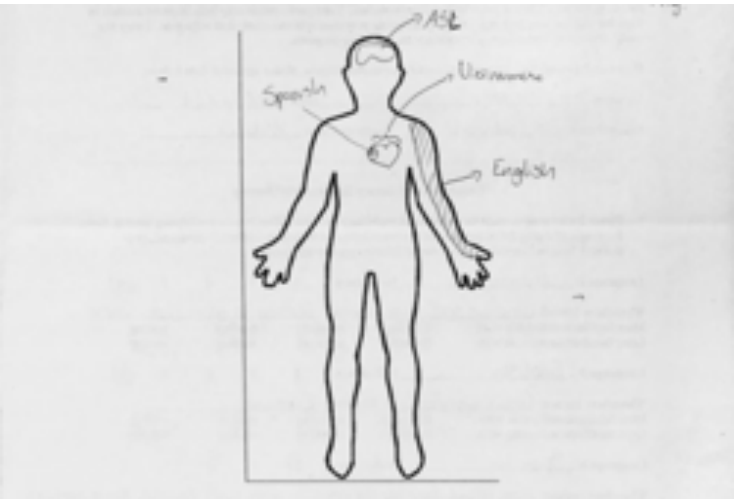
Language Portrait for SPA08



ASL02 places ASL in the brain, Vietnamese as the predominant proportion of the heart with Spanish also inhabiting a small space, and English as a region extending the length of the arm from the shoulder to the thumb. About this region, the student writes, "English is functional to me. I use it to navigate my current adult world." The relationship is not merely a logical or emotional association, then, but primarily functional.

Figure 28

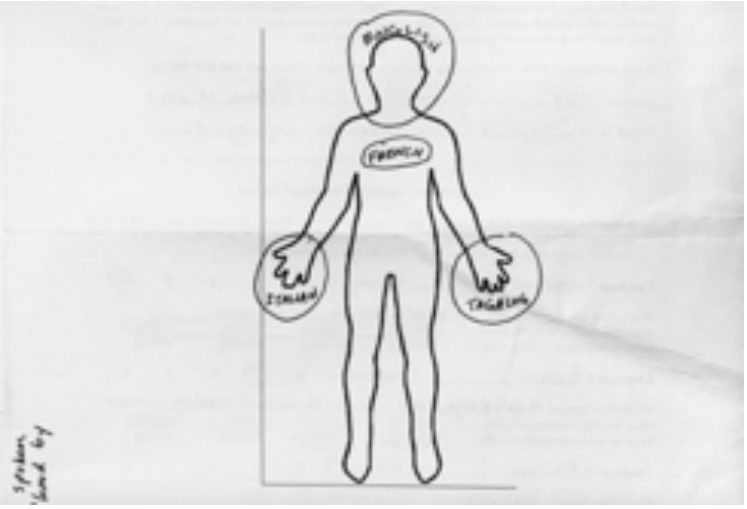
Language Portrait for ASL02



TAG01 identified four discrete spherical regions as significant, placing English in the head bubble, Italian across the chest, Tagalog at the left hand, and Italian at the right hand. For these hands, the student specified that Italian and Tagalog "still feel like tools that I consciously manipulate." This example shows the intentional, non-automatic nature of language use in Italian and Tagalog for TAG01. These languages and language activities are *extensions* of her identity, but also externalized in the metaphor of tools that require skill, instead of a more stative sense of being in the way of the heart or brain. Her use of the word "still" shows her conception of language learning as a process of internalization, which also coincides with the language proficiency framework that will be further described below. By placing the hand association in time with the word "still," the student indicates that there may be a future point in time when these languages will have been internalized beyond the need for conscious manipulation.

Figure 29

Language Portrait for TAG01



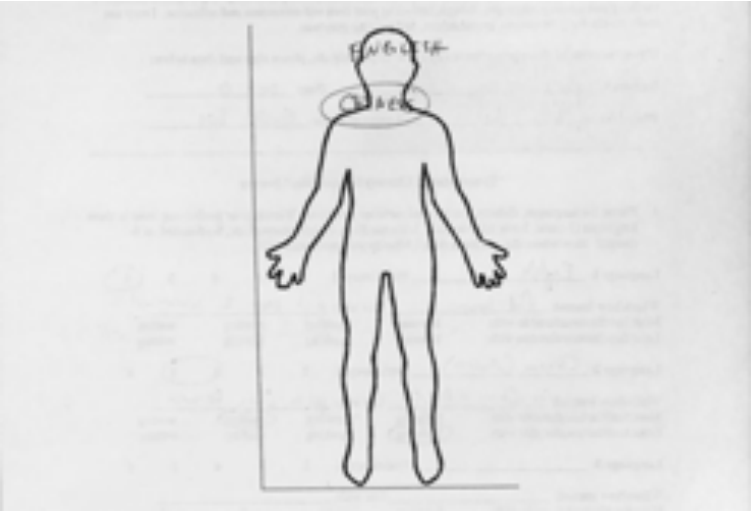
Physiological Articulation

The third conceptual framework represented physiological articulation or functional associations related to the production or reception of language. It was a more muscular or sensory approach. Many students identified the feelings or manner of experiencing language in their body.

For example, SWA04 identifies a region from the lower head to upper chest and places a Chinese label within this oval, describing “Chinese vibrates more in my jaw/throat and upper lungs.” This is a particularly key example that illustrates clearly a trend evidenced in several of the previous examples in this chapter that have identified the mouth as associational sites for less familiar languages based on unfamiliar shapes and sounds. For example, SPA12 from figure 10 reports, “Chinese is so challenging that it feels foreign and new in my mouth.”

Figure 30

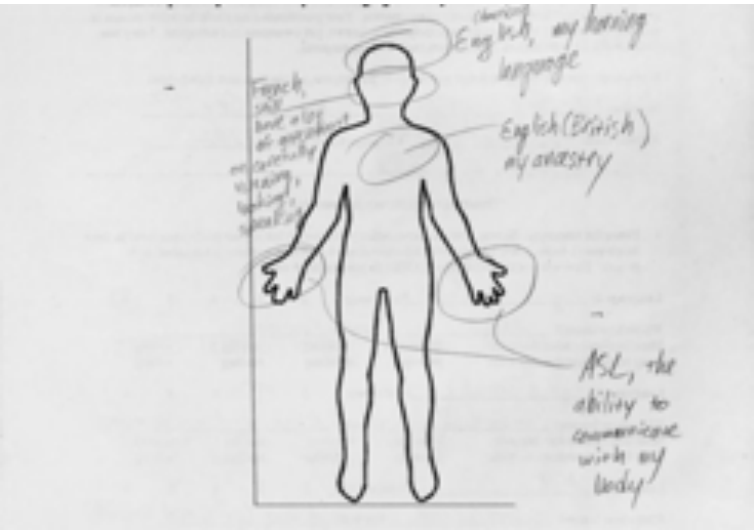
Language Portrait for SWA04



Representative of many other first-year ASL students, ASL08 strongly associates the hands signing. The hands are circled and labeled with ASL, citing "the ability to communicate with my body." Hands are a very salient – if not THE primary – feature of language to students learning a signed language for the first time based on the visual, rather than aural basis for modality.

Figure 31

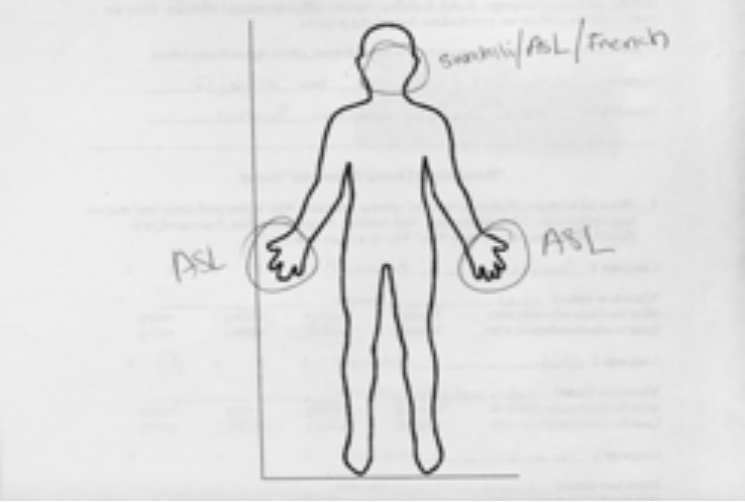
Language Portrait for ASL08



A particularly interesting example of this conceptual framework that hints at a time correlation to literacy development continues this story in SWA07, who circles both the face and hands as significant for language relationships. SWA07 specifies that Swahili/ASL/French are associated with the face while ASL is also located at the hands, writing specifically, “Hands for ASL, pronunciation for all others.” The focus on pronunciation for spoken languages is supplemented by a similar approach to physical articulation of ASL. While the hands serve as an important manual component of ASL for shape, place, and manner of articulation, the face would be related to articulation for other components such as eyebrows and mouth morphemes. At the time of this Swahili class, SWA07 had several previous years of background experience with ASL, so the initial salience of hands for signing has also expanded and developed into a more holistic understanding of the visual nature of the language overall.

Figure 32

Language Portrait for SWA07



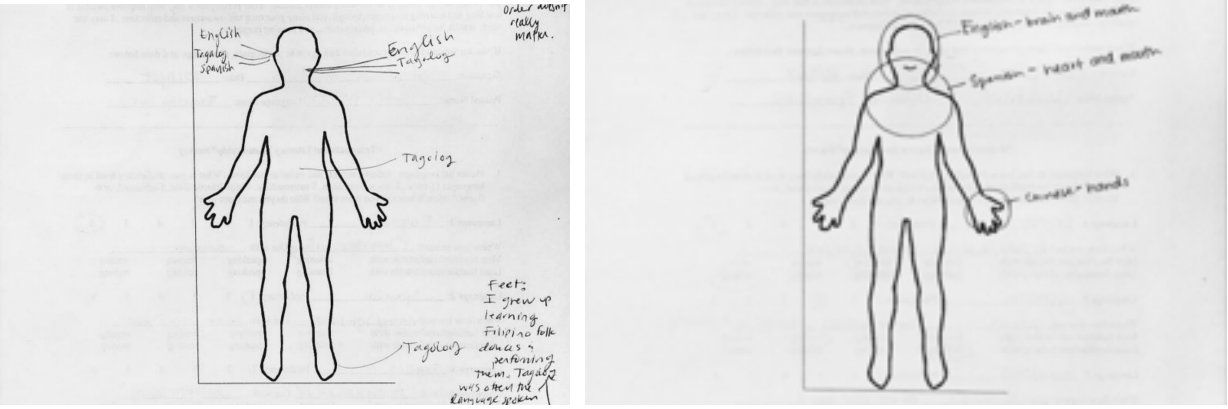
Cultural/Contextual/Relational Associations

The fourth conceptual framework included cultural, contextual, or relational associations. This was a way of representing more indirect and indexical experience related to a language or language variety, rather than just the language itself.

TAG13 identifies the feet as important since “I grew up learning Filipino folk dances,” and the stomach because of “the Filipino dishes my Lola makes,” where Lola is grandmother in Tagalog. Studying Mandarin in middle school, SPA02 indicates that “Chinese is in my hands because of the well-known numbers song I still remember.”

Figure 33

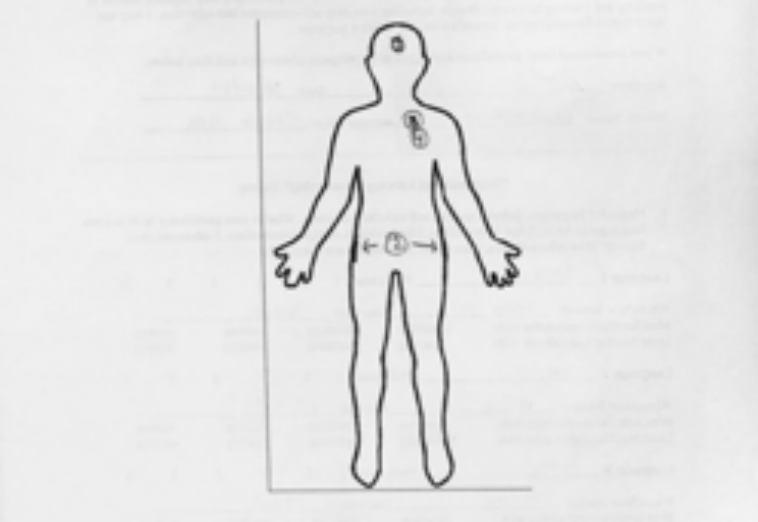
Juxtaposed Language Portraits for TAG13 & SPA02



TAG02 shows Spanish at the hips with arrows indicating movement because it's "fun dancing to." This example also indicates some of the limitations of a static image in this survey since motion and mobility are both important to the embodied associations relating to language.

Figure 34

Language Portrait for TAG02



Proficiency/Learning Strategies

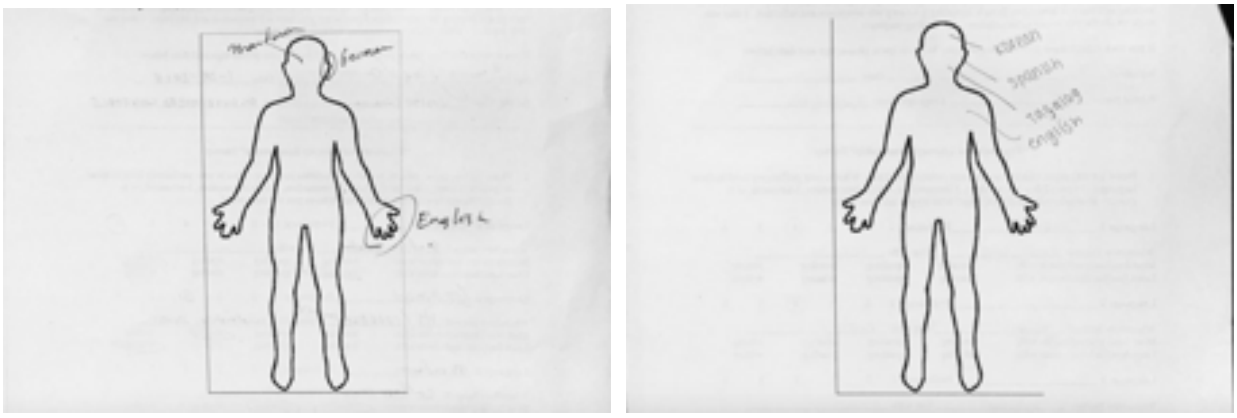
The fifth conceptual framework held reported language proficiency or learning strategies. Interestingly, these were sometimes even presented in a listed format in the explanation sections

following the body diagram. In the next three examples, the associations are straightforwardly related to the parts of the body where the languages are being used for specific purposes, or the ability level of using language at these locations.

TAG12 lists language association explanations as “Korean – use memory, Spanish – hear Spanish, English – know by heart, Tagalog – practice speaking,” where Korean is at the upper head, Spanish at the ear, Tagalog at the mouth, and English at the heart/chest. Similarly, SLU03 writes, “ENGL -> I write many word/day, Germ -> I listen to German news & music, Man -> Pictorial written language,” where English is at the hand, German at the Ear, and Mandarin at the eyes. These are all functional associations, and the listed formats form contrastive distinctions between locations on the body.

Figure 35

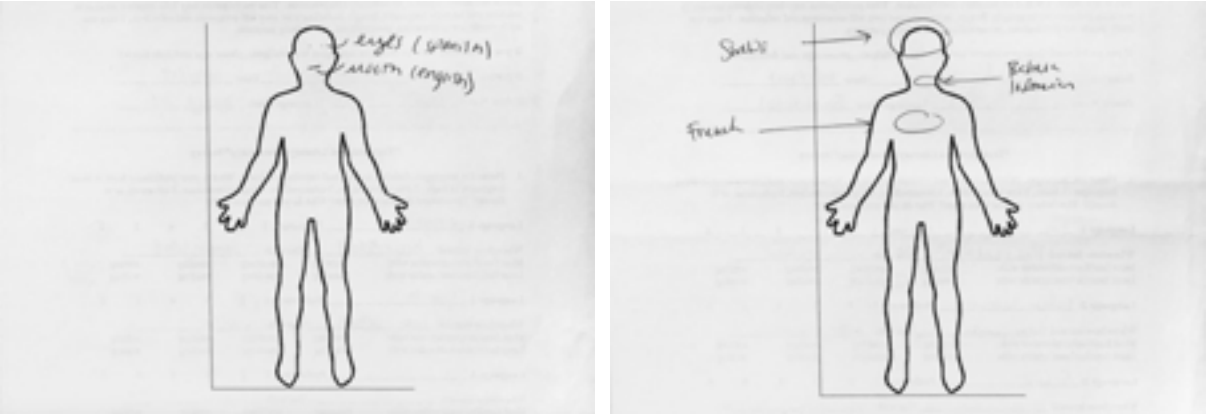
Juxtaposed Language Portraits for TAG12 & SLU03



Beyond a merely functional association, some participants further evaluate the function of language by proficiency of performance. TAG09 draws and labels eyes and a mouth with associated languages in parentheses. These relationships are explained by, “I speak quite well in English,” and, “I’m more proficient in reading Spanish.” This example shows a strengths-based proficiency difference while another student indicates a deficit or conflictual relationship arising from proficiency differences where Bahasa Indonesian is ranked higher by proficiency than Swahili. SWA01 circles three regions: the upper head (Swahili), mouth/throat (Bahasa Indonesian), and chest (French). The student explains, “I keep thinking/saying Indonesian words when I am trying to think of Swahili words.” In this example, Bahasa Indonesian represents a filter or obstacle blocking Swahili usage or emergence.

Figure 36

Juxtaposed Language Portraits for TAG09 & SWA01

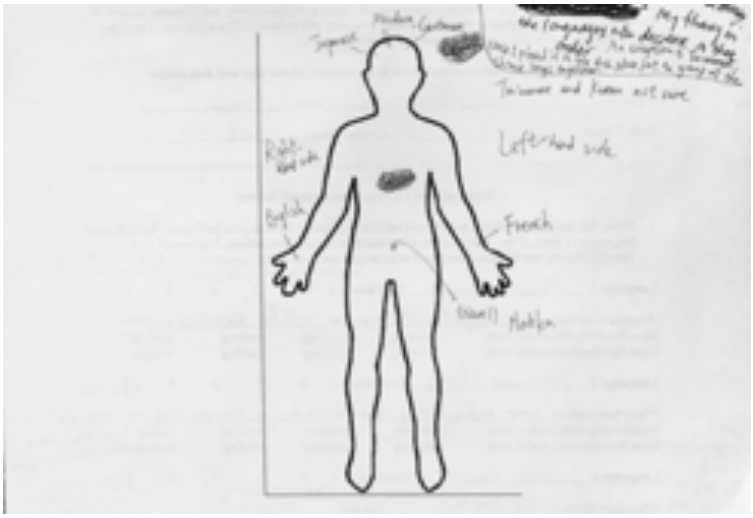


The Overall Picture

Each of these frameworks were not mutually exclusive, and as indicated previously, many students were activating multiple frameworks in complementary ways. Some of these frameworks may also be more prominent or relevant for specific individuals at different times and for different purposes. For example, FRE04 labels the navel or belly button with Hakka since "Hakka is more associated with my maternal family." Interestingly, FRE04 also specifically provides a geographically categorical value to an earlier framework when he writes, "English and French (European languages) are more like a tool for me." These appear in contrast to the vast amount of Asian languages used in a variety of contexts with different people and purposes including Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Taiwanese Hokkien, Japanese, and Korean. He also indicated challenges or uncertainty about representing some of these languages on the body like Taiwanese and Korean.

Figure 37

Language Portrait for FRE04



It is useful to unpack this particular example since it is so complex. From his survey, FRE04 lists the following languages: Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese Chinese, Hakka Chinese, Taiwanese Hokkien, English, Japanese, Korean, French. He reports the following in his written explanation:

> Mandarin is the language I used the most (and the most comfortable with), but I also learned Cantonese the same time as an infant and it influenced my Mandarin a lot. I have been exposed to my grandparents' speech in Hakka since I was an infant but I am less comfortable with it since the number of people I could talk to in Hakka was limited. English was the first foreign language I learned so I ordered it right after the Chinese languages. Japanese, Korean, and French were ordered by the time I started learning. My fluency in the languages also decrease in that order. An exception is Taiwanese since I placed it in the 4th place just to group all the Chinese langs together. [...] I think in Mandarin/Cantonese (native) and Japanese, and Japanese is the dominant language that controls my music/art, which is processed in the right-half the brain. English and French (European languages) are more like a tool for me, and English is more important to me and I am right-handed. Hakka is more associated with my maternal family so I put it on the navel. [...] I go by a Japanese name and it is the name I use for my phone and laptop accounts, and for my primary email account.

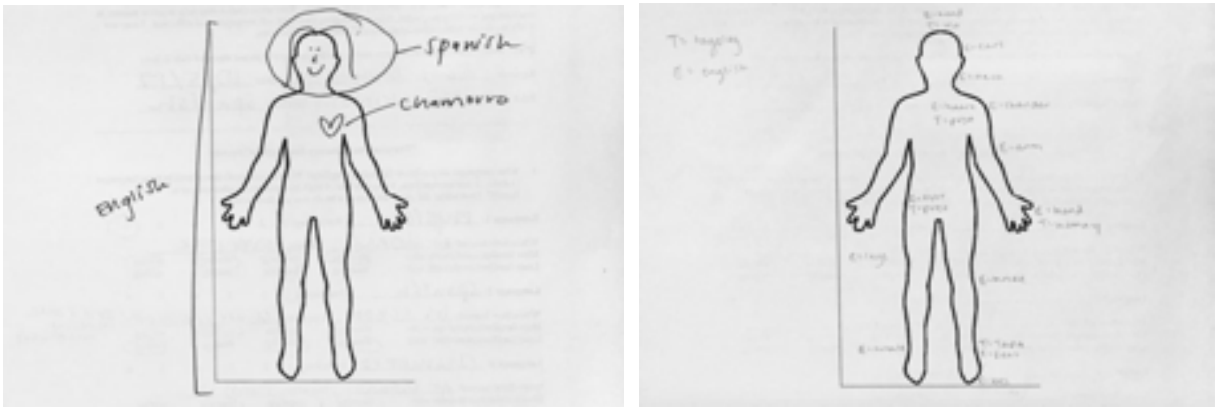
In a follow-up interview, FRE04 shared that he began to memorize Japanese hiragana and katakana characters at age 8, began listening to J-pop music at 11, and began self-guiding his own Japanese grammar study at 12. His parents did not encourage his learning of Japanese specifically and Asian languages generally, but did encourage him to learn European ones,

especially introducing him to English, even though they did not speak it themselves. FRE04 himself tends to categorize his languages as Chinese, Asian, or European. FRE04 represents both the most language varieties and one of the most diverse embodied frames of any other participant in the study. “Identity/affiliation” is relevant for both Hakka and Japanese (torso and right brain music/art), “corporeal metaphors” are relevant for English and French as tools in the hands, “cultural/relational” associations are relevant to Hakka through his grandparents at the navel, “learning style and proficiency” are relevant throughout and overlap with core-periphery associations as he lists Taiwanese and Korean outside of the body while all the other language varieties have locations inside. He serves as the greatest exemplar of the mutually reinforcing, rather than exclusive, nature of frames.

How participants took up the task of mapping the body is significant in itself. I will highlight just a few of the significant examples where students interpreted or represented the task differently or extended beyond the more widely patterned trends. SPAN10 actually drew a face and hair on the body to represent herself, even though it didn’t add any information to her representation of specific language relationships. Meanwhile, TAG04 provided labels for body parts in both English and Tagalog in spatial relation to their location on the body, similar to the medical-style body diagrams in the university’s Department of Dance. There are more labels in English than Tagalog, indicating that puso, kamay, puet, and tapa for heart, hand, butt, and feet respectively may be the most commonly used or known words for this student in Tagalog. Various interpretations on the task itself indicate a wide variety of literacy practices and expression.

Figure 38

Juxtaposed Language Portraits for SPAN10 & TAG04



Language frameworks and literacy activities related to those broadly conceptualized languages entail form part of students’ literacy repertoires as they are enacted in certain spaces and situated socially. Recent, historical, and/or prospective travel and/or immigration were involved in many of the students’ language backgrounds determining with whom they used different language

varieties. In fact, each of the five conceptual frames were reported by members of each community, so the discrete language communities in themselves cannot serve as the primary variables conditioning these conceptual frames. Individual histories, desire, and mobility beyond the learning communities have made certain frames more available or relevant.

The table below demonstrates how commonly each frame appeared across survey participants. Corporeal metaphor was the most common embodied language relationship while physiological articulation was the least common, which could indicate that relational-semiotic associations are stronger than actual sensory associations. Learners do all articulate languages physiologically within and across their communities, but this type of frame appeared less salient to report on their "relationship to the language." Nevertheless, the experience of inhabiting a body and experiencing the world through this mediation plays an important role in how participants perceive their experiences.

Table 6

Quantity of Coded Frame Presence in Survey Responses

Participants	Identity/Affiliation	corporeal metaphors	physiological articulation	proficienty/learning	cultural/relational
1	ASL02	ASL02	ASL06	ASL01	FRE10
2	ASL07	ASL04	ASL08	ASL03	FRE04
3	ASL08	ASL07	SPA06	ASL08	SPA02
4	FRE06	FRE10	SPA12	FRE11	SPA07
5	FRE02	FRE06	SWA01	FRE01	SPA08
6	FRE11	FRE01	SWA03	FRE02	SWA03
7	FRE04	FRE04	SWA04	FRE03	TAG02
8	FRE07	FRE05	SWA07	FRE08	TAG04
9	SPA10	FRE07		FRE09	TAG13
10	SWA02	FRE08		SPA02	SLU04
11	SWA03	SPA01		SPA05	
12	SWA05	SPA02		SPA08	
13	TAG02	SPA03		SWA03	
14	TAG05	SPA04		SWA06	
15	TAG06	SPA07		TAG03	
16	TAG07	SPA08		TAG08	
17	TAG10	SPA09		TAG09	
18	TAG14	SPA11		TAG12	
19	TAG15	SPA12		TAG13	
20	SLU01	SWA01		TAG13	
21	SLU02	SWA02		TAG15	
22		SWA03		TAG16	
23		SWA05		SLU03	
24		TAG03			
25		TAG05			
26		TAG06			
27		TAG07			
28		TAG10			
29		TAG11			
30		TAG15			
31		TAG16			
32		SLU02			
33		SLU04			
Total	21	33	7	23	10

Observations: Mediated Spatio-Temporal Embodiment

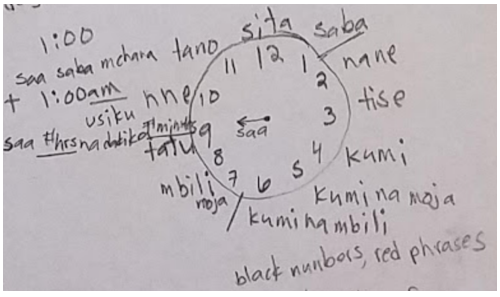
The ability to read and write the world in a Derridean sense is connected to one's experiences with a body in the world. In each of these learning communities, students were placed or positioned themselves in the world differently both individually and relationally to material or imagined conditions. This section gathers classroom observations and interview data specifically related to experiences or conceptions of bodies in space and time from the different language communities. These ways of experiencing and conceptualizing the world connect to different affordances and constraints on literacy practices. The approach is not simply comparative where groups are considered against each other, but thematic based on particular insights the different communities provide to an overall understanding of spatio-temporal sponsorscapes on literacy practices.

While explaining time to students in the Swahili class, Mwalimu drew a circle on the white board and placed numbers in their position on a clock face using black ink for English and then wrote Swahili numbers alphabetically in red ink in close proximity to the corresponding English numbers on the clock face. She explained that for "Swahili people," the sun in Africa is consistent year round. She showed sunshine with palms up and elbows bent held at shoulder height and showed the sun going down by lowering her palms on either side. The sun rises around 6 AM and sets around 6 PM. For sunrise, she held her right hand at shoulder height. For sunset, she held her right hand at thigh height. Telling time in Swahili is therefore "counting how many hours since the sun rose." In another explanation, Mwalimu used a horizontal forearm to represent the land/horizon and the angle of her other forearm to indicate sun position relative to someone on that surface.

My notes that replicate Mwalimu's white board drawings are included below. Notice that she drew a line on the clock between 6 and 7 or *kumi na mbili* ('12') and *moja* ('1') to indicate sunrise and sunset. The line between 1 and 2 or *saba* ('7') and *nane* ('8') indicates the sun's zenith or transition from morning to afternoon.

Figure 39

Clock & Sun Connections to Time in Swahili



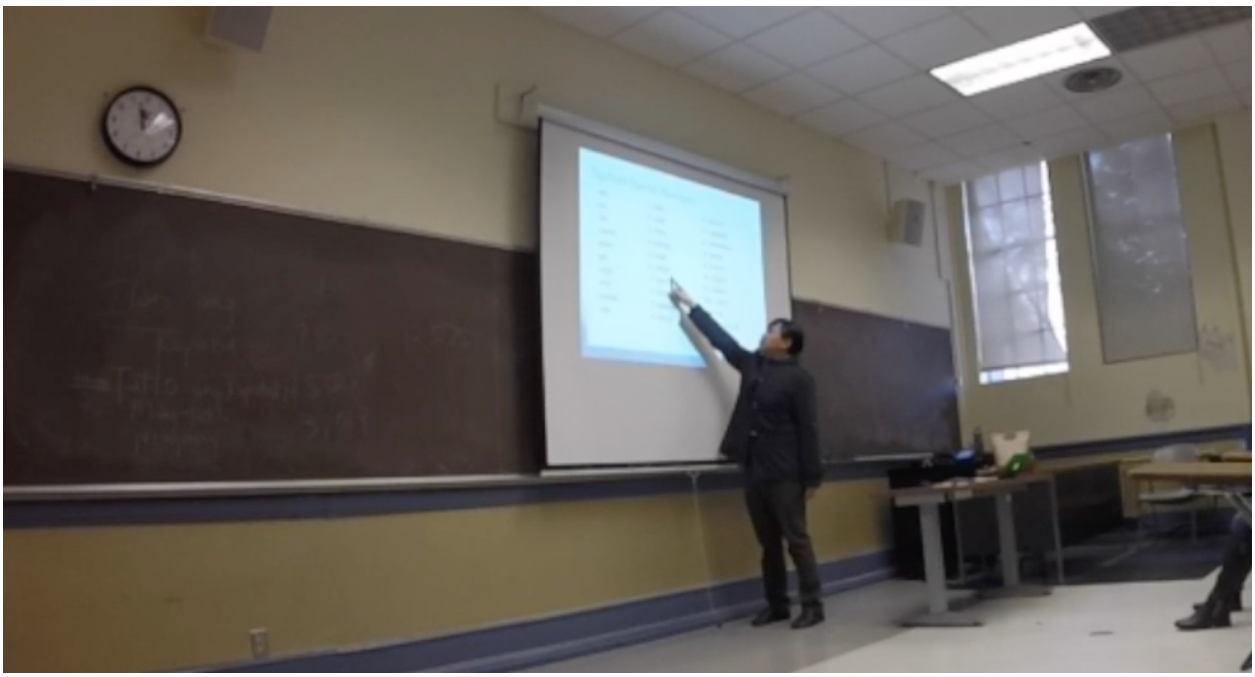
Mwalimu created a transferable or inclusive frame for students from the English language, saying, “You were all doing this already, you just didn’t know it. [...] When you are saying AM, you are really saying ‘after midnight.’” The English conventional time frame was therefore positioned inside of the Swahili conceptual time frame. Because of the variety in latitudes at which English has developed and is currently spoken, it is more dissociated with a sun position and appears more arbitrary. However, this conceptual explanation in Swahili positioned students into a frame where their bodies were in relationship to the position of the sun and the horizon. Instead of just considering Swahili time based on their knowledge and correspondences to English, then, Mwalimu pushed them to accept the Swahili frame as more grounded in nature and to fit their knowledge of English inside of this frame. Mwalimu also explained that cell phones have led to flexibility in time-telling practices since they display international, not local numbering systems for telling time. This is a significant reference to objects and technologies sponsoring local literacy practices in Swahili-speaking countries, but not within the scope of the current study.

In the Tagalog class, Kuya presented three ways of telling time and age through numbers in the Philippines based on their colonial and linguistic history. One way was Tagalog, the second Spanish, and the third a mix between the two. He said, “You never know who you’re going to talk to in the Philippines” because there are all kinds of people in the city or from villages. In this case, the instructor is projecting student bodies and language use not just for use in the classroom, then, but for use in the Philippines. The expectation is that students will/could be using Tagalog in the Philippines, and they are responsible for matching or conforming to language variation in their moments of interaction with diverse speakers based on the Philippines' colonial history with Spain. Their physical presence in the Philippines would put them at an intersection of different sponsorscape elements than those in the US class, but the US classroom practices have been adapted in response to sponsoring elements in the Philippines.

Language/literacy practices therefore require rhetorical flexibility and responsiveness to other imagined mobile bodies and the accompanying language variation they could bring. This variation is inextricably connected to influences of time with layered colonial histories and place with different language variation between people in urban and rural settings. The imagined communities and purposes for communication are heterogenous. When presenting/reviewing numbers, Kuya said that Spanish numbers are commonly used to tell ages, but repeated the phrase “commonly used” with emphasis and contrasted it to “should,” saying that “there is nothing holding you back from telling ages in Tagalog up to one hundred,” again committing to an open disposition and flexibility of conventions rooted in rhetorical responsiveness. He particularly pointed out both patterns of similarity and differences of vocabulary/pronunciation between Spanish and Tagalog, establishing relationships of proximity in the spatial arrangement of elements on the slide.

Figure 40

Number System Variety by Column in Tagalog



Note. Spanish and Tagalog numbers appear in different columns on the slide, but the rhetorical adjustments between systems and conventions are described more fluidly by Kuya.

This pragmatic approach situated language variation and conventions as a rhetorical issue of access and understanding depending on the situation and interlocutor. There is recognition of circumstances within which language contact and practices have developed and are used across communities. The focus on communication flexibility and access within and across communities connects to Kuya's wider values of access in teaching and learning. At the annual end-of-year Tagalog celebration and skit performance at the university's Ethnic Cultural Center, there was an opportunity at the end for students to share words about their experiences. Several students thanked him for allowing them to participate in the language classes beyond the university enrollment caps, and he explained that even when he gets in trouble with his department, he doesn't want any student to be "disenfranchised" through denied enrollment. In fact, TAG01 shared during her interview that she had to drop the class because of her heavy work and class schedule during spring quarter, but Kuya and her group members still invited and included her participation in the end-of-year skit activity.

In the ASL class, spatio-temporal orientation to the world and within a communicative situation was always very important. Linguistically, placing events in time and space typically happens at the beginning of sentences to establish context. As a signed language, signers use dominant and non-dominant hands, corresponding to handedness. Kristi told right-handed students to use their

right hand as dominant and left-handed students to use their left hand as dominant. Signers also had to learn to sign from their own perspective, not the perspective of the person with whom they are communicating. Interlocutors therefore need to spatially orient to the signer's perspective to understand what is being communicated.

These foundational elements of ASL were covered during the first few weeks of class as part of Visual Gestural Language (VGL) literacy activities. These supplemental activities and explicit explanation via reference to literacy research helped establish visual communicative norms and conventions for hearing students. Students in the class practiced giving and receiving information based on the signers' perspective using dominant and non-dominant hand techniques such as drawing a shape with one hand while holding a reference point for that shape with the other hand and task-based activities to identify which shape from a group of shapes on the slides one groupmate had chosen.

Figure 41

Spatial Reference Points in ASL

Note. Kristi uses a spatial reference point on the screen to elicit student participation of a particular shape applying these principles.

Throughout the quarter, Kristi would sometimes rotate her body so that students could see her signing space from over her shoulder instead of face-to-face to demonstrate the correct way to form signs if students had confusion. For ASL learning, not only was the individual space and perspective of one person important for perceiving and expressing meaning, but one's space and perspective in relationship to others and the surrounding world and community were also important. This required hearing students to shift to a visually based perception of the world grounded in not just what *they* could see, but what *could* be seen, and *what* was seeable by *whom*.

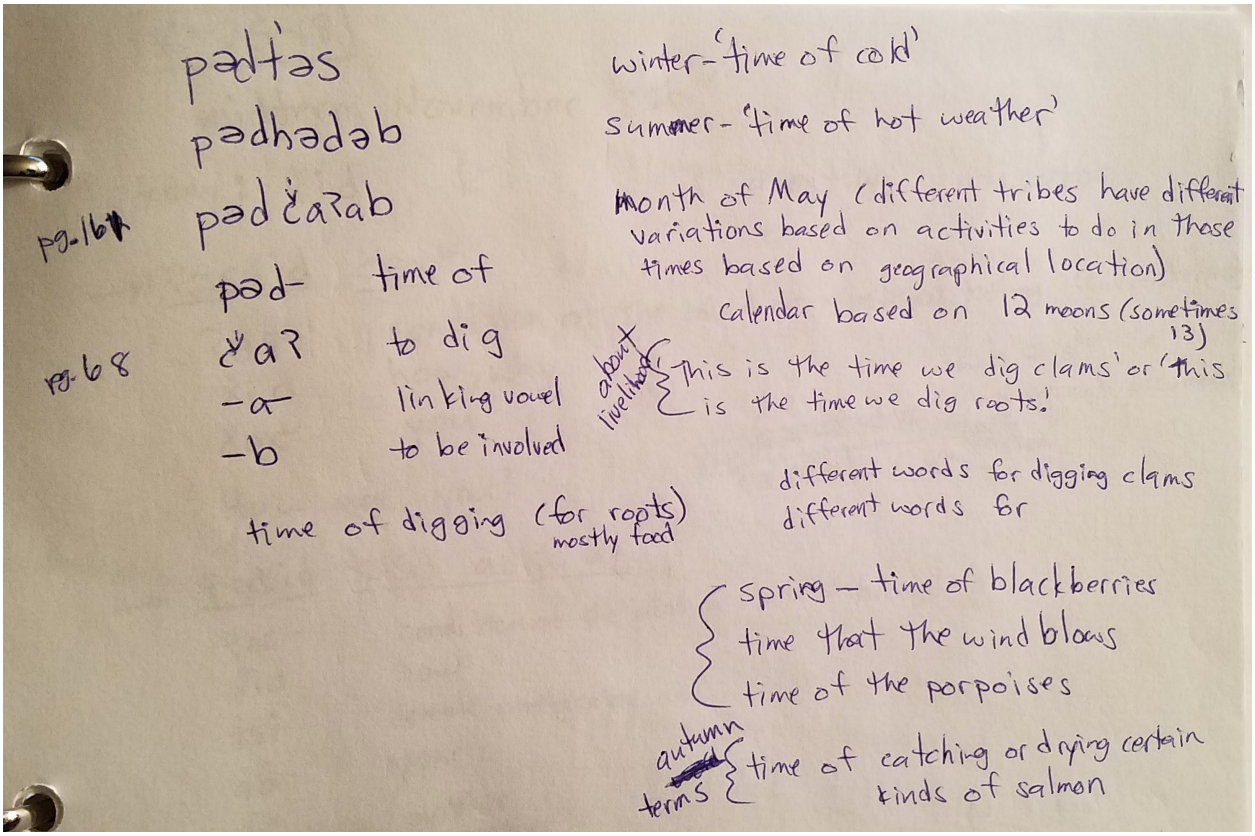
It was very important to know cardinal directions like North, East, South, and West and particular locations were described using reference points. Being able to find one's way as well as give and get directions was explained as very important to daily life and Deaf culture, so spatial orientation was a crucial skill for the class to practice. The textbook provided some vocabulary from California, where the publishing company is located, but Kristi and the other ASL instructors at the University of Washington supplemented this with US, State, and local neighborhood vocabulary. These signs have developed based on the Deaf community experience of those places and include descriptive as well as evaluative elements. For example, the term for Seattle overall uses a more widespread location convention of shaking a letter handshape (S) side to side at shoulder height while the U District specifically uses the signs UNIVERSITY AREA. Yakima uses the Y handshape to draw the shape of a valley, which is a geographical feature of that region. Bellevue and Redmond are signed with the B handshape and R handshape respectively while rubbing the tip of the nose to show 'snobbiness' or economic affluence related to the tech companies located there.

Seattle neighborhood vocabulary was not on a test for the class, but used during classroom activities and helped students communicate about their daily lives. The textbook used vocabulary from California based on the location of the publishing company, Dawnsign Press, but local vocabulary was provided as a supplement both in person in class and for review through videos posted to the university learning management system online. Students practiced describing where things were located during class. Kristi demonstrated a model with the campus location of Red Square. The process included pointing (according to cardinal direction orientation), fingerspelling (the name of the place), providing the sign (the name of the place), and then explaining the location (how to get there). Many students demonstrated challenges remembering their cardinal orientation from within the classroom, which could indicate their usual conceptions of the classroom space as more fragmented and situational, rather than integrated into a sense of an overall integrated space connected to the world outside.

On several occasions, the contingent nature of time based on bodily location and local environmental conditions entered discussion for the Southern Lushootseed learning communities. During Autumn quarter of 2018, the prefix pəd- was one of the featured language items. The dictionary definition for this item is "time of" and refers to a time in which a certain activity or conditions are happening. Some examples of these given in class and from the dictionary include pədkʷic, 'time of the silver salmon' (when the silver salmon are migrating up the river) and pədgwədbixʷ, 'time of the blackberries' (when the blackberries are ripe).

Figure 42

Class Notebook Entry for pəd- Prefix in Southern Lushootseed



Note. Page numbers in the left column reference the dictionary and notes on the right include cultural explanations for example phrases.

One of the language circle participants coming to campus from North Bend mentioned "driving through the seasons" to arrive at the Seattle campus. Similar to this comment, Tami said on another occasion that people could "follow the seasons up the mountain;" for example, snow leaves the higher elevation areas later and berries ripen later at higher elevation, so people could continue harvesting berries by following these conditions up the mountain. Differing embodied experiences and activities are therefore possible simultaneously in a chronological sense based on circumstances of that body within a natural landscape.

One of the Southern Lushootseed participants, SLU01 referred to local indigenous people during an interview as "cedar people." Similarly, Tami provided a handout during Autumn of 2018 on cedar trees and their cultural significance to local peoples. A tribal elder who participated in the community language circle shared opening words at several campus and community events about the important material and spiritual connections cedars provide current Coast Salish peoples to their ancestors, but these details will not be shared here since he is not an actual study

participant and topics of spirituality were specifically requested not to be taught at the university when Vi Hilbert began her linguistic research and teaching on Lushootseed at UW in the 1980s. However, these brief anecdotes indicate a spatial conceptualization of the human body as connected to the local environment, rather than distinct from it.

Discussion

In order to participate in everyday classroom activities and communication, students needed to take up or participate in specific shared or conventional conceptions of their body in time and space: for example, note-taking and conceptually relating the sun's position and movement to literacy devices like phones and clocks for time telling in Swahili, practicing flexibility and variation of time telling phrases for diverse, spatially-mobile audiences in Tagalog, spatial referencing as grammatical agreement and situated orientation in ASL, and describing time based on seasonal activities and circumstances in Southern Lushootseed. There are two previously identified concepts (frame alignment and uptake) that are relevant to interpretation of the social and material realities that can inform the idea of sponsorscapes, but I also propose holding space for further recognizing or investigating a third (projection). I will introduce the first two concepts, highlighting their relevance to literacy sponsorship before proposing more attention to the third.

Goffman introduced the term 'frame' in sociology as "the tacit understandings of reality constructed by individuals in social interaction" or "a shared definition of a situation" (Persson, 2018). He referred to these interactions and frames as both simultaneously ritualized and vulnerable to transformation as at least two socially situated individuals attempt to define a situation, understand others in the situation, and act according to the situation. Persson writes that "the concept of frame illustrates how people simultaneously create inertia and variability, and are capable of shifting between these two." He identifies three major aspects of frames, framing, and frame analysis, as cognitive, interactive, and situational. Within cognitive linguistics, Lakoff & Johnson (2003) indicate that "most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature." They demonstrate that metaphors are culturally systematic in facilitating understanding, which can both highlight and hide aspects of the particular concept and shape how the situation and role of those involved is understood. Frames coordinate understanding and action of situations, and these metaphorical conceptions impact how and what is understood by whom.

This leads to the question of how frames can be cultivated. Two different fields address such issues: Social Movement Studies with "frame alignment" and Rhetorical Genre Studies with "uptake." In a highly influential article on social movements, Snow et. al. (1986) describes frame alignment where linking frames between an organization and individual interpretative frames is a necessary condition for participation. Four major processes achieve this alignment through

different ‘micromobilizations’ via communication. The main alignment processes include frame bridging (“linkage of two or more ideologically congruent by structurally unconnected frames”), frame amplification (“clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem or set of events,” including value or belief amplification), frame extension (“extend[ing] the boundaries of its primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents”), and frame transformation (“new values [...] planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or ‘misframings’ reframed”).

In a more recent article, Snow et. al. (2014) revisit the ideas and impact of the original article. Frames had helped the field investigate the “signifying, discursive aspects of interaction both within movements and between movements and other relevant organizational actors.” Frame alignment sought to discover mechanisms of reinterpretation, which built upon Goffman’s underdeveloped general idea of ‘keying’ frame transformations. The 2014 article reiterates the importance of empirical data with content analysis and identifies a trend in the development of frame alignment studies from primarily descriptive studies to those that trace causal relationships of framing actions. Crucially, they draw on a collection of other studies to conclude that “the mobilizing capacity of frames is dependent in part on the range of problems they address” (37). The success of frame alignment, then, depends on the capacity of these frames to respond to situations.

Another relevant inroad to frame cultivation is ‘uptake,’ which Freadman (1994) defines as the “local event of crossing a boundary,” specifically the boundary between at least two genres. In other words, it is a reinterpretation, translation and/or mediation of meaning. An uptake is a reaction, which may confirm or reject the intended purpose of one of the genres by (re-)interpreting it. An uptake moves previous meanings into “a different conceptual framework, a different set of assumptions,” so uptakes impact and naturalize how people understand and respond to situations. Genres such as text books and informational posters can condition particular uptakes, but cannot guarantee them. Freadman’s interest in ‘conditioning’ uptakes, Goffman’s ‘keying’ of frame transformation, and Snow et. al.’s ‘alignment’ of frames represent resonant forms of inquiry into the process of how interpretative frames develop and come to be aligned or taken up, which is inherently part of sponsorship. In previous chapters, I have addressed the idea of literacy affordances impacting literacy practices. Dryer (2016) introduces the idea of *uptake* affordances, and many of the potential uptakes that are afforded will be available through sponsorscapes.

I would extend the original idea of speech act theory that underpins the concept of uptake following a tradition of embodied material rhetoric to posit that every act of speech defines and desires the world in a particular way. Actions toward definition and desire are therefore also speech acts, even if they do not focus on “speech” itself. In the same way, a multi-literacies

tradition moves "speech" act beyond just linguistic modes of communication. In terms of their more traditional forms of literacy through oral, written, and signed mediums, these contingent and conventionalized projections of the world emerge.

The language portrait body mapping task in the student survey and interview data suggest that background experiences such as family members, participation and activities with other communities, previous classes or other learning materials, and past/current (im-)mobilites all influence how students are conceptually framing their embodied experiences and relationships to language. The body mapping representations and emergent frames identified above show patterns of framing that are available and the literacy experiences and relationships that they consciously identify as significant in those mappings.

For the embodied aspect of uptake affordances, modality, medium, and texts mediate student literacy practices. For ASL students, this means heightened visual and spatial awareness contribute to their ability to perform conventional literacies of grammar and word order while giving directions. For Swahili students, it means that reading a clock face is anchored to relative sun position at a particular geographic location/region. For Tagalog students, it means that community/family accessibility and connection is achieved through linguistic variation and rhetorical flexibility. For Southern Lushootseed students, it means continuity of time and place and strict adherence to pronunciation and grammar structure alongside conceptual forms of translation.

These forms of literacy sponsorship (framing and uptake) take place primarily during and through speech acts and discourse. However, this brings us to the third significant concept for interpretation as a meaning-making process. *Projection* of the world corresponds to Derrida's original "writing of the world" and Latour's "modalities" of existence. Humans project the world into existence by their perceptions and embodied experiences within it. This Derridean projection of the world also moves the process of interpretation much earlier in the process of abstract and material meaning making than speech act theory, which posits uptake as a response to a locutionary act, and framing, which is likewise discursive. Projecting is an original "writing" the world as a mode of existence that defines and desires the world according to a state of embodiment. This preliminary act of "writing the world" therefore takes place at an earlier stage than traditional speech act theory posits by preceding language itself and is a mapping or interpretation/perception of the world through experience in a body. As a selected abstract representation of the world, then, projection is a form of preliminary embodied literacy. It is an internalized literacy *before* literacy that underlies situated perception.

In terms of sponsorscapes, participants are arranged institutionally and as a community with a variety of felicity conditions for selecting different existential modes based on different elements of their lifewide trajectories. As one example, family is an important social unit of life

experience reported by many Tagalog students, and they treat their learning community as a family with an older brother, Kuya, as instructor. Some of the available/sponsored existential modes or frames directly related to literacy are reported on student language portraits. Projection as a preliminary embodied manifestation of literacy does not erase participants' other available existential "modes" or other available/selectable "projections" of the world. They can still select to take up a different projection of the world at other times and places for different purposes. Students on their language portrait body mapping activities above sometimes demonstrated multiple ways of relating to language varieties. Learners tend to show different levels of investment in literacy practices based on their frameworks for conceptualizing and approaching particular languages and literacy practices they engage in those languages, and greater awareness may lead to greater agency.

With this understanding of the importance of framing and uptake on sponsorship and of projection as a preliminary literacy and existential mode sponsored by the situated body, the next two chapters examine specific literacy practices with genre and translation for participants in the Southern Lushootseed learning community for a specific storytelling assignment during the third quarter of three in an introductory level 1-year program of study.

Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and malign. But stories can also be used to empower, and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people. But stories can also repair that broken dignity. *-Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie*

Chapter 5
Genre-mediated Literacy: Honoring the Intellect

Make sure to pay attention to your story's structure. Use markers of time and sequence (*puis, ensuite, le lendemain...*) as well as logical connectors (*donc, alors, mais*…). (Flumian et al., 2016, p. 287)

Background

Tension remains between the relationship of originality and repetition. Pennycook (2010) convincingly argues that there is originality in repetition although the preference for originality and the idea of originality as something uniquely new or lacking in repetition is a commonly held belief prioritized in most modern western societies. With their recognizably typified and prototypical characteristics that dance between originality of instance and repetition of convention or purpose, genre is a rich site for observing both original and repeated elements of situated communication, and in fact, previous studies of genres have shown their role in mediating and/or sponsoring literacy activity (Alexander et al., 2017; Jacobs, 2007; Shultz, 2011). In this chapter, the role of genre within and across literacy sponsorscapes highlights both original and repeated elements of developing literacy practices. On the side of originality are unique manifestations of networked human-material assemblages. On the side of repetition are culturally situated forms of conventionality and responsibility for honoring the intellect of first language speakers. These two "sides," or aspects of literacy sponsorship remain, of course, mutually entwined. Following key genres within the sponsorscape of the Southern Lushootseed learning community helps clarify the importance of recognizing both.

There are several traditions of genre scholarship with relevant insight to the questions of this chapter. Swales (1990) defines genre as "a class of communicative events with a shared set of communicative purposes, which vary in their prototypicality and rationale." Martin (1997) defines genre as "staged goal-oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives." Miller (1994) defines genres as social actions and "typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations," (pp. 159). Genres can therefore be seen as communicative *events*, social *processes*, or typified *actions*. Following a material rhetoric tradition, I will be writing about them as actants within a literacy network or ecology (Lynch & Rivers, 2015; Bennett, 2010). That is not to say that agency does not also remain with human actors in this network, but that genres as social constructs have consequentiality, which mediates literacy activity. Spinuzzi (2003) describes a genre ecology as "the complex of artifacts mediating a

given activity." Each genre does not act in isolation then, but coordinates with other elements in mediating literacy activity and development, including - as I discuss in this chapter - in the Southern Lushootseed language learning community.

As Smith et al. (2019) have reported, literacy sponsorscapes include human-material assemblages and demonstrate characteristics of being dynamically networked and involving reciprocal rather than unidirectional relationships of influence. In this vein, one particularly important concept for research with genre in literacy development interfacing with indigenous communities would be to engage the concept of survivance, an important critical term in Native American Studies and Indigenous Rhetorics, originally defined by Vizenor (1994) as "an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or survivable name" (vii). While I am unable to develop this line of research fully in this chapter due to participant backgrounds being primarily white, it is important to note that stories carry continuity of presence and connection to knowledge and relationships over time. Traditional stories and metacommentary around their surrounding activity in particular highlight the importance of a material perspective on the consequentiality of genres in literacy sponsorscapes.

In her book on teaching culture through language textbooks, Chapelle (2016) reports that certain genres are created specifically in language textbooks, which do not exist or reflect practices outside the classroom. Similarly, while writing about First Year Composition assignments, Wardle (2009) has pointed to the lack of transferability when students are asked to enact genres in writing classes that are separate from the exigencies and rhetorical purpose of actual activity systems for the sake of practicing discrete skills. For Southern Lushootseed, these problems are largely avoided as stories and their related practices from outside the classroom *are* the textbook and both inherently as well as intentionally embedded in broader cultural practices of knowledge sharing. As will be described in further detail, repetition of stories over time moves Southern Lushootseed-speaking community members of the past and present from listeners to tellers, incorporating an array of literacy activities and reshaping the role and practices of learners along the way.

At times genre moves are made explicit in and with Native contexts and communities. For example, the language instructor for Southern Lushootseed has a file on her computer desktop specifically dedicated to speeches and prayers labeled straightforwardly "speeches and prayers," in which she has helped people from Native communities develop personalized instances of these genres based on their speaking circumstances and what they need to communicate. During an interview with a language table participant, SLU01, a tribal elder and university professor, expressed her desire for creating an introduction speech herself for opening meetings and at the start of her classes for the quarter.

Southern Lushootseed is not currently used at the university outside of language classes, so performing typical moves of a genre is less important for academic access than participating in language as a social and cultural function, providing access to language for connection and understanding, rather than power. Traditional genres can still provide access to language and cultural resources that have been restricted in a variety of ways at various points in time as a source of personal and community empowerment.

Establishing typical moves for a group introduction was indeed covered during the 2017-2018 language table. Typical moves that could be personalized for an introduction speech included sharing one's own name, identifying one's parents' names, and naming where the speaker was from at the very beginning based on cultural values of being able to know and place how someone is connected. During events both on and off campus, event organizers who were introducing invited speakers at Native events also made explicit reference through metacommentary to expected conventions of the genre they were performing by announcing and explaining the importance of providing a gift to the speaker. These genre moves and their identification were not separate from their social function or action. Metacommentary often accompanies the performance of genres in these public settings.

The genres in focus for this chapter, sux^{w}iʔɑb as traditional stories and language dictionary entries, arise from situated community values and practices. Tracing intersecting threads of influence within the mediated literacy network or sponsorscape allows for more insight on the transformative potential of stories/storytelling and documentation associated with these genres. For genre-based learning texts, sux^{w}iʔɑb - known in English as traditional or Myth Age stories - translation plays a key role in accessing the "intellect of the language" and knowledge transmission. Dictionary entries likewise provide access to the knowledge of first language speakers, the documentation process of language researchers, and interpretive meaning potential. While translation will be addressed in more depth in the next chapter, this chapter investigates the role of genres within a literacy activity system and traces the historical situatedness alongside current literacy practices related to genres in learners' literacy development.

Some of the guiding questions for this chapter include the following: In what ways do genres mediate literacy development? What are crucial elements of sux^{w}iʔɑb's activity system, and how are they integrated into the learning process? What is the role of originality and repetition for learners, the genre, and their activity system?

Participant Profiles and Lifewide Learning Trajectories

For the academic year 2017-2018, Southern Lushootseed was hosted by the American Indian Studies Department on campus as a once weekly community language circle, attended by students, faculty, tribal, and other members of the public. This language circle involved learning

how to pronounce sounds and read documented materials. It later involved example phrases and sentence breakdowns based on grammatical elements. The format was interactive and guided by participant questions and interest alongside thematic materials the instructors had prepared. In the following academic year of 2018-2019, it was offered as a formal class in which students could register for credit. The first two quarters of the class focused on learning sounds and pronunciation practice, developing familiarity with orthographic conventions and documented resources, keeping cultural and reflection journals, and creating grammar breakdowns and translations of sets of sentences or phrases organized by thematically clustered lists. The third quarter revolved around translating three traditional stories, or sux^{w}iʔɑb, which involved applying and extending knowledge from previous quarters.

The perspectives, experiences, and repertoires of meaning-making of individual learning community members are not merely related to transfer of literacy skills, but past and individual sponsorscape assemblages persisted and exerted influence on their literacy activities in the language circle and/or formal class. SLU01, SLU02, and SLU04 participated in the 2017-2018 language table while SLU05 and SLU06 participated in the 2018-2019 class sequence. SLU07 participated in both learning situations. Since the stories from the formal class are mostly in focus, participant descriptions are much more detailed for SLU05, SLU06, and SLU07. Some significant elements of learning individuals brought with them to the learning communities are identified below and will be referenced in this chapter on genre and the next on translation.

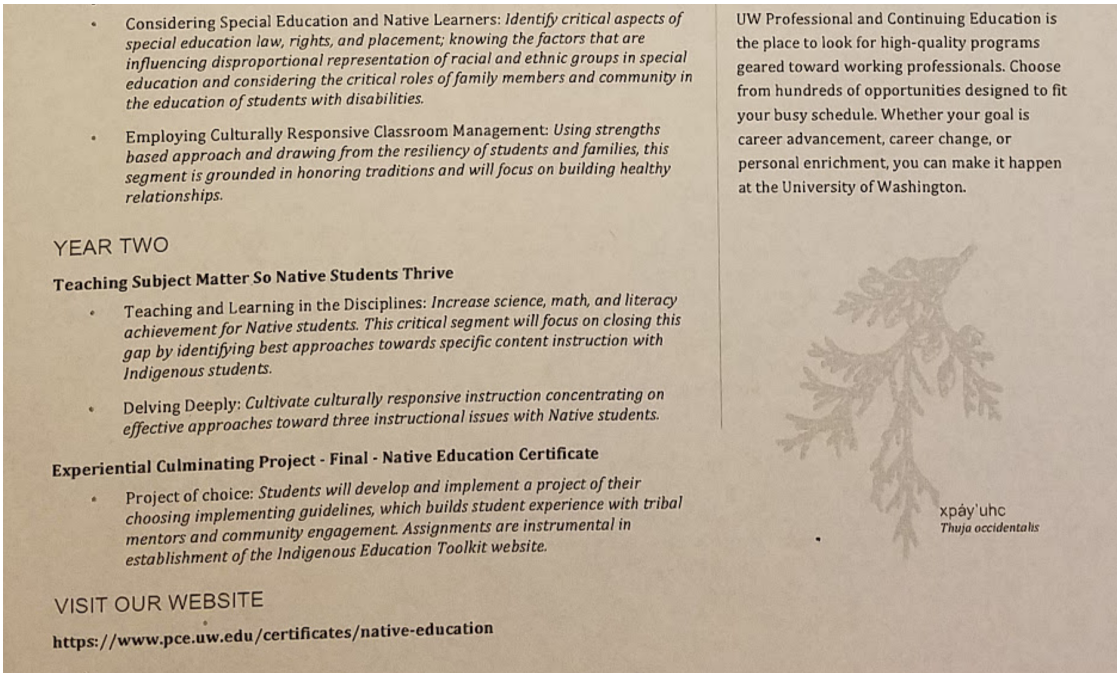
Each of the participants brought expectations and skills from previous learning situations based on influential aspects of their past literacy ecologies. Their past sponsorscapes continued to exert influence on new situations and encounters with literacy activity. As will be seen in this chapter and the next, these influences were not just transferred or transplanted wholesale, but were transformed, adapted, and coordinated within the recontextualization of a new sponsorscape. Literacy materials were both recognized and created as salient depending on participants' other activities and purposes.

SLU01 is a tribal elder and professor in the Education Department. She shared that her MA thesis concluded that "the university needs the Indian just as much as the Indian needs the university." She relies on a phenomenological approach in her own research and life perspective, and found out about the language circle during a chance meeting with a colleague while walking across campus who was on his way to participate. She says that the University of Washington has done a good job of creating a diversity of "tree people" on campus from around the world. For Coast Salish people, this specifically means "cedar people." SLU01 helps run a mentorship and certification program at the University of Washington on educating Native Learners. Notice on the handout for the program that a visual of a cedar branch along with the name of the plant is provided in Lushootseed practical orthography accompanied by the scientific name in Latin. She found these language resources online before she joined the class and had previously sought

other online language materials for her own individual learning of Cree, another of her native ancestral languages.

Figure 43

Native Education Certification Handout



- Considering Special Education and Native Learners: *Identify critical aspects of special education law, rights, and placement; knowing the factors that are influencing disproportional representation of racial and ethnic groups in special education and considering the critical roles of family members and community in the education of students with disabilities.*
- Employing Culturally Responsive Classroom Management: *Using strengths based approach and drawing from the resiliency of students and families, this segment is grounded in honoring traditions and will focus on building healthy relationships.*

YEAR TWO

Teaching Subject Matter So Native Students Thrive

- Teaching and Learning in the Disciplines: *Increase science, math, and literacy achievement for Native students. This critical segment will focus on closing this gap by identifying best approaches towards specific content instruction with Indigenous students.*
- Delving Deeply: *Cultivate culturally responsive instruction concentrating on effective approaches toward three instructional issues with Native students.*

Experiential Culminating Project - Final - Native Education Certificate

- Project of choice: *Students will develop and implement a project of their choosing implementing guidelines, which builds student experience with tribal mentors and community engagement. Assignments are instrumental in establishment of the Indigenous Education Toolkit website.*

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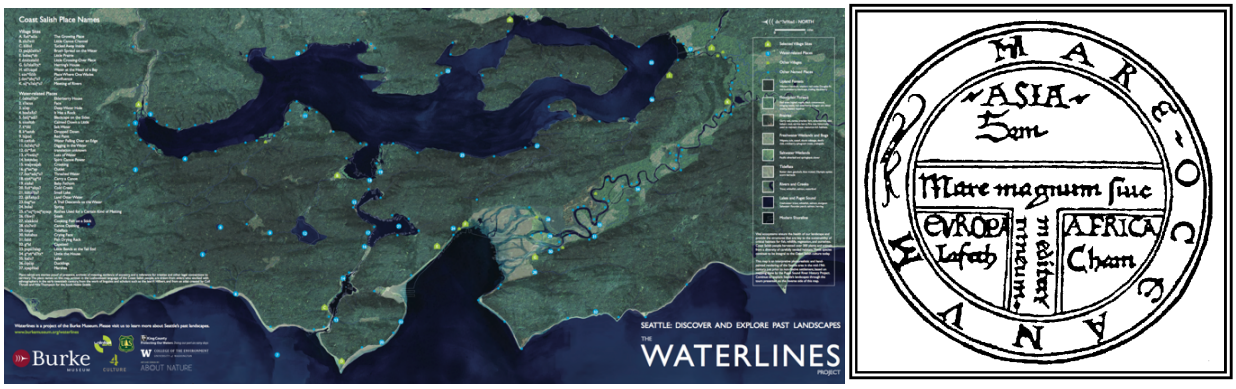
xpáy'uhc
Thuja occidentalis

SLU02 is a professor in the English Department with a background in historical linguistics and had studied French, German, Old Icelandic, Old High German, Gothic, and Old English, mostly in a formal educational setting and primarily through reading written texts. She joined the language circle because she was interested in Southern Lushootseed as the language of the place where she lives and works, and she saw the opportunity in a department email at the university. She posted a copy of the "Waterlines" map with local place names from the Burke Museum on the wall of her office and shared the meaningful conceptual connection she found between centralizing water features for Coast Salish lands and medieval European T-O maps she had worked with in the past which represent Asia, Europe, and Africa arranged and separated by water, prioritizing east for Jerusalem at the top. She also reported finding connections between pronunciation activities and her knowledge of phonology from linguistics, but said that she stopped sharing these connections during the group sessions because she felt like this terminology was perhaps not compatible or welcome with the instructors' method.

Figure 44

Juxtaposition of Waterlines & Medieval T-O Maps



Note. The Waterlines and T-O maps arrange land around water, not orientation to North.

SLU04 is an international graduate student in the English Department. She speaks primarily English and Dutch for academics and life between the US and Belgium, but she first learned Spanish in Nicaragua, where her parents worked while she was a child. She also studied French and German in school as national languages of Belgium. She saw a department email about the language circle opportunity and saw it as a space where she could get better context for her research, learn how to engage knowledge better, and ask better questions. As an illustration, the first activity she remembers was to search her family tree, and she observes the unique perspective from the instructors,

> "By like noticing the fact that like even for me you know who I'm like European or whatever, and [...] your parents like and your grandparents and great grandparents lived through two world wars [...] So it is special that you're here. [...] That is only like being engaged in IN this space because of the different way that thoughts of this language requires for you to engage with. [...] I think I remember where the words they used were like survivor. 'You are all survivors here.'"

The instructors modeled a different form of engagement and way of thinking about the learning community in relationship, which SLU04 valued highly. She would intentionally put herself in native spaces such as the language table, community events such as a food symposium, and regular community work with Quinnault tribal members to learn how to engage knowledge, not just learn content.

SLU05 is a graduate student in the Linguistics Department who studies dialects. He listed Academic English, Maine English, (Standard) German, and Southern Lushootseed as known language varieties (represented here as indicated in his survey). These were listed in order of

acquisition, except for Academic English, which was identified first for its prestige factor. Interestingly, he considered himself to be least familiar and/or comfortable with speaking in each of these languages, except Maine English, which he still uses with friends. He was most familiar and/or comfortable with writing in Academic English, which he learned at school, and reading in both (Standard) German and Southern Lushootseed, which he had taken as college courses. He also came from a military family, so he also moved around a lot, and took high school Spanish, which he shared during the interview, but did not list on the survey. It was an interesting part of the class for him when differences between Northern and Southern Lushootseed were identified. He thought of his languages as primarily mental relationships, saying, "it's like a swiss-army knife and then I pull out whatever I need based on what the social situation is."

SLU05 differentiated between language and words to use with friends "back home" and the need to "church up the language" while teaching in a classroom. He used social situation to determine appropriateness of "nonacademic voice." Referring to the linguistic classes he teaches, he shared, "Here I only really use it when I'm trying to illustrate a point in class or the students aren't talking, so if I switch to the other voice, I can say something stupid and funny and they might laugh and get back engaged." However, he would often write example sentences, rather than speak them because "I don't need a student needing my horrible German pronunciation or the fact that I can no longer form a coherent speak-back sentence in Spanish. […] I don't need THAT to be the focus of the class, right?" He identified pronunciation as one of his biggest challenges with languages.

Despite these challenges, SLU05 also attributed his past experience with German as helping him proceed with uncertainty when he encountered new or multiple meanings in Southern Lushootseed words or structures. In his own words, "The fact that it's ambiguous, it doesn't bother me so much because I've seen other languages that do the same thing or do you know something similar where the word TRANSlates to one thing in English, but it actually has different meanings. […] I think that helps minimize the 'What the hell's going on here?' situations." In other words, his past experience and sponsorship with other languages helped him to tolerate current in-the-moment ambiguity, which he could clarify later.

SLU05 saw the Southern Lushootseed class as a unique opportunity to study a non-Indo-European language and fulfill that graduation requirement for this program, especially since he was very interested in the diversity of languages of North America. He was familiar with a few languages that were formerly spoken in upstate Maine where he grew up, including one that is still spoken in the far eastern part of the state. He explained, "It's got two dialects. The speakers of the two dialects don't actually think they speak the same language, but, um, they're told they do which actually ends up being problematic to one of the groups because most of the educational materials are written for the other dialect." He was exposed to these languages as an undergraduate student in a field methods class. He was interested in their complex morphology

and aspects of discourse that show how different elements are related in a sentence. He was particularly fascinated by "different ways of breaking up the world that, yeah, I knew that languages did this, but I hadn't actually seen that before." Based on this background experience, he registered for Southern Lushootseed as a non-Indo-European language when he received a department email announcing the course offering, instead of the Finnish or Bahasa Indonesian he had been previously considering as non-Indo-European language options.

SLU06 was a first-year undergraduate student intending to double-major in Linguistics and American Indian Studies. He listed his language varieties as English, Spanish, and Lushootseed, which "seemed right" to him to represent both his chronological experience and proficiency with each of them. He associated English in his head, Spanish at his mouth/lips/tongue, and Lushootseed at the throat/tongue. In explanation, "English is the language I think in, and feels most natural/neutral so I don't really 'feel' it. Spanish often feels like a very articulated English that requires a lot of focus on why my tongue and lips are. Lushootseed feels much more glottal normally." This explanation shows that he took a primarily physiological approach with his language association framework. He had studied Spanish since middle school and through high school because he had witnessed his father using it while ordering food at Mexican restaurants, which had peaked his interest and established the normalcy of using Spanish in everyday life.

SLU06 reported an ongoing interest in languages generally growing up: he bought introductory linguistic and language books from secondhand stores, used Rosetta Stone for Italian when he was younger, and took a quarter of French at a community college his senior year of high school. These two languages were not listed in his survey, but were shared during the interview. He originally took Southern Lushootseed at the university because "it seemed like a rare and interesting opportunity, but continued because I came to enjoy it and became invested in its future." He also said that his sister or one of their mutual friends may have also recommended the class to him based on the university time schedule listed online since this is something they often do and that there were probably "multiple channels" of influence. One big push towards his choice of the Southern Lushootseed class was a bioanthropology class he'd taken at a community college the year before where the professor had incorporated the importance of indigenous knowledges in the scientific method. He said this particular course and professor had fundamentally shifted his academic path to focus on and integrate indigeneity.

SLU06 also attributed his flexibility in Southern Lushootseed and ability to "internalize" differences to his previous language experiences with Spanish and other languages. For example, "There are plenty of things in Spanish where you're like 'Why is it said like that? Like why is – why are accidents also reflexive? What is that whole thing?' And it's like 'Oh, it doesn't HAVE to like map into English for it to make sense.'" For the Southern Lushootseed class, he talked about class translations at times still being very English-centric with people assuming certain meanings based on a one-to-one correspondence of a particular suffix, but Tami needing to

expand their understanding of the meaning. Accordingly, he said, “Making that jump has to kind of - it’s a lot easier being able to like take other languages.” SLU06’s previous language experience helped him develop both comfort and flexibility when encountering new aspects of both sounds and structure in Southern Lushootseed to take jumps.

In overall trends, both of SLU05 and SLU06 brought background experiences with learning other language varieties as well as disciplinary knowledge of linguistics at their various stages of university education trajectory. In general, SLU06 tended to positively evaluate his language abilities and could be said to take a strengths-based approach to his own learning across past and current languages. SLU05 was much more self-deprecating and tended to take a deficit mindset in evaluating his language learning and proficiency, both past and present. They both also had some past experience with indigenous languages and cultures in classes prior to their interest in the Southern Lushootseed class and saw the language as a good way of connecting to local culture. SLU06 reported more participation in indigenous activities with other groups on campus like First Nations and expressed interest in further involvement in language initiatives beyond the class. SLU05 identified interest in further work in the language, but expressed doubt about his current capacity to “give back” to the communities with historical connections to the language in a meaningful way.

SLU07 (Holly) is the principal investigator and coordinator of this study and a graduate student in the English Department with experience in language teaching and applied linguistics. For my experience as an autobiographical participant, the excerpt provided below comes from an alternative report that I wrote and submitted for the instructor at the end of the first quarter of the three-quarter language sequence in lieu of the regular weekly journaling assignments that other students completed throughout the course. I was an official class notetaker for a classmate registered through the university’s Disabilities Services. In addition to taking, scanning, and sending notes to my classmate, the two of us met for an hour weekly to study together outside of normal class hours. We primarily communicated through ASL or written notes in Southern Lushootseed or English. From this end-of-quarter report:

> We both increase our understanding of Southern Lushootseed language and culture by referencing other languages, not just English, so it drives our understanding much deeper by the comparative conceptual nature of the references. For example, *ʔal kʷi dadatu* means literally ‘in the morning,’ but more idiomatically/conceptually refers to ‘tomorrow,’ which is similar to the way Spanish uses *mañana*, as ‘morning,’ but is also used for ‘tomorrow’ or even more generally ‘later, not now.’ Some terminology or pronunciations are also sometimes similar to Thai, which [the other student] knows, so making those connections helps transfer skills across languages. We often use American Sign Language or simultaneous spoken or written English with gestures to enhance communication during our study sessions. This was useful for clarifying Southern

> Lushootseed words related to speaking/communication like *yəc, x̌ʷud,* and *bəc* in our example sentences by pairing them with different ASL signs. We could also differentiate between the similar phrases *gəq'ad ti šəgʷɬ* and *teqad šəgʷɬ* by using ASL signs for opening and closing a door.
>
> We also use visual aspects of words and language more than during class. Whereas some students might have challenges with pronunciation similarities, the words that are most challenging to differentiate visually are ones that have similarly written word shapes like *x̌ač*, *x̌əč*, and *x̌ič*. We create visual associations to cue the differentiation between these words. We also once used the visual nature of CVC to identify roots on a list of verbs and then address prefixes and suffixes that were attached before and after them. Lexical suffixes were also easier to understand when we could use ASL spatial transitive verbs that show motion between the subject and object of sentences.
>
> At the same time, [the other student] brings cultural insight from her canoe journey experience and brought me a card with a design she'd drawn to our first session. She created these cards from her art so that she would have a gift to give when her canoe family arrives at a new place and is welcomed by the people local to that area. She makes connections between the language we are learning in class and situations when it would be applied. The study group has been mutually beneficial at increasing our language and cultural understanding on many levels.

This reflection excerpt provides the best context for representing my language background and engagement across language differences during the class drawing on actual class materials. I had completed a previous masters degree in Applied Linguistics, so I could converse comfortably using the disciplinary terminology that SLU02, SLU05, and SLU06 used during research interviews, but did not use this type of terminology during class. I was born on Coast Salish lands and have lived significant parts of my life here and other parts of Washington State along with several other countries, maintaining various relationships and proficiencies with languages and language varieties such as German, Spanish, Turkish, ASL, and many others. Based on my year of experience with the language table 2017-2018 before the official class, Tami once asked me to substitute teach one of the language table sessions in Autumn 2018 when there was an unexpected circumstance that prevented Tami from coming to campus. Even as an experienced English language teacher, I made constant references to my instructors by name and their knowledge/methods of teaching to keep the learning community grounded within Southern Lushootseed ways of knowing, rather than just general language teaching methodologies. I/SLU07 continue(s) to play a dual role within the study and this dual role explicitly acknowledges a major conceptual foundation for agential realism; that is, "knowledge-making practices [...] are material enactments that contribute to, and are a part of, the phenomena we describe" (Barad, 2007, p. 32).

suxʷiʔɑb: Genre Ecology, Exigence, and Circulation

At the beginning of the third quarter of the formal credit-bearing course sequence, which focused on stories, the Southern Lushootseed instructor, Tami, provided a packet of information copied from various Lushootseed language research projects over time because she wanted students to see the thoughts of people who put together information at the time the language was recorded and to notice interesting viewpoints of nonnatives writing traditional knowledge. She identifies George Gibbs as significant in the 1850s, but did not include him in the packet because the writing is so hard to follow with the inconsistent and practical orthography that is different from current ways of representing the language. In the preface to his 1929 book, Arthur Ballard notes that he recorded narratives "in the native tongue" starting in 1916 to record "aboriginal culture of this region in the hope of preserving some of its elements from oblivion before the opportunity for research should pass," indicating that there was already a perceived threat to the status of Lushootseed and Coast Salish languages at that time. Warren Snyder collected "old myths and tales" in 1952-1954 and notes that at this time "informants lived long distances from each other" and the collected tales were either "short and fragmented" or the participants needed to search their memory and go over the stories that they had heard as children in their mind to prepare between sessions. In 1985, Thom Hess provides a brief analysis of stories in the introduction to an anthology by šəqʷəbluʔ or Vi Hilbert titled *Haboo*! where "haboo" is a participatory phrase used by audience members to encourage the storyteller. He writes,

> Many Lushootseed speaking people divide their oral literature into two categories, history called lələʔuləb and Myth Age stories known as suxʷiʔɑb in the south and as syeyehub (or simply syəhub) in the north. In addition to these two genres, there are also personal accounts which fall under the general term syəcəb which refers to any sort of news or non-traditional story. (xxxi-xxxii)

The stories in the Southern Lushootseed class assignments and subsequently part of this study are specifically the suxʷiʔɑb, or "Myth Age" stories. The recognizable nature of "types" of stories is important for establishing typical features and purpose/actions of suxʷiʔɑb historically and in the recent language classes.

For the Southern Lushootseed class, students listened to original research recordings of first language speakers telling stories. They also received written transcripts in Southern Lushootseed using modern orthography. Their assignments were to then translate sections of these stories each week by creating morphological grammar break-downs and writing each sentence into English as homework. They discussed these grammar break-downs and translation options or questions in class along with patterns that the instructor noticed from their submitted work. They would also practice speaking the phrases out loud during class and receive feedback from the instructor on their pronunciation. While Myth Age stories are still told in tribal communities,

English is the medium. Circulation of sux^{w}iʔɑb is often restricted to English, and these recordings/transcripts provided privileged access to older, Southern Lushootseed versions. Access to stories and their meanings, then, was an important part of how the genre ecology limited circulation of sux^{w}iʔɑb in Southern Lushootseed language.

Students encountered the actual audio recordings for stories for the first time during class. The instructor would later upload these audio files to the class website. On first listen, students could read along with the accompanying transcripts in Southern Lushootseed that were provided as handouts. These transcripts had line spacing breaks after each sentence, which made chunks of information more clearly identifiable. Note that Southern Lushootseed does not use punctuation or capitalization. These sentence breaks are the ones that SLU06 mentioned breaking up smaller or differently at times. SLU05 actually used a computer program, Audacity – which he normally used for his own linguistic work – to slow down the sound file of the Silver Salmon story for himself and other students in the class since it was such a challenge for students to hear all the details of Ernest Barr's speaking. Within the literacy ecology of the class, then, students engaged multiple modalities of sux^{w}iʔɑb including audio files and written transcripts. They used digital and manual tools for making sense of these texts.

When talking about the process and challenges of working with audio recordings, belups, or "Racoon Story," was given as an example where the speaker's speech is sometimes slow and then very fast. The instructor was also intentionally transparent with her teaching decisions and previewed some possible stories that would be used for the third quarter during the second quarter as "The Four Hunters" from the Jacobs collection and "The Chipmunk Story" told by Eva Jerry (later identified as "Owl Woman"), depending on her ability to verify the language.

Variation in translations themselves were expected based on conceptual reasoning. Even some English translations of language recordings or documentation in the dictionary contained archaic terms or phrases. The dictionary provides the term 'you folks,' for the Southern Lushootseed suffix '-uɬəd,' but the class identified other ways this could be expressed such as "all of you" or "you all." In response to this example, Tami said,

> "You don't have to change your style of speaking to speak our language. Language is about the concept you're communicating. If you go word to word from our language, our language is going to sound really dumb, like that doesn't even make sense. I don't say 'you folks' in my life, but listening to recordings and looking at documents, I've gotten used to accepting it. But I don't speak it out in society. My choice would be to say, 'It's nice to see you all.'"

This kind of translation process requires an openness and flexibility in reading source documents and a rhetorical flexibility to represent it appropriately in current situations. For the skunk story,

the original storyteller, Ernest Barr, refers to the skunk 'farting,' but Tami chooses to use the word 'spraying' "because it's a defense mechanism, not gas." In this conceptual approach, attention is once more on the accuracy in meaning of the message, not just translations provided or literal correspondence. The exigence of telling the story is not just to convey information, but meaningful personal connections.

However, within translation variations, there is still responsibility to honor the intellect of Southern Lushootseed and its speakers. Tami exhorted the students, "Maintain the proficiency of our language. Never make it sound ignorant to English." Tami and Nancy often talked about the "intellect of the language," and how accessing and connecting to this intellect was their major goal for adult teaching and learning. Tami explained, "This type of language instruction is not common. Not many people teach the intellect of the language. All indigenous languages have an intellect that is not deficient" while also noting the pressure of "living up to English standards." On other occasions, Tami explained how this intellect connected to translation choices: "When people judge native languages, they're judging how it's represented in English […] Our job is to take preserved language and make it living. Understand the wideness, not the narrowness of translation. Don't create rules, but consider options." This meant not only representing the language well, but also personal style and authenticity. Ultimately, students are charged to "Be mindful of the proper form of both languages and then develop the fluency and the flow so that neither one sounds bad based on the other language." Literal translations were not considered best practice or even sufficiently engaged to properly represent meaning. Again, storytelling exigence required a practice of humble/respectful disposition, not just access to information.

In other thoughts related to a process of development in language learning and translation of stories, Tami shared these words midway through the third quarter, "It's difficult evolving yourself in the language. At first you're depending on English translations. Then you start understanding stories themselves without translation. When you're beginning to have your own thoughts in the language, you'll communicate better." Myth age stories as a genre served as knowledge-bearing actants within traditional cultural contexts and continued to mediate access to language and transformation of knowledge in the Southern Lushootseed language class sponsorscape. Moving away from understandings in English was seen as an important stage in language development. Similarly, at another time during the third quarter, she acknowledged that "Complications and dynamics flow in the more you do in the language." She didn't want students taking "shortcuts" too early in their learning, but was constantly pushing them to expand their perspective conceptually while remaining responsible to the language documents that were recorded by elders who spoke the language.

sux^{w}wiʔɑb exemplar texts

As previous noted, language and literacy activity were organized around the translation and performance of three stories with audio recordings and transcripts during the third quarter of the official class. The titles and storytellers that appeared as headings on the transcript handouts for each story are provided below:

> sk^{w}ik^{w}x^{w}ic
> by Ernie Barr (Snoqualmie)
>
> sq̓əbiyuʔ
> told by Ernest Barr
>
> təklus sɬɑdaẏ yəx^{w} tsi sq̓^{w}əcɬ
> told by Eva Jerry, recorded by Terry Tavener

During class, these stories were commonly referred to in English as “Little Silver Salmon,” “Skunk Story,” and “Owl Woman” respectively. For their midterm assessment, students chose one of the first two stories, “Little Silver Salmon” or “Skunk Story,” to recite for the class, but they were allowed to read from their paper and/or notes in order to do so. For the final assessment, they could either recite “Owl Woman” or the sentences from their alphabet sound chart.

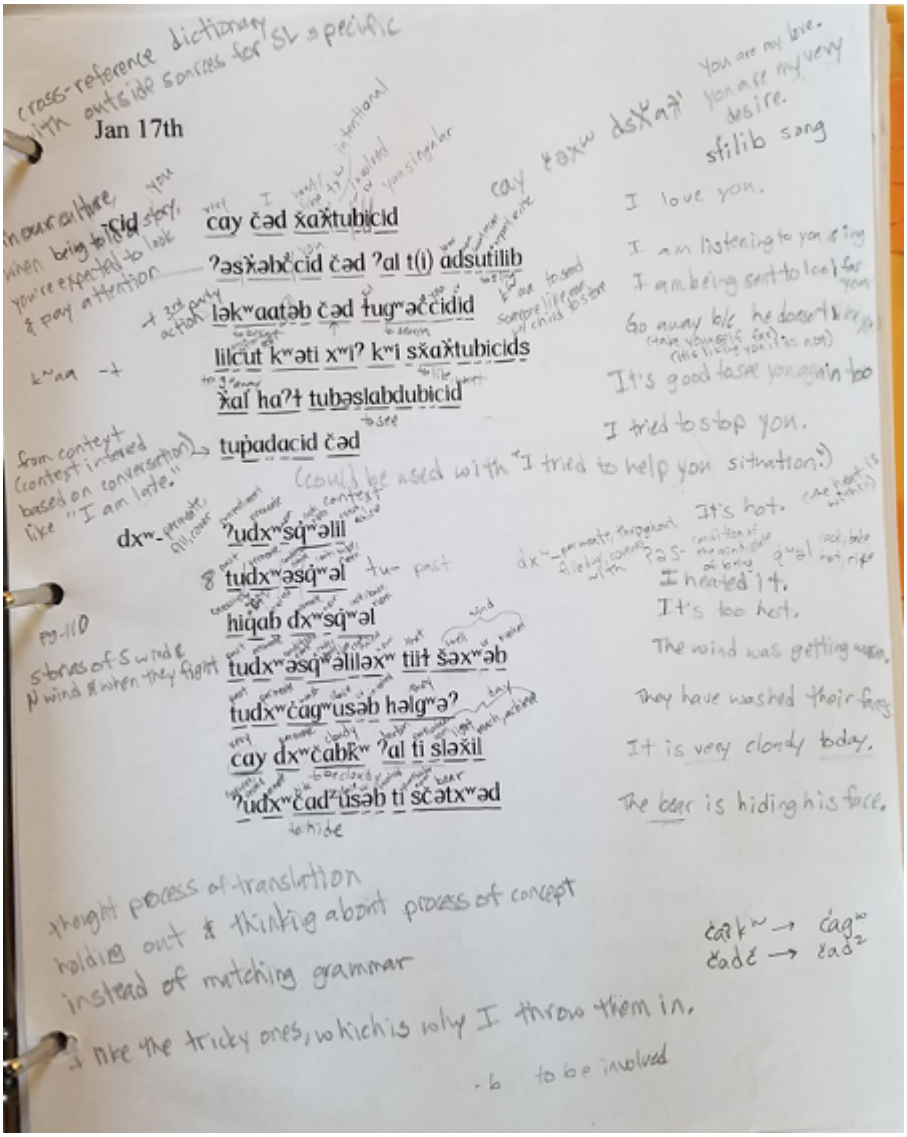
The significance of sharing stories where access has been limited can be noted in some recorded messages that researchers delivered between isolated language speakers in the past. To situate and contextualize the storytelling translation assignments in the third quarter, the Southern Lushootseed instructor assigned students a shorter introductory task of translating recordings of elders living at great distances from each other being recorded with oral messages for each other, which were then delivered by language researchers. Annie Daniels and Lucy Williams were delivered recordings of Martha Lamont by language researchers, and they both identify Lamont’s sux^{w}iʔɑb (Myth Age stories) and suťilib (songs) as a source of joy. Daniels uses the Southern Lushootseed root ɦiiɬ to express happiness, and Williams code switches to English in expressing, “I am sure glad […]” These oral messages were the first translation task beyond the isolated sentence examples used during the previous two quarters.

While sux^{w}iʔɑb stories were a genre assigned only in the third quarter, stories and their role were referenced throughout all three quarters. For example, in a second quarter example sentence about the wind getting warmer that appeared with a group of other sentences using the dx^{w}- prefix, the instructor referenced stories of South Wind, North Wind, and how they sometimes

fight. Some of my notes for the second quarter of this language class document the interwoven references to stories even in earlier quarters as shown below.

Figure 45

Second Quarter Notes on Handout



Note. A handout lists sentences to translate. Each set of sentences has a focal grammar feature or other thematic connection: here, the -cid suffix and dxʷ- prefix. SLU07 has listed grammar break-downs and notes from class.

Notes in the left margin of the page indicate cultural information. In this instance, the first is about custom or manner of transmitting stories with expectations about paying attention and the second as a content reference with South Wind and North Wind serving as a cultural application

for example sentences, in this case the wind growing warmer. The lower right hand corner of the page identifies known variations on roots either between speakers or present in documentation, which Tami notified students about before the task began. The examples provided during sentence translation activities demonstrate authentic language use since they were historically collected from first language speakers; however, while a listed variety of instances/uses of focal lexical items can provide some context into variation and broader meanings/applications of lexical items, a list also eliminates much of the context for these variations. On the other hand, stories situate isolated phrases and lexical items within a broader base of knowledge, and this situating context exerts influence on student engagement with knowledge conveyed by lexical items by placing it within a cultural application. Even when stories themselves are not the text in focus, they are referenced to provide context.

Tami explained that stories are passed generation to generation, and winter was a traditional time to pass on stories. Children are expected to listen, then learn, then become storytellers. Knowledge was passed person to person, not in a library. The same story appears in different languages for different tribes where intermarriage can be a factor. Winters were spent making baskets and telling stories while the rest of the year was preparing for winter. She says, "Wintertime is so repetitive. By the time you're an adult or old, you become a full on speaker of the story because you have heard stories 100 plus times." This method of passing on knowledge by moving from listening to learning to speaking to teaching was paralleled in her teaching approach. The following set of phrases were posted outside her office door, and she also shared them with students in class as a natural progression of their development in the language: haytx, həliʔtxʷ, xʷaƛ̓txʷ, gʷaɬčtxʷ - 'learn it, live it, love it, teach it.'

Figure 46

Teaching Philosophy Posted at the Office

Note. A sign posted outside Tami's office presents a progression from learning to teaching. Notice the cedar branch background that sets the cultural context.

Across spaces on campus and beyond, there is an expectation of internalizing knowledge and then responsibility to pass it on as a natural progression. The sux^{w}iʔɑb genre serves as one medium for this development, or one node within a network of coordinated literacy activity or a gravitational force around which constellated knowledge can collect and take shape.

From a student's perspective, SLU06 shared, "It was really nice to have a contextual, cultural grounding in the language. Individual sentences can only teach so much, and seeing the full context of a word, phrase, or sentence was really helpful. It was also one of the first times that I really felt like I was connecting to the language and its history on a deeper level, understanding the nuances and its significance." For SLU05, "[The stories] gave me a little bit of the context of the culture because I'm a transplant here. I haven't been here that long and I don't know anything about the local culture." In addition, "I think the role was understanding the how would you structure something beyond just a word in the language um how would you convey an idea? How would you share information?" The stories provided context for students and situated language, beyond considering language elements in isolation.

Dictionary Entries: Genre Ecology, Exigence, and Circulation

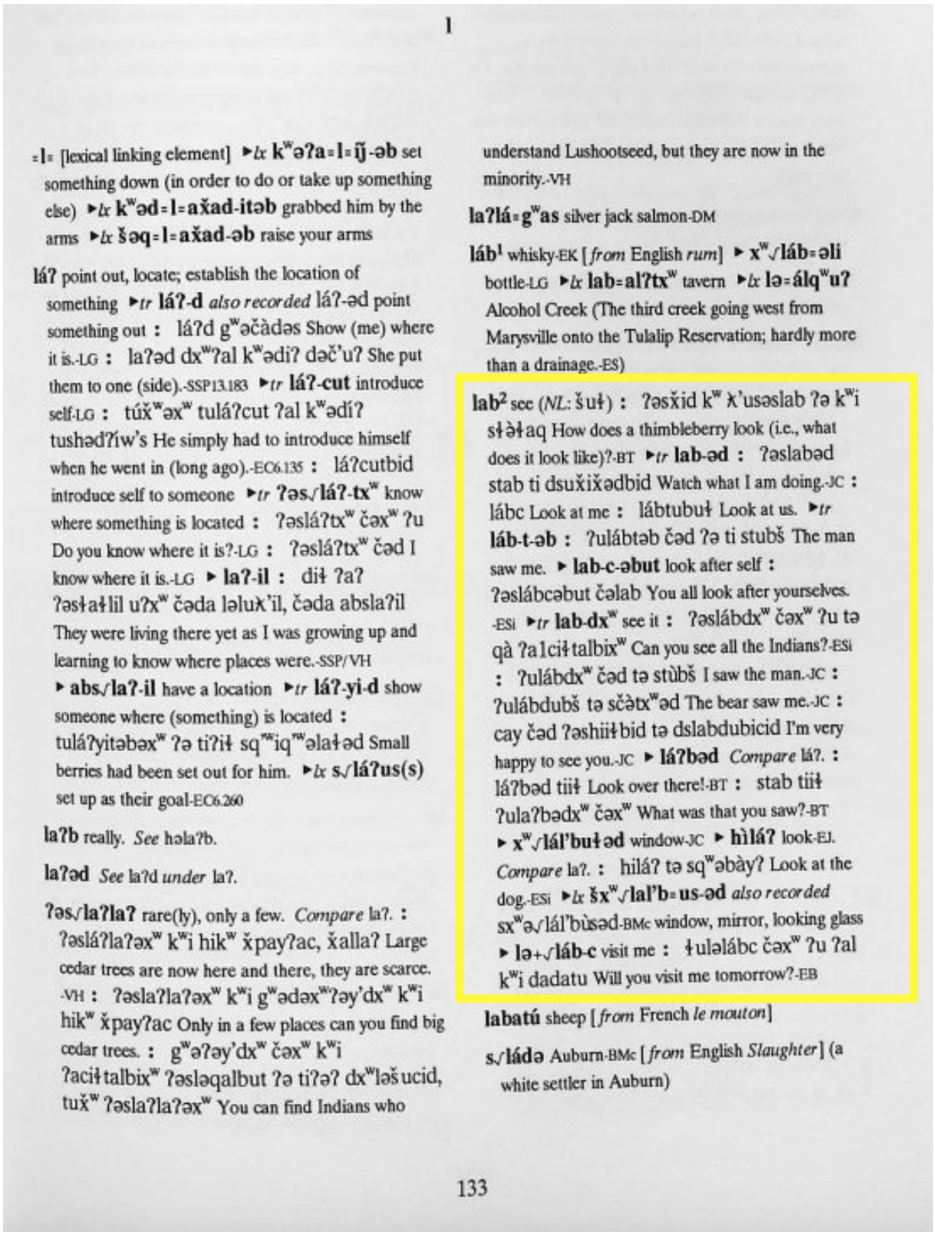
Apart from audio recordings and transcripts of the stories, *The Lushootseed Dictionary* (Bates et al., 1994) was the primary resource that students used for their translation assignment work. SLU05 preferred the printed version, but would also sometimes use an online version, which he said was too "nested." SLU06 was the opposite in preferring the online version, which he thought was "convenient," but he still used the printed version at times. SLU07 started by using a printed version from the library, but then transitioned to a pdf version of this printed text when the book was due back. SLU07 received her own printed book from a classmate who had found copies being sold at a discount online and bought an extra copy for someone in the class. The classmate, who came from a Jewish background, said the extra dictionary was her 'Mitzvah,' or good/kind deed, when she gifted it to SLU07. These observations provide an illustrative introduction into various ways the dictionary and its entries performed special roles within the social and material literacy ecology of the language class.

The dictionary was co-authored by Tom Hess and Vi Hilbert, who also collaborated on the story anthology, *Haboo*, discussed in the last section. It includes both Northern Lushootseed and Southern Lushootseed language items, so notes with (NL) and (SL) accompany entries when there is a major difference. Example sentences provided identify which first language speakers contributed each phrase using initials. The front of the dictionary includes descriptions of the first language speakers along with their areas of residence. Based on the convoluted nature of tribal treaty land distribution, some speakers lived on reservations that did not correspond to areas on or near the traditional lands of their ancestors, so this contextual information was

important for clarifying language variation when it occurred during documentation. Both print and digital entries for the Lushootseed root lab, or ‘see,’ are provided below to illustrate different features of these texts and mediums.

Figure 47

Print Version of Lushootseed Dictionary



l

=l= [lexical linking element] ▸lx **kʷəʔa=l=ĩǰ-əb** set something down (in order to do or take up something else) ▸lx **kʷəd=l=ax̌ad-itəb** grabbed him by the arms ▸lx **šəq=l=ax̌ad-əb** raise your arms

láʔ point out, locate; establish the location of something ▸tr **láʔ-d** *also recorded* láʔ-əd point something out : láʔd gʷəčàdəs Show (me) where it is.-LG : laʔəd dxʷʔal kʷədiʔ dəč’uʔ She put them to one (side).-SSP13.183 ▸tr **láʔ-cut** introduce self-LG : túx̌ʷəxʷ tuláʔcut ʔal kʷədíʔ tushədʔíw’s He simply had to introduce himself when he went in (long ago).-EC6.135 : láʔcutbid introduce self to someone ▸tr **ʔəs√láʔ-txʷ** know where something is located : ʔəsláʔtxʷ čəxʷ ʔu Do you know where it is?-LG : ʔəsláʔtxʷ čəd I know where it is.-LG ▸ **laʔ-il** : diɬ ʔaʔ ʔəsɬaɬlil uʔxʷ čəda ləluƛ’il, čəda absla ʔil They were living there yet as I was growing up and learning to know where places were.-SSP/VH ▸ **abs√laʔ-il** have a location ▸tr **láʔ-yi-d** show someone where (something) is located : tuláʔyitəbəxʷ ʔə tiʔiɬ sqʷʷiqʷʷəlaɬəd Small berries had been set out for him. ▸lx **s√láʔus(s)** set up as their goal-EC6.260

laʔb really. *See* həlaʔb.

laʔəd *See* laʔd *under* laʔ.

ʔəs√laʔlaʔ rare(ly), only a few. *Compare* laʔ. : ʔəsláʔlaʔəxʷ kʷi hikʷ x̌payʔac, x̌allaʔ Large cedar trees are now here and there, they are scarce. -VH : ʔəslaʔlaʔəxʷ kʷi gʷədəxʷʔəy’dxʷ kʷi hikʷ x̌payʔac Only in a few places can you find big cedar trees. : gʷəʔəy’dxʷ čəxʷ kʷi ʔaciɬtalbixʷ ʔəsləqalbut ʔə tiʔəʔ dxʷləšucid, tux̌ʷ ʔəslaʔlaʔəxʷ You can find Indians who understand Lushootseed, but they are now in the minority.-VH

laʔlá=gʷas silver jack salmon-DM

láb[1] whisky-EK [*from* English *rum*] ▸ **xʷ√láb=əli** bottle-LG ▸lx **lab=alʔtxʷ** tavern ▸lx **lə=álqʷuʔ** Alcohol Creek (The third creek going west from Marysville onto the Tulalip Reservation; hardly more than a drainage.-ES)

lab[2] see (*NL*: šuɬ) : ʔəsx̌id kʷ ƛ’usəslab ʔə kʷi sɬə̀ɬaq How does a thimbleberry look (i.e., what does it look like)?-BT ▸tr **lab-əd** : ʔəslabəd stab ti dsux̌ix̌ədbid Watch what I am doing.-JC : lábc Look at me : lábtubuɬ Look at us. ▸tr **láb-t-əb** : ʔulábtəb čəd ʔə ti stubš The man saw me. ▸ **lab-c-əbut** look after self : ʔəslábcəbut čəlab You all look after yourselves. -ESi ▸tr **lab-dxʷ** see it : ʔəslábdxʷ čəxʷ ʔu tə qà ʔa1ciɬtalbixʷ Can you see all the Indians?-ESi : ʔulábdxʷ čəd tə stùbš I saw the man.-JC : ʔulábdubš tə sčə̀txʷəd The bear saw me.-JC : cay čəd ʔəshiiɬbid tə dslabdubicid I’m very happy to see you.-JC ▸ **láʔbəd** *Compare* láʔ. : láʔbəd tiiɬ Look over there!-BT : stab tiiɬ ʔulaʔbədxʷ čəxʷ What was that you saw?-BT ▸ **xʷ√lál’buɬəd** window-JC ▸ **hìláʔ** look-EJ. *Compare* laʔ. : hiláʔ tə sqʷəbàyʔ Look at the dog.-ESi ▸lx **šxʷ√lal’b=us-əd** *also recorded* sxʷə√lál’bùsəd-BMc window, mirror, looking glass ▸ **lə+√láb-c** visit me : ɬuləlábc čəxʷ ʔu ʔal kʷi dadatu Will you visit me tomorrow?-EB

labatú sheep [*from* French *le mouton*]

s√ládə Auburn-BMc [*from* English *Slaughter*] (a white settler in Auburn)

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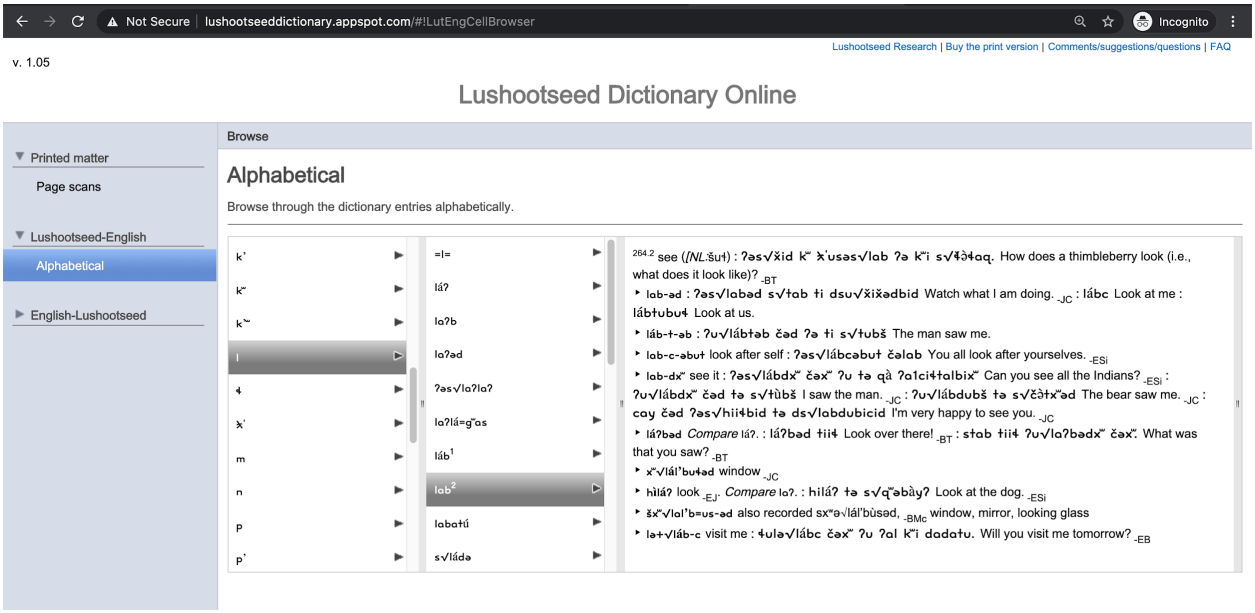
Note. Entry for *lab*, ‘see.’ Lexical items appear separately, so entries are organized by root, not first letter of words that include prefixes. Example sentences demonstrate the diverse ways each item has been documented, and entries often reference others. The first entry of ‘lab’ is listed

completely separately instead of another sense of the same word since it is a transliteration of an English word.

Figure 48

Online Version of Lushootseed Dictionary



Note. Entry for *lab*, 'see.' Entries are nested in a digital medium. Through a process of selection and drop-down menu, a user selects directionality of language, letter in the alphabet, and then lexical item. The entry then appears in the box to the right. The entry information in both print and digital mediums is usually the same.

As an instructor, Tami expressed appreciation for the dictionary, which was a course text, but also gave some cautionary words about its use throughout the three quarter series. She said, "I teach you from the dictionary, but there's things I don't want you learning in there." While the orthography was fairly stabilized and up-to-date, language conventions and understandings of some of the language elements had developed further since the dictionary was created, even in its second edition. She had conversed with dictionary collaborator/creator Thom Hess before he died, and he had told her it was still a work in progress. For sentence breakdowns in the first two quarters, she would consistently have students look up the pieces of language they didn't know so that they would know how to use the dictionary even outside of class, but she also warned, "Don't revert to the dictionary just because it's there. […] Absorb and think about the language, don't take the easy answer from the dictionary." She gave examples of suffixes listed in the dictionary like -cut and -icid, which can actually be broken down further into a combination of suffixes, which is more consistent with how other affixes are represented. She also addressed translation specifically, saying, "Looking up pieces in the dictionary should include perspective

on a word, not a one-to-one translation. Expand your mind to the concept of language not expressed in words." The dictionary was a resource to expand students' language development, then, instead of confining or limiting it. The historical exigence of documenting language and its snapshot of understanding about language at the time of the dictionary's authorship both converges and sets itself at odds with current exigences of accessing meaning and further developed understandings of how the language works and/or can be conventionally represented.

SLU05 reported enjoying the dictionary although "at first it was a little confusing because you do actually have to *dig down* into each entry a little bit more" (emphasis mine). Notice this connection to the geologic or archeologic metaphor for documented language. He identifies several layers of information in each entry: the word, the initial translation, sometimes a few variant roots, bullet numbers for additional semantic uses, and example sentences. In contrast to another dictionary for an indigenous language he had encountered during a past linguistic field methods class that only provided word roots, he appreciated that in the Lushootseed dictionary "You actually get examples, get some more semantic context for the word and actually have meanings that aren't strictly the English translation that you would use." He would rely on these example sentences to determine appropriate sense and use.

> "Does that actually represent the way I want to use that word? And if not, maybe I need to *dig down*, find another sentence to make sure I'm actually using words in their correct way. Because if we you know a few times where the morpheme that affixes after that changes the whole sense of the root, and if you don't *go down further into it*, you might actually miss there, because there wasn't always a separate entry."

The emphasis in this quote is once again mine. Notice the repeating pattern of 'down' and 'in' for the language recorded and represented in documents. For the dictionary, this corresponds to the spatial organization on a page while also activating the metaphor of mining through digging. It continues Tami's metaphorical contrast of moving "into" documents to "extract information" and "putting it out there" into the world. The dictionary entry genre is perceived and functions as a storage unit in which meaning can be buried and/or unearthed. It functions as an authoritative text for accessing meaning of Southern Lushootseed lexical items while requiring familiarity and literacy skills to navigate its features based on both literal (digital and print) and figurative spatial relations. As an actant, it stores a particular state of collected knowledge, metonymically represents the wisdom of the elders who contributed to it, provides access to language, and coordinates language/literacy activity for learning in the class and beyond as students dig into the text and put their own language out.

SLU06 reported reading the dictionary for enjoyment and to learn more words. For unknown words in the story translation tasks specifically, he described an instinctual process of navigating the dictionary (emphasis mine):

> "Even sometimes the stuff in the DICtionary, it's like, 'Oh, it's not *under* this. It's like it's actually the sou- like this version uses this sound, and it's in the dictionary under this. And often times I would like, I'd- I'd just had enough instinct I guess to – I would FIND it? […] Which I was very proud of myself. Like "ooh," […] I was like 'What else- what else does this sound like? […] Ok, I don't understand the use of this word. Let me look at the translation. Ok. Still doesn't quite make sense. Like what is the sort of like more abstract way to look at this?' and then go find that."

While finding information 'under' an entry is a broader metaphorical convention that connects to printed space on a page, SLU06 also positions information beneath dictionary entries as surface-level items to encounter with meaning below. He was able to hold individual language items loosely and take a more expansive approach to trace connections when an immediate correspondence was not readily available. This holding of meaning loosely, 'instinctively,' or abstractly connected to his previous experience studying Spanish.

SLU07/I would often transfer her/my linguistic knowledge of phonology to search for roots with similar sounds to the orthographic representation in transcripts if the root was not where she expected it to be in the dictionary. For example, an excerpt from an email to Tami using the dictionary to try breaking down the elements of the word for 'killer whale' or 'orca' is provided below:

> The word is qaɬ̓qaləx̌ič for orca. I know that the lexical suffix =ič can be covering, surface, or spine. […] I'm expecting the first part of the word is using reduplication and the glottal 'l' is because of its reduplication status like in the example phrase using qaɬ̓qaləp for plural unmarried people. I cannot identify the root for qaɬ̓qaləx̌ič, though, which is the most important part! I've been looking up variations on qal/qəl since I know those two vowels sometimes alternate, or q'al/q'əl as a potential glottal documentation issue, but can't find any definitions that makes sense. Could it have to do with spirit power as in the way it's used with s-qəl=al=itut?

Many times, I would look for vowel or consonant variation, but also looked for clues with the meaning of similar roots. I held transcriptions and documentation of spoken language loosely based on knowledge of documentation constraints and tried to look for items with related phonological features or orthographic conventions that may have been documented inconsistently.

Each of the learners was able to align elements of their lifewide literacy trajectories across sponsorscapes to their localized relationship and practices with the dictionary according to Tami's encouragement and expectations to consider it authoritative on the part of first language

speaker phrases, but considering the context of conventions and documentation in relation to their learning to evaluate the meaning and organization of items and content represented in the text. Both personal and communal exigencies for engaging Myth Age stories and dictionary entries were informed by the changing ecologies of these genres over time. Circulation of these genres was often restricted by language status and accessibility of both texts, and their meanings remained a central concern over time as well.

The Role of Storytelling and Engagement

Tami's teaching style was very transparent about method and purpose, and her metacommentary instructed students in how to learn *with* stories as a genre. Tami identified the role of traditional stories as helping to learn from other people's experiences and one's own. She told students, "You're not supposed to tell the lesson because everyone learns something different. You'll have something trigger and see something differently for the same exact thing." Particularly, the teachers at the K-12 public school where she worked in the past didn't like the little silver salmon story because the younger salmon character "didn't listen" to the older salmon about not swimming up the river (in the sense of obeying). Her take was that the younger salmon character actually *was* listening very carefully, but he was interpreting his elder's restrictions as advice to identify dangerous challenges along the river to watch out for.

Stories typically included monsters or change, and children listened enough to be safe. Specifically, "It gives kids credit to know dangers, so they can get out of trouble, but it's not always the obvious. There's lots of lies and trying to be tricked. There's also no standardized test. The test was surviving the monster, and you learn from your own survival." Tami noted that stories are about the survivors, and "monsters always have objectives." These monsters represent real world challenges, and stories therefore indicate "things you have to do and listen, but when you actually encounter the monsters, you're lucky to even survive!" It's not just a formula to follow elders' advice, then, since circumstances can be different and situations arise unexpectedly, but what the elders' advice *can* do is help prepare people to survive.

In addition, she told students that "transformation is important to native stories," and the stories about dukʷibəɬ, or Changer, meant "you are constantly being watched." Changer would change characters because of seeing bad behavior or attitudes, which is how sqigʷəc (deer) became bɑyɑc (meat) for the people. She shared that today there is a huge lack of storytellers, but many preserved stories, so dealing with the language deficit can help fill in the gaps. Notably, she identified a particular tribal storyteller by name multiple times as a good storyteller in modern times because he engages people and pulls them in. According to Tami, the role of a good storyteller is to open people's eyes to see different perspectives.

Specifically for the Southern Lushootseed language class, stories also provided learning opportunities for engaging with authentic language during the third quarter. Tami said, “This is why we love stories: you have so many phrases that come to life and then so many variations on them” and encouraged students to “make your stories your resource for grammar.” She often talked about the role of culture in language learning, saying, “people teach culture without language, but you can’t teach language without culture.” Importantly, she identified ways that stories are integrated into modern life with the example of “Basket Woman,” a well-known ‘dᶻəgʷə,’ or monster, that eats children. A carved figure of basket woman was placed at the boundary of a tribal playground to communicate to the children that they shouldn’t go any farther because it’s dangerous.

Variation in story meanings were both recognized and encouraged in the Southern Lushootseed class and once again incorporated students’ lifewise sponsorscapes. For example, Tami explained that “Everyone’s at a different point in their life to learn a different lesson from a story. There can be fifty different lessons from the same story. Years later, another lesson can be learned.” Importantly, this quote shows that meaning variations across people as well as for a single person over time were recognized as valuable. The instructor and students would often discuss these different meanings they found in the stories during class. For example, as they were discussing one section of their story translation homework, Tami paraphrased the following section: “Chipmunk was told to pick berries and get out of there, but was lollygagging, eating berries one at a time. Too much enjoyment - that’s when life goes wrong!” One of the students responded with an additional take-away: “Don’t lose track of your environment!” Not only comprehension of texts was important, then, but critically evaluating, responding to, and sharing them as well. From time and experience in other Coast Salish storytelling contexts and situations, I can attest that storytellers would often ask listeners to find their own meanings at a particular time in a similar fashion.

In addition, students participated in emotionally engaging and evaluating the story in relational and expressive ways. For example, during the part of the story in which Owl Woman is introduced for the audience, one sentence describes her habit of walking along stealing children. The next describes how she would eat these children as a snack when she got hungry. At this transition, one of the students mentioned quietly to another as an aside, “This is where shit gets real.” At another time, students offered not just translations, but expressively paraphrased conversational phrases between Chipmunk and Owl Woman. For example, Chipmunk requests that Owl Woman close her eyes while she climbs down from the tree and Owl Woman assures her that she will comply with the request. Students took on the role of characters to express their interpretations of the exchange with a sarcastic, “Sure you will,” as Chipmunk or an overly-earnest Owl Woman attempt at deception with, “I’m not fibbing!” Such enacted literacy practices made possible by the genre allowed students to position themselves within the stories as characters, even when taking on a language or tribal identity in other ways would be

inappropriate. On the day of the final exam, one of the students distributed copies of a sketch from her course notes for this conversation in which she had drawn an owl with its wings over its eyes. In the drawing, the owl's eyes are still clearly visible above and between the widely spaced feathers. A speech bubble from the owl reads, "Yes, I am hiding my eyes really good. Look how they are." Based on these observations, variations in *interpretation* were just as important as translation for student engagement with their learning community and the story, even if these interpretations were not formally recorded. These were dynamic and relational forms of multimodal literacy established and operating between community members and texts based on the instructor's framing of sux^{w}iʔɑb and dictionary entries as genres to learn *with*.

Previous networks and sponsorscapes of influence on learning persisted within the Southern Lushootseed sponsorscape. While repetition of sux^{w}iʔɑb and dictionary entry information was important for learning, originality was also necessary through individual connections based on personal experience. One area of evidence includes the variation in meanings learners took from the stories themselves - variation which was encouraged by their instructor's invitational learning environment. SLU06, who had taken previous American Indian Studies classes, provided a summarized "run-down of the deeper meanings" across all three stories through collective patterns.

> I'd say they definitely follow the same patterns of a lot of Indigenous (hi)stories. First, each one tells the story of the actions of a non-human being and interactions between them and human beings (and semi-human beings), reflecting an understanding of animals/non-human beings as conscious agents who think and feel (and especially in the case of Chipmunk, have kin relationships) as much as human beings. […] Second, they tell how/why those beings came to be the way they are. […] They represent the world as a changing, dynamic place. […] Lastly, knowledge about the world and moral or ethical lessons are encoded in each of them. […] Each of them convey the importance of listening to the advice of your elders […] as well as the danger of the world outside of your home and why one must remain alert.

Interestingly, SLU06's description of "Indigenous (hi)stories" in many ways parallels and further develops Hess's description of sux^{w}iʔɑb for Lushootseed speakers while simultaneously connecting to a broader sense of indigeneity. He had taken several other classes in the American Indian Studies Department at that point and therefore had a more general sense of trends or patterns in the purpose of story-telling genres. Connecting to a broader sense of indigeneity was a move that the instructor encouraged as well. For students' weekly journaling assignments, one option was to choose a traditional story from another culture and identify similarities of style or themes to Lushootseed ones. She also connected some of Lushootseed's language structures to indigenous ways of experiencing the world by being in it and "describing what they're seeing." While acknowledging the challenges that SLU06 reported with distance to personal lessons from

the story, a story-by-story rundown is nevertheless provided below for the focal participants. For the sux^{w}iʔɑb genre, the elements of the story texts themselves must conform to repetition, but originality and variation of interpretation were not only recognized and appropriate, but identified as essential elements of learning with these stories. Certain parts of stories stood out to different students and the take-aways and values they derived from the stories interfaced with other influential elements of meaning-making outside the class. Given that literacy is a process of abstracting meaning, interpretation was a crucial practice while engaging this genre.

SLU05 reports the meaning of "Little Silver Salmon" as "having the courage to stake out on your own, despite known risks or your own 'size' (age or standing)." SLU06 sees the lesson of remaining alert represented by the little silver salmon watching out for humans with spears and explanation of the world in salmon swimming upstream following the elders before them. This story led to the most divergent interpretations by participants as SLU05 focuses on courage while SLU06 focuses on awareness. I/SLU07 connected to known proverbs in Western cultures like "fortune favors the bold" and "forewarned is forearmed," which overlap with insights from both of the other participants, but connects - and in some ways shortcuts - to prior knowledge. SLU05 and SLU06 highlight values or personality traits that are meaningful or stand out to them, and I/SLU07 passively collect and relate everyday occurrences to idioms in many languages based on my living experience in several countries where idiomatic meanings helped me connect to people around me in culturally meaningful ways.

SLU05 identifies the purpose of "Skunk Story" as transferring cultural knowledge like where and how skunk sprays people with an overall warning to be wary of the tail. He also sees it as "people coming together to face a common enemy." Similarly, SLU06 shares that "skunk looks burnt because he was burned by a rock;" however, skunk's story not only "encodes how skunk looks, but also the danger he can pose to people." Both participants identify an explanatory meaning describing how to recognize skunk by appearance and risk of getting sprayed from the tail end. However, this is one instance of SLU05 providing a personal lesson or more universal theme beyond this explanatory meaning. This universal idea of the 'ɑciɬtɑlbix^{w},' or native people, gathering to resolve a threat to their collective existence was actually much more striking to me/SLU07 than the descriptive function explaining skunk's appearance from the burning stone they rolled down a hill over his back.

For "Owl Lady," SLU05 says, "This one seems to have some elements 'stranger danger,' but that might be a result of looking at it from a contemporary perspective. The meaning seems (to me) to be about being careful about who you trust and taking the advice of your elders to heart." SLU06 clarifies that along with following the advice of one's elders, chipmunk's story "allow[s] for some degree of rule-breaking, though with consequences. […] Chipmunk has a line on his back because he was scraped by Owl Woman [which] provides important knowledge in identifying how a chipmunk looks." For both SLU05 and SLU06, the explanatory meanings of chipmunk's

striped features begin very similarly. The life lessons continue somewhat parallel in the importance of following elders' advice, but diverge toward issues of trust for SLU05 and issues of consequences for SLU06. I/SLU07 was struck by the cultural value of obligation or deference toward older family members. Owl Woman goes through a whole list of relatives that she says want Chipmunk to go home, but Chipmunk doesn't come down from the tree because she explains that she doesn't have one, they died, or they disappeared before she was born. When Owl Woman finally says that Chipmunk's grandmother wants her home, however, Chipmunk immediately starts trying to figure out how to get down from the tree and go home. For me/SLU07, then, the story seemed to indicate deference and responsibility to older relatives. Respect for family members was a cultural value I had previously noticed while living in both Chile and Kazakhstan. All three of these aspects could be valid take-away lessons, especially given Tami's recognition of different lessons for a same story across different people and over time. However, interpreted meanings were shaped for individuals by previous networks of consequence along their lifewide learning trajectories.

Variation as Development

For the story translation assignments, each of the participants interacted with and moved between many texts and technologies. Paper copies of stories were provided in class as well as electronic copies on the class learning management system webpage. Print and online dictionaries were used extensively. The last chapter addressed how these dictionaries were viewed archeologically as a process of "digging down" and "extraction," but also carried valid language of first language speakers, which impacted how language was organized and accessible. First language speakers were identified at the beginning and example phrases or definitions for particular words were often attributed to them through initials so that knowledge was tied to particular people. The online dictionary also used "nesting," in which clicking on a letter would provide options for words that begin with that letter, and selecting a word would open the actual dictionary entry for that word. Examples of print and digital entries can be seen in the next section. During class sessions, the white board was used to organize literacy activity with modeled grammar breakdowns and collecting translation options on which to center oral discussions and collective revision. Students typed or wrote copies of the stories by hand and created their own grammar breakdowns of sentences and/or phrases to submit online and bring to class as notes.

A conceptual approach led to language variation in the translated English for Myth Age Stories. For example, by the third story, "Owl Woman," the students were all more varied at expressing emphasis through repetition in Southern Lushootseed. SLU05's self-reported tendency to "church up the language" in academic settings and to use academic English in writing led to a more formal approach than either SLU06 or me/SLU07. SLU06 chose a lexical item with more intensity, rather than simply repeating the original word again. I/SLU07 incorporated some of the colloquial terminology that had been shared during class and was thus the least formal of the three.

> "There were a great many little children confined in Owl Lady's cedar basket because they had been bad. *Very bad indeed*." (SLU05)
>
> "There were so many children inside because they were bad. *They were so terrible*." (SLU06)
>
> "Many little children were inside because they were very bad. *Super duper bad*." (SLU07)
>
> "There was a lot of small children inside because they were very bad. *They were very bad*." (Transcript)

This particular example suggests that students became more sophisticated at representing Southern Lushootseed in English over time while maintaining a consistent trajectory of developing their individual strategies based on previous learning histories within the overall conceptual approach encouraged by their instructor. Part of the literacy process meant identifying, considering, choosing, and evaluating meanings through other oral and written texts across a variety of mediums that would "honor the intellect" of both languages.

There were other types of structures and choices aside from just emphasis through repetition. To represent chipmunks counting, translations for SLU05, SLU06, and the transcript read mostly verbatim as, "One ripe berry. Two ripe berries. Three ripe berries." However, I use a copula-construction with "One berry is ripe! Two berries are ripe! Three berries are ripe!" This shifts the counting from not just Chipmunk's voice, but a narrator's voice that would encourage child audience participation. This choice responded to Tami's encouragement about storytellers engaging their audience and my expectations about storytelling genres for children in English.

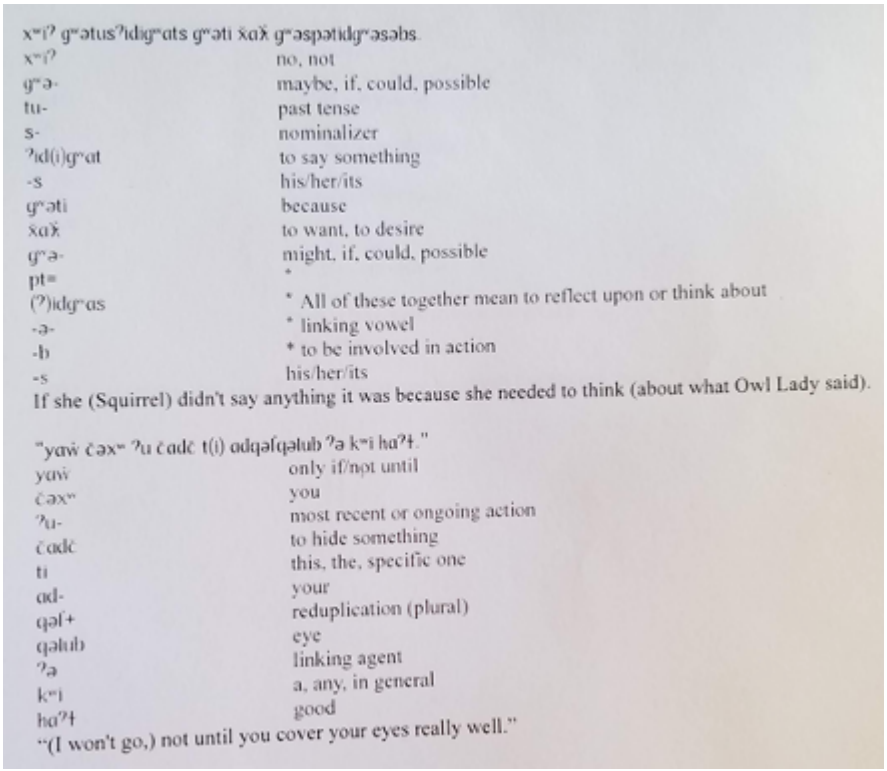
The position of learners' selves as students and/or storytellers within rhetorical situations, genres, and relatedly conceptual approaches to translation all informed the literacy practices students engaged, developed, and performed. Translation decisions involved symbolic representation in meaning-making and communication, which places the translation process at the heart of literacy issues. Beyond just a repertoire of skills and deployment of semiotic resources, translation coordinated literacy practices and developed over time and across space(s), facilitating and mediating literacy activity. Current and historical situations and language status continued to sponsor the opportunities and constraints around these practices. The next section addresses some of the internalized sponsorship threads learners brought with them into the Southern Lushootseed node from less-immediate experiences.

Learning Trajectories: Identity, Disciplinary, and Cultural influences

Past disciplinary, identity, and cultural experiences remained present as influencing factors for learners in the Southern Lushootseed community, which often manifested as individual variation coordinating with other elements of the overall sponsorscape. Evidence for these persistent influences exist within translated texts and process. SLU05's grammar breakdowns for translation homework tended to document more of his process than SLU06 or me/SLU07 by recording areas of remaining uncertainty or clarification in ways that would be appropriate to the conventions of his field of Linguistics. For example, asterisks show collective meaning and additional information is included in parentheses for sentence translations as he "follows the actors" for specific pronouns like "she (squirrel)" or otherwise clarifies ambiguity with contextually assumed, but unstated information.

Figure 49

Third Quarter Translation Homework from SLU05



xʷiʔ gʷətusʔidigʷats gʷəti x̌ax̌ gʷəspətidgʷəsəbs.

xʷiʔ	no, not
gʷə-	maybe, if, could, possible
tu-	past tense
s-	nominalizer
ʔid(i)gʷat	to say something
-s	his/her/its
gʷəti	because
x̌ax̌	to want, to desire
gʷə-	might, if, could, possible
pt=	*
(ʔ)idgʷas	* All of these together mean to reflect upon or think about
-ə-	* linking vowel
-b	* to be involved in action
-s	his/her/its

If she (Squirrel) didn't say anything it was because she needed to think (about what Owl Lady said).

"yaẇ čəxʷ ʔu čadč t(i) adqəʃqəlub ʔə kʷi haʔɬ."

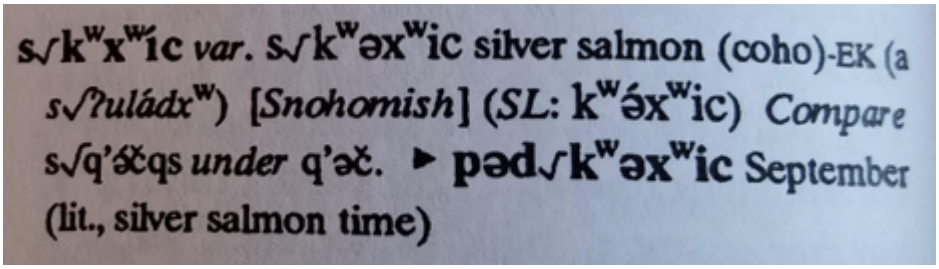
yaẇ	only if/not until
čəxʷ	you
ʔu-	most recent or ongoing action
čadč	to hide something
ti	this, the, specific one
ad-	your
qəʃ+	reduplication (plural)
qəlub	eye
ʔə	linking agent
kʷi	a, any, in general
haʔɬ	good

"(I won't go,) not until you cover your eyes really well."

There were also several occasions where general and specific terms were significant in student translations that suggested disciplinary or cultural influences on individual translation options. The first of these was the skʷikʷixʷic and skʷəxʷic set, where the first term is the diminutive form of the second (little silver salmon and silver salmon respectively).

Figure 50

Lushootseed-English Entry for Silver Salmon (Print)



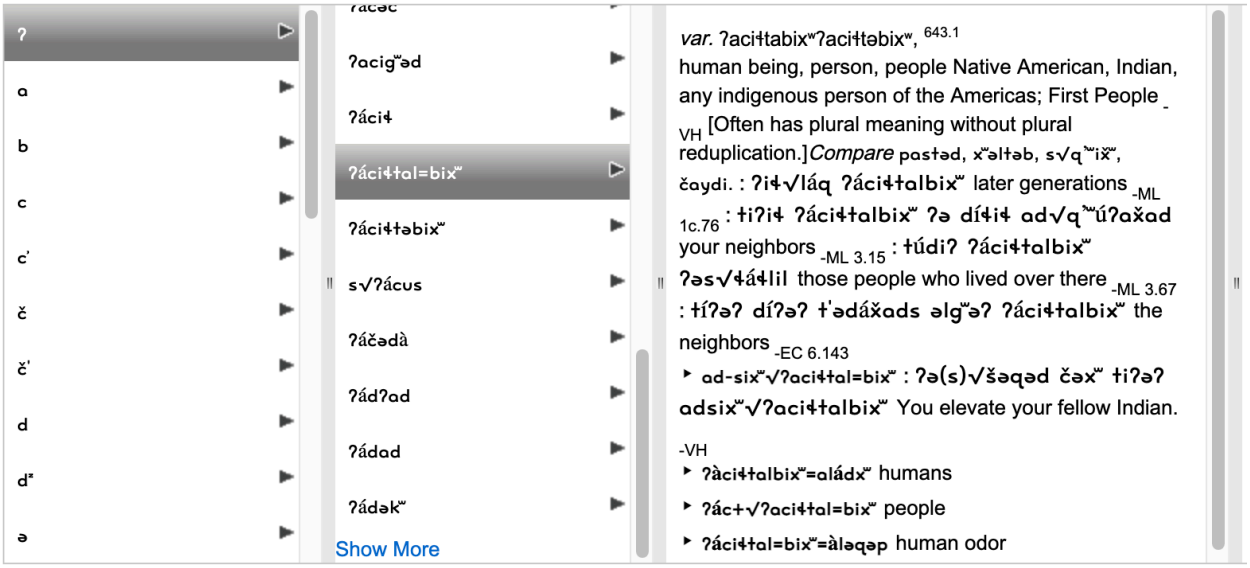
The image above shows the entry for skʷəxʷic in the Lushootseed-English section of the dictionary. Note that SL stands for a specifically Southern Lushootseed variation and that s- is a nominalizing prefix preceding the root, so the entry is listed under kʷ on page 126. This item specifically denotes 'silver salmon (coho)', as opposed to a general category name, which is sčədɑdxʷ. In fact, on page 348 in the English-Lushootseed section, the dictionary lists 23+ items for the English entry 'salmon' in Lushootseed including different types of salmon, stages of salmon life, or ways salmon has been prepared for eating. In sum, Lushootseed speakers would typically differentiate meanings for salmon with separate lexical items much more than English speakers, who might use an adjective to modify a general category of 'salmon.'

"There is a Little Silver Salmon in the sea […]" SLU06 begins his story translation. He then continues to use 'Little Silver Salmon' with consistent capitalization as a proper name for the main character throughout the story. He also consistently describes 'the big silver salmon' as a single unit, but without capitalization. In contrast, SLU05 translates "The little (sockeye/silver) salmon are in the ocean […]" where he places the type of salmon in parenthesis as the character is first introduced. He then uses 'the little salmon,' and 'the big salmon' throughout the story. This continues his practice across stories of including clarifying information in parentheses. His focus in the story is more on establishing and maintaining the contrast between the size and/or age of the salmon, rather than representing the type of salmon in English. This is another practice he reported in "Owl Woman," where he saw a contrast between a deer and chipmunk as significant and formed expectations about the story accordingly.

Another example of a general-specific terminology choice was ɑciɬtɑlbixʷ, which appeared in the "Skunk Story." SLU05 used 'the people,' SLU06 used 'people,' and SLU07 used 'native people.' These created different effects in their translations and showed different emphasis in focus while completing the translation homework. The nested entry for this word from the online dictionary is included below.

Figure 51

Lushootseed-English Entry for Native People (Digital)

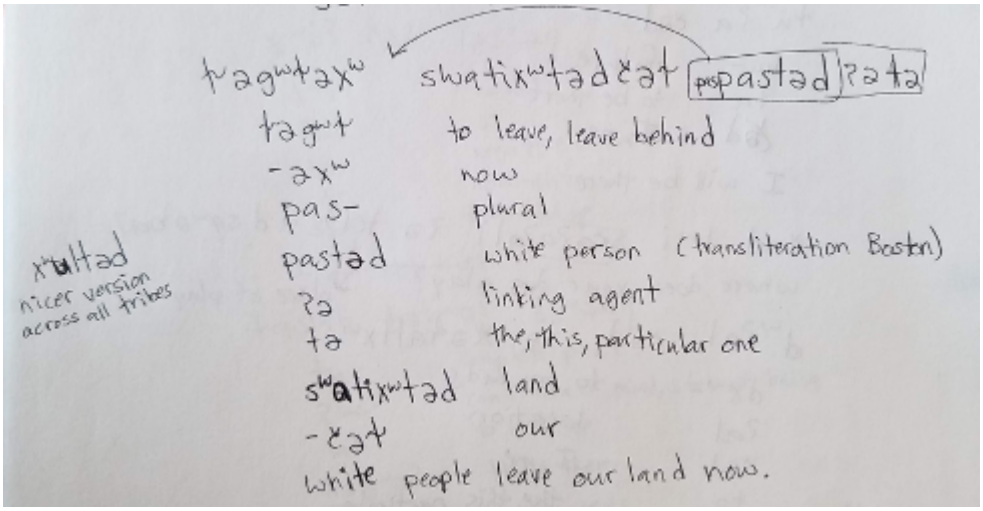


Notice that in the dictionary, aciɬtalbixʷ can refer to either people generally, or an indigenous person of the Americas specifically. There are several other words listed for comparison including pastəd, xʷəltəb, sq̓ʷix̌ʷ, and čaydi. These other terms for comparison are racial categories that were addressed at different points during class, the first two for white people, and the last one a transliteration of 'Chinese.'

For example, in the second half of the first quarter, students created their own sentences as homework using the grammar and vocabulary they had learned from example sentences or the dictionary. One of the students created a sentence using a directive construction telling white people to "leave our land now." One Jewish student and some others expressed concern about this example. Tami didn't address the sentence or student discomfort directly, but she pointed out that at one point in local history, there was an influx of people from Boston, and that was a group that was treating native peoples badly, so the transliteration of Boston, 'pastəd,' became a negative or pejorative way to refer to a white person. She also pointed students to xʷəltəb as a more descriptive term for a white person generally (incorrectly written in my notes as xʷultəd since this term was not written on the board, but only spoken conversationally).

Figure 52

First Quarter Notes from Whiteboard from SLU07



Because of this incident, I/SLU07 began mentally contrasting ɑciɬtalbixʷ and xʷəltəb instead of thinking of ɑciɬtalbixʷ as representative of all people and consequently translated ɑciɬtalbixʷ as ‘native people’ during the skunk story, especially since the Myth Age stories are set in a time when settlers of European ancestry were not present in the region. SLU05 indicates or maintains the special status of ɑciɬtalbixʷ by consistently associating it with a definite article as ‘the people.’ In this case, native people can still be assumed without being explicitly stated because of the Myth Age setting and is closest to the translations provided with the transcript. SLU06 just uses ‘people’ as a general term. The second sentence from the skunk story is reproduced below with emphasis on this particular term in translation to show its usage in context.

> “*The people* were regularly dying from that very strong stink and waste, and as *the people* were dying there (sic) were afraid of that stink.” (SLU05)
>
> “He would kill *people* going around with his smell and his skunk spray. And he was killing so many *people*, and they feared him.” (SLU06)
>
> “He would kill *the native people* with his strong smell. And then the spraying would kill *the native peoples* and they were afraid.” (SLU07)
>
> “He would kill *the people* with his bad smell. He would spray and would kill *the people* and they were afraid.” (Transcript)

In addition to the cultural influences impacting these translations of this sentence, this particular example demonstrates all the learners coordinating these cultural influences along with other elements of their processes from other aspects of their sponsorscapes. I incorporate class observations/notes, SLU06 "makes a jump," and SLU05 builds context by identifying and following specific actors (which he started to do specifically during this story). The Myth Age Story genre establishes a context in which specific literacies related to language and translation can be enacted in ways that honor the original speakers as well as modern storytellers and listeners.

Discussion

For Southern Lushootseed, story genres were historically seen as valuable to collect and therefore continue to exist in documented forms while many other forms of language were not. Although there are currently no "first language speakers," the genre helps preserve examples of actual spoken language and provides access to ways of knowing and engaging traditional knowledge in culturally appropriate ways. Dictionary entries serve a similar preservative purpose, especially in listing many varieties of documented examples of language items in use to provide context and connecting information to situated first language speakers. Print, digital, and audio media likewise impact student practices and conceptualizations of language and knowledge access. Metacommentary from the instructor around stories and dictionary entries encourages students to make knowledge personally meaningful and develop critical literacy practices in that they are participatory and relational. Past and other domains for literacy activities influence individual adaptations to shared learning circumstances and activity. Through these genres, the role and identities of learners are positioned within the classroom and beyond as transformational in process, practice, and identity with responsibility for their own learning and sharing knowledge with others. While stories and dictionary entries mediate literacy activities, more of the literacy activities deployed during actual translations will be examined in the next chapter.

Dictionary entries and sux^{w}iʔɑb provided access to Southern Lushootseed knowledge and built context for repetition and originality of meaning. The relatively restricted nature of these language materials based on a current lack of first language speakers means that circulation of these texts was a privileged resource within the class. These genres served not only as learning resources, but as guiding actants within a literacy ecology that could help learners develop "in the language." While textual form, function, and even disposition required repetition by way of performing conformity, originality was necessarily incorporated through interpretation and personal connections/processes. A full range of semiotic repertoires were necessary to participate in the literacy activities that honored the intellect of this language community and translation tasks.

My natural inclination was to see relationships, to seek the threads that connect the world, to join instead of divide. But science is rigorous in separating the observer from the observed, and the observed from the observer. [...] I should have been told that my questions were bigger than science could touch.

-Robin Wall Kimmerer

Chapter 6
Variation in Modality: Material-Discursive Phenomena

"By observing the overall format of a text, including the layout titles, and subtitles, as well as any accompanying photographs, graphs, maps, tables, or charts, you can generally derive information about the topic, the type of text, the purpose, and the audience." (De la Fuente, Martin Peris, & San Baulenas 2016, p. 12)

Background

This chapter addresses the ways that considering multimodality can lead to a more inclusive perspective on literacy sponsorscapes in terms of semiotic repertoires. As the examples in this chapter indicate, variation in modality can be sponsored and is, in fact, a crucial part of literacy sponsorscapes. This chapter not only traces the development of signed literacies (and their sponsorship) of hearing adult ASL learners, but places these insights in conversation with insights from literacy development of the other spoken/written languages discussed in earlier chapters. As I will detail in this chapter, issues of modality play a central role in the semiotic repertoires that are deployed in literacy activity, and these are shaped by dynamic literacy sponsorscapes.

Instead of operating within a limited dichotomy or "oral" and "literate" cultures, the concept of semiotic repertoires in Applied Linguistics is more useful for inclusively tracing and accounting for literacies that are signed, spoken, written, etc. As Creese & Blackledge (2017) have stated, "In communicating with resources available at particular times and in particular spaces, [people] do not separate the linguistic from the embodied, but make meaning through repertoires of signs which integrate verbal and non-verbal action" (pp. 255). Similarly, Kuster et al. (2017) place sign bilingualism/multilingualism and multimodality into conversation with the concept of (trans)languaging to propose attention to *semiotic* repertoires more cohesively, rather than limiting scope of inquiry to merely *linguistic* repertoires.

This shift away from attention on discrete linguistic codes allows for broader attention to spaces, objects, and embodied histories during communication. Kuster et al.further explain that "the concept of repertoire offers a way in which to articulate the ways individuals draw on their diverse resources mapping them onto functions in a communicative act," adding later that "a

semiotic repertoire can thus be understood as a heteroglossic realm of embodied potentialities and constraints," (Kuster et al., 2017, pp. 222 & 228). In this study, approaching literacy phenomena through a lens of semiotic repertoires allows for more inclusive analysis of very different language learning communities with their different communicative resources and actions *across a range of modalities*, including spaces, objects, and embodied histories. In this chapter, semiotic resources deployed through a range of modalities are central to showing the dynamic and reciprocal nature of literacy sponsorship. Just as literacy practices are being sponsored, those literacy practices are also fundamentally sponsoring ways of existing in and perceiving the world. Chapter four has already introduced some of the roles of embodiment, objects, and spaces on literacy, so this chapter takes up the thread to further investigate transliteracy practices,performances, and ideologies related to modality.

Focusing on the ASL community and the forces surrounding the role of sponsored conventionality/variation of literacy, this chapter addresses the following guiding questions: What role does modality play in understanding literacy sponsorscapes? What's the difference and role of reported and performed *variation* in literacy practices in various modalities? How do in-the-moment literacies respond to sponsoring or emergent forces (material, ideological, relational, etc.)? What are some of the significant forces in the particularly situated and networked sponsorscapes of this study, and what role do they play?

Methods, Materials & Participant Preview

Like all study participants, ASL students took the language background survey. They could also indicate interest in a follow-up interview at that time. Based on survey responses and class observations, instances addressing language variation and conventionality were a significant trend across courses. The interview questions therefore asked students for clarification about their survey responses and then for their views on variation as they encountered or engaged it inside or outside of class. The full set of questions is available as an appendix. Class materials including textbook/DVD, class slides, and assignments were also consulted for how they addressed these issues to investigate possible relationships.

In addition to daily textbook and DVD homework assignments for ASL language, students were responsible for a series of Narrative Video Assignments (NVAs) in which they recorded themselves telling a story and uploaded it to share with the class. Students also had required Deaf Community Hours in which they needed to attend Deaf events of their choice and write about their experience periodically as Deaf Community Reports.

ASL06's identified influences in ASL included a housemate who was a year ahead of her in ASL study and their other friends from class, who formed a Facebook chat group around ASL. Her major (Occupational Therapy) and minor (Education, Culture, and Learning) at the university

brought her into contact with professionals and professional activity that sometimes incorporated "survival signs" for communicating with nonverbal children with disabilities and/or introduced medical perspectives on deafness. Her interactions with the Deaf community in Seattle through required Deaf Culture Hours also expanded her understanding of ASL language as a positive venue for identity exploration. She had previous technology experience creating language videos as assignments from Mandarin classes in high school although she explained that these were more conversational than the ASL class narrative-based videos.

ASL08 identified several influences on her ASL development (and communication generally). She reported being both a very *physical* and *expressive* communicator with manifestations of these traits informed by her participation in university soccer for physicality and community theater and drama/improv for expressiveness. Her cousin was a signing (but hearing) student at the Deaf-serving Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT); she observed the president of RIT in his public speaking/signing practices; she encountered sign language in popular culture texts like the tv series Bones and the movie *The Silent Place*; and she regularly interacted with a Deaf friend from her university major and other members/events of the Computer Science & Engineering program around disability. The ASL class instructor and textbook also exerted powerful influences on the way she recognized and deployed variation in literacy across languages and modalities.

ASL04 comes from a Puerto Rican family and identified familiarity with Spanish from relatives although she did not speak it herself and reported that she could understand "Spanglish." She shared her motivation for learning ASL as wanting something new, rather than the Spanish she found "complicated," which she was "not passionate to learn fully." Crucially, ASL as a language shared elements of some of her academic/professional values and activities. She shared, "I am a ceramic major and I thought it would be unique to learn a language as a 3D art form." She also describes ASL as "a beautiful expressive language that is an art." In a journal activity for class, she wrote, "Growing up playing sports, I remember the huddles and hand signals used, especially for softball." Like ASL06, then, her initial interest in ASL was encouraged through alignment with her major (although without a utilitarian application). Like ASL08, she also identified connections to the physical movements of the language with past experience in sports. Unfortunately, ASL04's interview audio file was damaged, so most of her insightful examples with language and literacy development in this chapter will rely on how she performs and reports them on her survey and in some of her class assignments themselves (NVAs and Deaf Community Reports).

The sections that follow document trends (drawn from interviews accompanied by constellating-contextualizing course materials and assignments) that emerged in modality variation as participants developed ASL literacy practices, and the role that literacy sponsorship played in these modality variations. The subsections in this chapter address the establishment of variation

in modality as a norm, the relation of variation *alongside* conventionality, variation from localization, the influence of affinity groups on variation, variation during genre performances, and variation *that comes from* conventionality. These insights come from semiotic repertoires that were both reported and performed across a range of modalities.

Relational Variation as Literacy Norm

With the influence of (trans-)languaging in its scholarly heritage, inquiry into semiotic repertoires entails attending to ways that "people produce and balance language ideologies, identities, cultures, inequalities, oppressions and histories" (Kuster et al., 2017, pp. 226). In the ASL class, language was never separated from Deaf experience or treated as a neutral object. More prominently and centrally than in other classes, students necessarily moved across a broad range of modalities, not just written/spoken language. They used texts and developed embodied practices related primarily to visual and spatial literacies. In fact, the instructor specifically referenced the concept of Visual Gestural Language (VGL) on her class slides to frame early book activities as a basic foundation for signed language. Students practiced hand shapes and gestures while establishing visual-spatial references apart from actual linguistic signs.

Variation was fundamentally incorporated into and encouraged for many literacy practices and class norms, even as students learned to practice conventionality. In the following image, ASL06 follows her partner's motions on a requested repetition to confirm she has understood the shape being described. Her partner uses her dominant hand (right) to hold the image reference in place and elaborates the rest of the shape with her non-dominant hand (left). ASL06 is left handed, so she anchors the image reference with her left hand (dominant) and traces the shape with her right (nondominant) in a mirroring configuration. Usually, signers with the same dominant hand are offset. Beginning literacy practices included focusing on dominant and non-dominant hand signing orientation based on the *signer's* perspective, not side-of-the-body spatial orientation. Variation was therefore inherently built into normal classroom communication based on the presence and inclusion of left-handed students.

Figure 53

Visual Gestural Language Partner Activities

The textbook explains this variation explicitly while instructing students in how to use resource materials while introducing three main categories of signs: one-handed signs, two-handed symmetrical signs, and two-handed non-symmetrical signs. Taking the perspective of the signer and/or moving one's body in space are suggested to clarify how dominant/non-dominant hands should be moving.

> All of the signers on your DVD are right-handed. If you are left-handed, you can mirror the movements of the signers. Right-handed students will need to copy from the perspective of the signer. If you are unsure, stand next to your TV monitor so that you and the signer on the DVD are facing in the same direction, then check to see if you are signing correctly. (54)

Variation was also encouraged as part of meaningful, expressive communication. In one activity, students stood in a circle at the edge of the room facing in so that everyone could see each other. Every student demonstrated a sign of their choice by taking turns around the circle. For example, students' chosen signs included SPANISH, YEAR, DRESS, HIDE, and NOW among others. Once a student demonstrated their chosen sign, their classmates would imitate them. After the whole class had chosen a designated sign, the instructor then modeled different stylistic variations in later rounds on how to articulate the same sign differently. For example, in subsequent rounds, students took turns articulating their signs exaggeratedly large, very tiny, as fast as they could, or very slowly. In the following two images, the instructor introduces two rounds of the signing in this circle activity. In the first, she tells students to make their signs

large, and in the second to make them small. Students are at the edge of the room facing the central space so that they can see everyone else.

Figure 54

Two Rounds of Signing in a Circle Activity

In addition to introducing stylistic variation, stretching parameters of the signs in this manner helped students overcome some of their inhibitions with communicating in a different modality.

Variation from Standards and Standards from Variation

Variation and conventionality of language and literacy were intrinsically anchored to the Deaf experience and Deaf culture. The foundational threshold concept of ASL being a natural language of the Deaf sponsored all other literacy activity for the class. This should be recognized

in contrast to alternatives in other times and spaces including medical frameworks focusing on hearing loss and deafness as something to be fixed or paternalistic hearing/mainstream educators placing emphasis on signing in education in service of English acquisition. ASL standardization has been important to show that ASL is a fully functioning natural language on its own terms, but the heterogeneous and diasporic experience of Deaf people in the US means that recognizing variation was also important when centralizing the role of Deaf experience in signing.

ASL06 said that classroom learning prepared students "to communicate with any deaf people" in the US in a nod to standardized language, but also mentioned the role of their Deaf Community Hours assignment in helping them connect to communities and language as it might be used in the local area in particular. Two examples of Deaf Community Hours that she shared from her own experience were attending a church service and an art show. The full quote is included below:

> I think in general- like in general the things we learn equip us to communicate with any Deaf person in like America, but in regards to Seattle specifically, um, I think that's where a lot of the Deaf Community Reports come in. And [Kristi] tells us about events like in Seattle or she tells us about different shows, um, like the artist show, like ASL club and things like that so those things are specific to being in Seattle.

While ASL06 saw the instructor's primary aim as preparing students to be able to communicate "with any Deaf person in like America," she remembered that the instructor also exposed them to differences in signed languages during an intro video with signed languages from around the world to show that ASL was "not universal." ASL06 also remembered Kristi sometimes providing examples of words during class from French Sign Language, which she had studied in the past, but she could not remember any specific examples. However, I/Holly remember an instance where Kristi explained the influence of French Sign Language (FSL) on ASL for the sign WITH. WITH uses two A-handshapes pressed together. The A-handshape is an alphabetic initialization from the French word *avec*, or 'with.' Such an example highlights the historical influence of FSL on ASL while also showing the relative arbitrariness or irrelevance of spoken language initialization to meaning established through language-in-use. Students did not need to know the original spoken French referent in order to use the sign WITH in ASL although that knowledge might enhance their appreciation for ASL's rich history.

ASL08 also described many occasions when students were introduced or exposed to variation, even if they were learning a "standardized" ASL in their textbook and from the instructor. She noticed variation both within ASL as a language itself and across languages like ASL with other signed languages or ASL with English. She gave examples of the video shown at the beginning of the course with many Deaf people signing from different countries and cultures in their own languages and being struck in particular by Hawaiian sign language with the woman wearing a

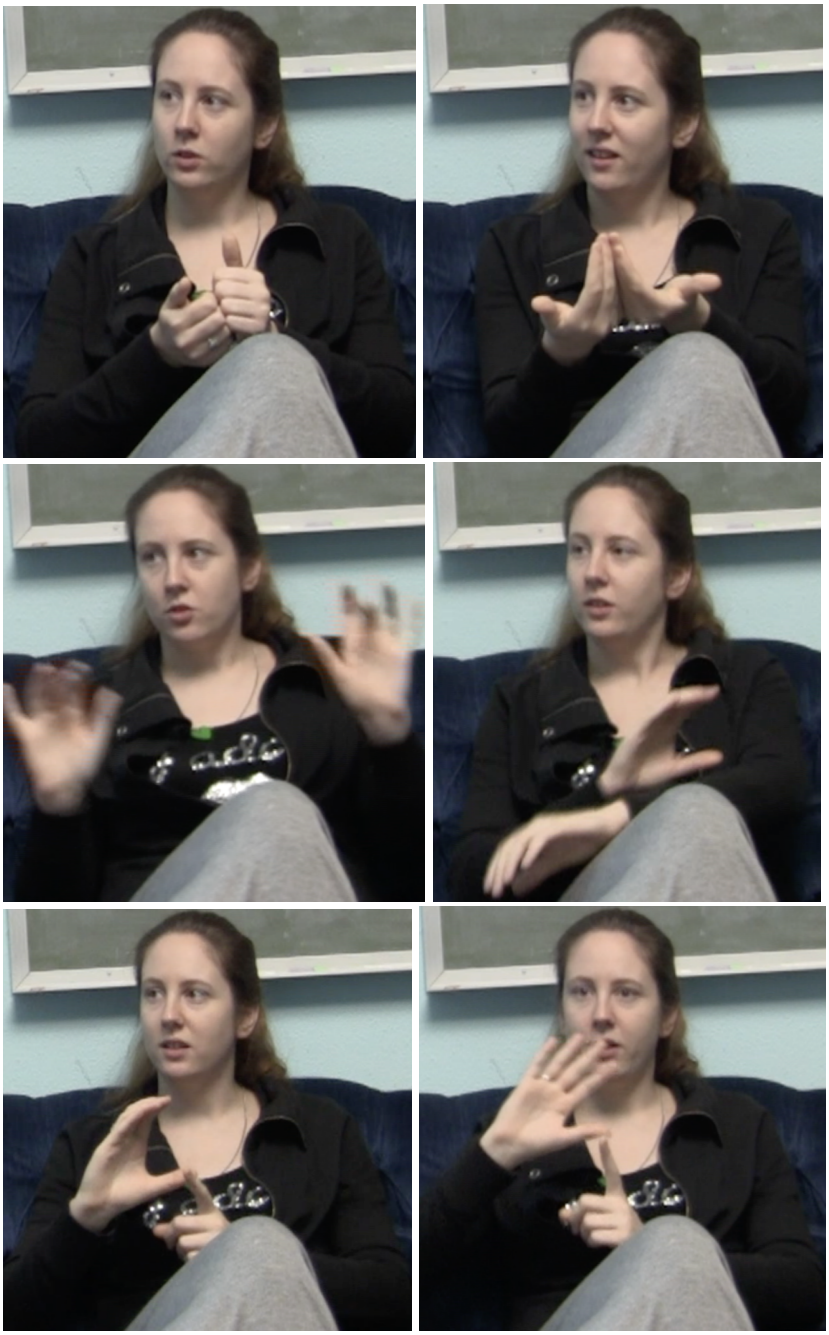
lei and the style of signing being very “flowy” and “like a dance.” There was also a video where she noticed variation within ASL based on a video from Texas and types of language variation based on emergent cultural circumstances within both America generally and Deaf specific situations.

> ASL08: I feel like Kristi really tried to (.) give us like (.) the standard ASL? [finger quotes] “Standard.” But there were you know definitely videos we saw where there was a barrista from Starbucks in Texas and Starbucks was trying to teach their barristas some very common sign language.
> H: Mm-hmm.
> ASL08: So if Deaf people came in, they could communicate or order and the correct manners to use with those people. So like, “Thank you!” [GOOD] But some of (.) the signs he was doing were different. Like we learned HOW like this [non-dominant hand stable while dominant hand moves] and his was like that [both hands move symmetrically/simultaneously].
> H: Uh-huh.
> ASL08: So and they did talk about in class how sign language kind of evolved because Deaf people in different communities just figured out how to communicate with each other and then when they kind of centralized at Gallaudet is when they started to come together and go, “Oh, you know we have a sign for that. We do this, or we have a sign for that, we do this.” So she did discuss how it can kind of vary a little bit? But that there are things that are pretty standard. And she showed us videos where things like photobomb or food baby, like words that are kind of coming up in the culture, how different people will come up with different signs for those things. And I can’t remember, but they have like this whole thing you can scroll through of like internet memes or terms that are fairly new to the English language, and they had two different people doing what their sign was for that.
> H: Ok. Like from different places?
> ASL08: Yeah. I don’t- I don’t know that they were from different places, but it was (.) I assume, but it was just expressing like (.)
> H: Mm-hmm.
> ASL08: These are two completely different things, but either one of them, you would understand.
> H: Yeah. So it’s like the innovation factor.
> ASL08: Yeah. And she- last time we talked about there are so many different signs for computer. And things like that. And she talked about you know some of that is that it evolved over time.
> H: Mm-hmm.
> ASL08: Or um, the sign for culture is this [C hand shape], but now we’re trying to move to this [5 hand shape] because they don’t want to have it initialized [English C for

culture]. And sometimes it's just because it evolves and sometimes it's because different people have different signs for it and you can just use any of them.

Figure 55

Juxtaposed Series of ASL08 Demonstrating Kinds of Variation



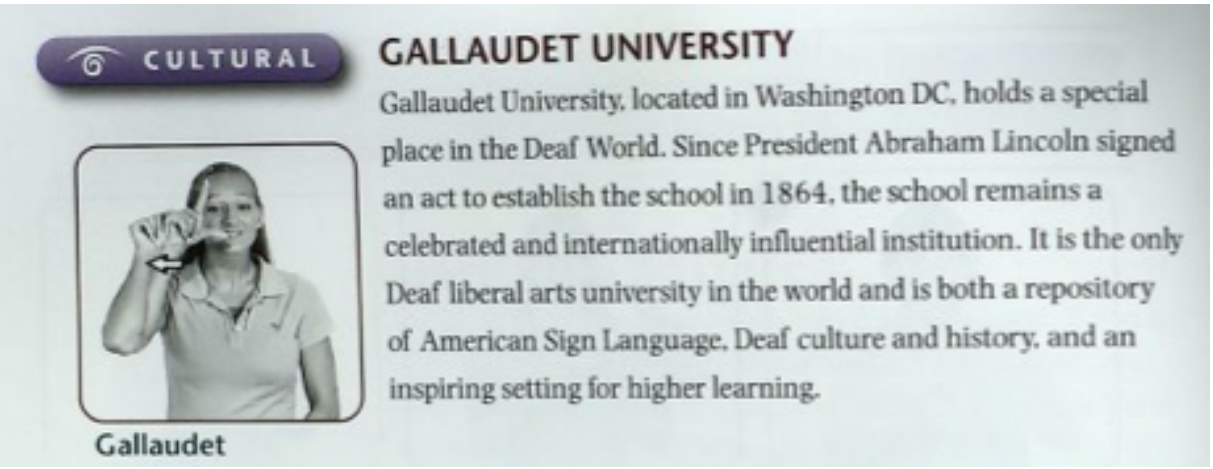
Note. Top row: On the left, ASL08 shows the classroom sign for HOW (one handed); on the right is how the barista in Texas from the video signed it (two handed). Middle row: On the left,

ASL08 demonstrates an older sign for COMPUTER based on the circular motion of older, larger machinery moving; on the right is a more modern sign with the C handshape at the forearm. Bottom row: On the left, ASL08 demonstrates the sign for CULTURE with a C handshape (alphabetic initialized reference from English); on the right is a variation with the 5 handshape, which is a classifier handshape (ASL-based) way of representing many people together.

While the course textbook and most instruction presented a standardized form of ASL for the purpose of communicating with Deaf signers, supplemental materials and discussion introduced by the instructor at least raised awareness about variation for the same reason. The reference to conceptual language variation/change from Gallaudet from ASL08 deserves a contextualizing note. Gallaudet University is an important intellectual and cultural influence in both Deaf education and ASL language/literacy practices. The textbook includes a Cultural entry on Gallaudet University. Notice that the signer Priscilla introduces the sign for Gallaudet University with an arrow to show the changing handshape on the two-dimensional page. The cultural section establishes Gallaudet University as both nationally and internationally significant to the "Deaf World."

Figure 56

Cultural Note on Gallaudet University in ASL Textbook



The section further explains, "As a place of cultural significance and a recognized center of a Deaf-World social network that spans the national and international arenas, Gallaudet has been called a beacon, Deaf Mecca, and "home" by its graduates, visiting scholars and supporters" (57). Gallaudet University is presented as a central nexus (home) of a Deaf network worldwide with associations of enlightenment (beacon) and pilgrimage (Mecca).

One of the stories in the textbook for students to learn is called “Gallaudet and Clerc Story” to explain the history of how this school was founded by a hearing American minister Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet and a Deaf French educator Laurent Clerc. The story includes Gallaudet meeting a deaf girl in the US, Alice Cogswell, and then traveling to Europe to investigate methods of Deaf education. He is not impressed by the oral method of instruction used in England, but is very impressed by the signed medium method in France. He invites Clerc, a Deaf educator, to help him start a school in the US. Both the textbook and supplemental instructional materials included by Kristi often recognize or reference material from or about Gallaudet University. They also centralize the Deaf experiences and perspectives in these stories and explanations such as highlighting Cogswell, Clerc, and what Deaf students are doing in Europe.

Gallaudet University and Deaf history in the US and worldwide sponsor ASL literacy practices in this learning ecology. It is particularly important to recognize that all forms of variation discussed in this chapter are always grounded in Deaf culture and its overall perspectives/values committed to Deaf empowerment, even/especially when ASL as a signed language has existed in an extended/resilient contact relationship to spoken/written languages like English. ASL language often metonymically represents Deaf experience/culture, but semiotic repertoires incorporate more aspects of visual and spatial ways of existing in the world beyond language.

By contrast to the gestural literacies with conventional space usage that the ASL participants demonstrate, an example of *emergent* gestural-spatial communication from an interview with SPA12 shows a more ad hoc approach in using his body (as an available part of his complete and situated semiotic repertoire) to represent literacy activity. As he explains his personal interest in subjunctive grammar constructions during Spanish class, he positions his hand as if holding a pencil and then uses his index finger and hand to punctuate individual words of his spoken example sentence in a line running from left to right like written words on a page. “Coming up with a sentence can be a challenge, but it could be like (sigh) let’s see. (.) I’m gonna- I’m writing the sentence out in my head. It’s like ‘*Me gustaria visitar, uh, el pais de Espana*.’” The phrase about writing that sentence in his head indicates that the way language appears on a page helps him to organize and speak language. Later, SPA12 once again moves an index finger left to right as if tracing words on a page or that he is reading from a page as he explains the reason for a pause in his speaking to describe his thought process, “I was just doing the Spanish version of that in my head. I was trying to think about that in Spanish.” On both occasions, he stares into space, not the interviewer, visualizing a written version of his spoken communication in Spanish.

Figure 57

Juxtaposed Series of SPA12 Indicating Written-Spoken Link through Gesture

Note. On the top row, hand motions accompany spoken words, “I’m writing that sentence [...] Me gustaria visitar [...]” On the bottom row, gestures accompany spoken words, “I was just doing the Spanish version of that in my head. I was trying to think about that in Spanish.”

These moments of literacy in embodied action, or situationally emergent spatial literacy performances, show that written conventions of the Spanish language (like words positioned from left to right on a page) are exerting influence on how SPA12 is conceptualizing and assembling spoken language and demonstrating that process of assembly through gesture, referencing technologies of writing utensil and paper. Notice that these gestures are not conventionalized, and he switches between hands in different instances while showing the spatial movement from left to right for the words in a sentence.

While the influence of conventionality in multimodal literacies for all language communities in this study are important (as highlighted by SPA12), the American Sign Language students in particular demonstrate the role that modality plays in how literacies are sponsored in both ideological and performed ways. SPA12 deploys resources that are available to him in the moment (his hands, the space around his body, eye gaze), but has not had a community of signers to establish a particular conventionality in *how* he is deploying these resources. Some of these emergent and embodied mappings of reported literacy practices and resources are likely both cognitive or social in nature, but this is another study for another day.

Variation Through Localization

ASL08 had several sources for exposure to ASL, which allowed her to recognize variety in the language. She said that she noticed differences between signing by her Deaf friend, her friend's interpreters, another friend in their CSE major who minored in ASL, and the ASL instructor. However, she also had her expectations about variation cued much earlier than this. She explained that she'd been exposed to the idea through a television series.

> The way I first kind of knew about that? That there were regionalisms to it? Was actually an episode of *Bones* from tv. And they find this deaf girl. And they're like trying to figure out where she's from and dadadada and anyway, it turns out she was kidnapped and they get her back to her parents and it's a happy ending, but part of the way they figure out where she's from is they watch her signing. And the main character is an anthropologist and she's going, "It's actually very specific. It's like any language. There's accents. We can figure out where she's from by watching how she's signing. So they just have someone communicating with her and to pinpoint where she would have grown up.

ASL06 discussed regionalism through location signs, introduced in class. In a story about attending a Deaf church in the city of Renton, one of the research participants noticed that she signed the name of the city. She explains:

> There are set signs for like states. I think for cities, it usually depends like regionally. I don't think like – I don't know if this [RENTON] would be recognized as Renton

> anywhere except for around here. It might just be a regional thing. Same with Seattle [SEATTLE], like Oregon [OREGON], Portland [PORTLAND]. It might just be a regional thing? If I were to sign it somewhere else, I don't know if people would recognize it? Cause I wonder how it was like named and everything, but it IS cool that they have signs for these cities /and things. I live in U-District, so U-[UNIVERSITY]District [DISTRICT] As in it's University [University] and then District [District]. So that's like actual signs. Like this IS University [UNIVERSITY] and this is District [DISTRICT] With other things like Renton [RENTON] or Tacoma [TACOMA]. (.) I don't know how national that is?

ASL06 demonstrates awareness that the naming process for local cities and neighborhoods would typically be mostly relevant and recognized locally or even perhaps regionally (by the Deaf community and other signers), with specific locations in Washington recognized by people in the Seattle area and potentially as far as the next state in Portland, Oregon, but probably not by people living in other areas of the US. She differentiates between place names that incorporate compound signs, which would be more immediately accessible to signers from elsewhere like U-District, and the more local references for naming conventions with initialized handshapes corresponding to the first letter of a city accompanied by a motion like Seattle, Renton, and Tacoma.

Figure 58

Juxtaposed Series of ASL06 Showing Signs for Local/Regional Place Names

Note. Renton (upper left: R-handshape, side-to-side motion), Seattle (upper right: S-handshape, side-to-side motion), and U-District (two signs below: UNIVERSITY and DISTRICT)

In fact, Kristi conducted several activities to introduce students to local/regional place names. She showed slides in class while providing signs in-person for each visual referent. She also provided students a handout with a list of place names in the Seattle area that students could cross-reference with a video created by the other ASL instructor demonstrating these signs in order of appearance on the list. These materials were supplemental to the course textbook, which used example city and neighborhood names around San Francisco, CA.

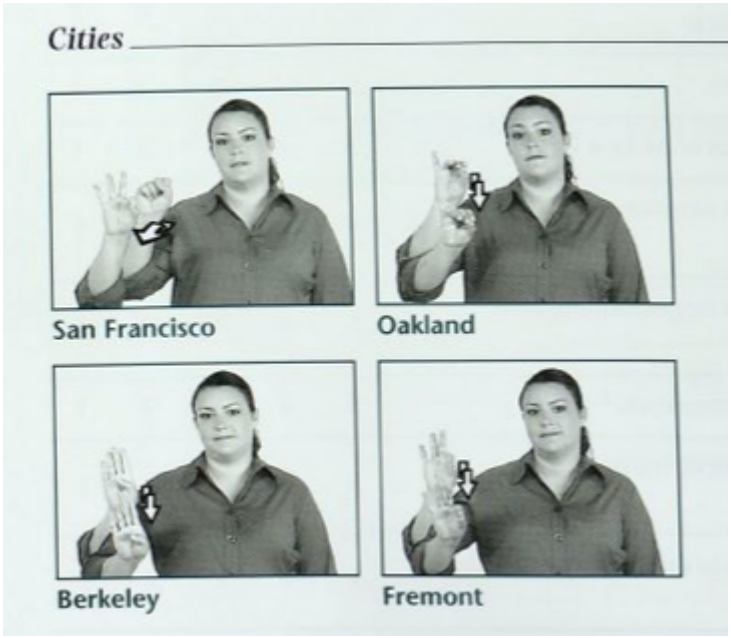
Figure 59

ASL Instructor Provides Local Vocabulary as Supplementary Material

Note. During class, Kristi shows a map of the Seattle AREA for context and then introduces signs for specific local neighborhoods using visual references like Pike's Place Market and International District. Notice in the second image she is pointing to the visual referent before providing the sign, which students then repeat. Repetition was used for both learning new information and confirming understanding.

Figure 60

ASL Textbook Provides Vocabulary Local to Publishing Company



Note. The vocabulary provided in the textbook for activities to help describe locations are found in proximity to the publishing company, DawnSignPress in San Francisco.

ASL04 describes both signing variation and localization during one of her Deaf Community Report assignments based on one of the Deaf Community Hour events. This particular report was for an event she attended titled "Deafies in drag" at the Broadway Performance Hall in Seattle, which occurred one week into her first quarter of ASL study. She writes:

> Typically, drag queens are over the top, but I felt that their performance was even more exaggerated. Every sign was flashy with attitude and had enhanced facial expressions. [...] The performers had a huge screen behind them that showed pictures and video clips as they improved with subtitles and music that was very loud but it needed to be that way for the vibrations, which is great. They made the show relatable to the Seattle audience, especially when they mentioned Twilight and Grey's Anatomy. [...] I love that they made up their own "Sassy Signs" for the following: Fierce, Gagging, Oh no you didn't!, Honestly, Not my problem!, Positive, Big Hair and Big Lips.

This excerpt shows ASL04's focus on an "exaggerated," "flashy" signing style and signed phrases that the Deaf performers self identify as "sassy." Even though the performers were not from the Seattle area, they included popular culture references ("relatable to the Seattle audience") through movies and tv shows set in Seattle and elsewhere in Washington State (Twilight and Grey's Anatomy). This also shows her exposure to and acceptance of the idea that new signs emerge from the lived experiences of Deaf people to express themselves - in this case, Deaf drag queens. She wrote that even people without an ASL background could attend such an event and not feel like an outsider; about her own experience, she reports that "I couldn't make out every detail but it was easy to follow." Different (additional) modalities and stylistic elements like the exaggerated signing, subtitles, and images allowed her to "follow" communication. Shared visuals, pop culture references, and performance of stylistic gender conventions both on screen and embodied were part of the available semiotic resources within a broader ecology the performers were deploying and ALS04 was "following."

Deaf perspectives on and examples of variation had a huge impact on student literacy practices in ASL and grounded their language learning firmly and consistently in a cultural frame. Whether this grounding occurred through their required hours at Deaf Community events, textbook descriptions, more organic friendship networks, or representation in popular culture texts, students recognized that variation was an important part of meaningful communication primarily rooted in Deaf culture and shaped their semiotic repertoires when learning and practicing ASL literacies.

Affinity Group Impacts on Semiotic Repertoires in Sponsorscapes

ASL08's background in drama and improv significantly influenced her approach to storytelling and the *expressive* nature of ASL, which leads to her comfort with variation in storytelling.

ASL08 also said that ASL was uniquely suited to athletes, noticing a large number of student athletes from football, volleyball, and her own sport of soccer. She said that the *physical* nature of communication was something she brought to ASL class.

> It's interesting. One of my very good friends is actually Deaf and she's how I started learning ASL. I was interested in it before that, but she's how I really actually was like, "Ok, I'm going to learn this now!" And she (.) has said um even when I'm not doing formal ASL? It's much easier for her to understand me than it is most people beCAUSE I'm so physical in my communication.
> [...]
> I liked doing the second [NVA story assignment]. It was more enjoyable for me just cause it was kind of like (1st person RS marching) walking along and just- just very expressive when you're storytelling. And I tend to be that way when I tell stories and people are always kind of like, "Wow, you're such a good storyteller," and whatever, and it's kind of just like I like getting into it. Like I like telling stories. And then of course when I'm around drama people, they're ALL that way. (laughs)

Her description of "all" improv participants as expressive storytellers identifies visual communication as a norm for drama communities, rather than only or even primarily relying on spoken or written language for communication. She described improv groups tossing invisible balls to each other or showing the manipulation of other objects in space as a normal activity and speculated about the influence of physical signaling, rather than reliance on "audible" cues, on a playing field from a Deaf NFL Seahawks player on Husky football by virtue of proximity. As a soccer player, she had noticed a high percentage of student athletes from different sports like football and volleyball were enrolled in ASL class.

ASL06 was majoring in Occupational Therapy (OT) and minoring in Education, Learning, and Society (ELS). She mentioned that most OT courses included psychology, anatomy and physiology, which focus on how the body is put together and works. ASL06 had observed OT sessions conducted by professionals and was initially interested in studying ASL to learn "survival signs" used by many OT professionals to communicate with nonverbal children.

> I think the biggest thing is just – a lot of occupational therapists DO work with children with special needs and so a lot of the times the children are nonverbal? So I think that's where the survival signs will come in the most like "Do you need more?" [MORE] "Are you done?" [FINISH] "Do you need help?" [HELP] Um, things like that. Just basic signs.

Figure 61

Juxtaposed images of two survival signs MORE and HELP

ASL06 could also draw direct connections between her learning in ASL class and coursework in other classes.

> I'm doing the ELS minor, so a lot of those classes have included things like disability studies or um just like a lot of classes about working with children and children with disabilities so I think I see the most overlap with ASL there. Like having a whole unit on um like deaf children and the whole like debate about cochlear implants, um. I think that's where I see the most overlap?

Figure 62

ASL Spatial Literacy Conventions in Spoken-Gesture Contrast

Note. Even though not signing at this particular moment, ASL06 uses spatial literacy conventions from ASL to reference the contrast of the choice to get Cochlear implants (to her right) or not (to her left) as she gestures to accompany her speech.

Interestingly, a utilitarian approach based on her career trajectory initially sponsored her enrollment in the ASL language class, but the language and cultural learning connected to the ASL class subsequently sponsored an expanded perspective/approach to deafness as a cultural issue, rather than medical one, during learning units about working with Deaf/deaf people in her other classes. ASL06 reports this shift in her motivations and more invested language practices in the excerpt below. Notice that she specifically identifies ASL as a "whole visual language" as opposed to her original survey on embodied relationships, when she associated it with her hands (as a physiological place of articulation more aligned with OT classes based around anatomy).

> I think for occupational therapy I'm just working with kids with disabilities. You don't (.) need like completely thorough understanding of the language. I think survival signs like help, like more, finish and things like that are necessary, but um, so I think with ASL 101 just like learning those were useful for like my future, but as like I learn more and more, I think I just started to enjoy being a part of the Deaf community and learning more about Deaf culture. And so that kind of shifted my intentions for learning ASL in the first place. It wasn't just for future – my career, but also just to gain like a better understanding of like Deaf culture be able to learn ASL and just how to use it and how to learn this whole visual language.

This reported shift is crucial to illustrate the dynamic and reciprocal nature of sponsorscapes where influences are not unidirectional. Her academic/professional field initially influenced her towards registering for ASL class for "survival signs," but the Deaf cultural framework towards ASL later impacted how she viewed Deaf issues in her chosen major and minor (culturally, rather than medically).

Language Ideologies: Reported and Performed Literacies at/across "Boundaries"

Semiotic repertoires based on modality in the examples so far have included inherent ways that variation in material, social, and embodied resources were being sponsored for ASL students. At this point, the chapter turns to the issue of language boundaries (primarily between English and ASL) and how essentialized views of language varieties play a particularly prominent role in the sponsorscape of modality based on explicitly signaled language ideologies. This section addresses how those ideologies manifest themselves in class learning materials, students' own life nexus strands, and how semiotic repertoires have the potential to address these ideologies and resulting literacy practices more inclusively without immersing the researcher in an a priori dichotomous relationship between essentialized language forms of spoken/written English and

signed ASL. It also highlights ways that students are using signed spatial-gestural literacy practices during in-the-moment literacy performances during their interviews based on their available repertoires to enhance (not replicate) modalities of communication.

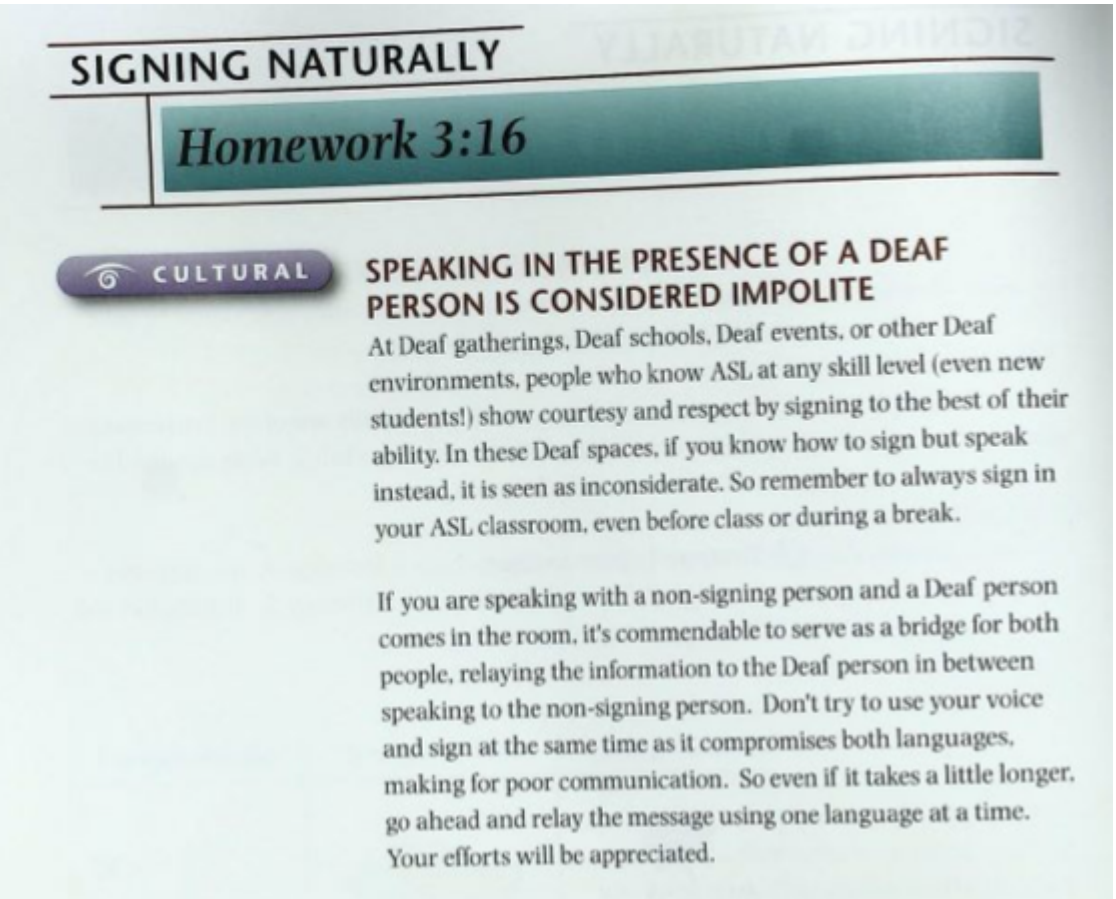
The Introduction to the ASL textbook, *Signing Naturally*, presents "A Brief History of ASL." This introductory material establishes ASL as a natural language developed in North America and situates its status and use over time. Recognizing ASL as its own language,the distinction between ASL and English is (re-)established multiple times for emphasis. For example, "In the 1960s, linguists at Gallaudet University proved that ASL is a fully developed independent language unrelated to English," and "Probably the most important myth to debunk is that ASL is not a visual code for English, written or spoken," (vii-ix). The textbook also explains the distinction when instructing students how to use the course materials:

> There are no English equivalents in this workbook. That means, while there are some signs that have a brief description in English to help you grasp the meaning, avoid "assigning" the meaning of an English word to an ASL sign. Many ASL signs simply are not directly translatable to English words. So if you develop a habit of seeing ASL signs and doing a mental run through of English, you will often make wrong sign choices. ASL signs are best learned through use and context.
>
> "Often students are tempted to hold on to the crutch of English by speaking while signing. This is not a good idea. Trying to speak and sign results in bad ASL syntax and grammar. The faster you can develop a complete reliance on ASL only when signing, the more quickly you will progress. (pp. ix)

Notice the commitment to sharp boundaries between ASL and English with crossover presented as detrimental to the learning process. There is simultaneously and alternatively a strong push towards ASL language *use* and *context*. As a note of preview, stories are one way that students learned language in context through the textbook, which will be discussed in more detail in a later section. Language(s) generally are framed as support structures for students, with English serving as a "crutch" and "reliance" on ASL encouraged accompanied by a metaphor of mobility with quick "progress." The textbook continues to situate ASL as language coming from and interfacing with Deaf culture. One of the specific "Cultural" sections is provided below, which explicitly addresses using one language at a time as a matter of etiquette and linguistic/communicative integrity.

Figure 63

Cultural Note on Speaking-Signing Etiquette in ASL Textbook



SIGNING NATURALLY

Homework 3:16

CULTURAL

SPEAKING IN THE PRESENCE OF A DEAF PERSON IS CONSIDERED IMPOLITE

At Deaf gatherings, Deaf schools, Deaf events, or other Deaf environments, people who know ASL at any skill level (even new students!) show courtesy and respect by signing to the best of their ability. In these Deaf spaces, if you know how to sign but speak instead, it is seen as inconsiderate. So remember to always sign in your ASL classroom, even before class or during a break.

If you are speaking with a non-signing person and a Deaf person comes in the room, it's commendable to serve as a bridge for both people, relaying the information to the Deaf person in between speaking to the non-signing person. Don't try to use your voice and sign at the same time as it compromises both languages, making for poor communication. So even if it takes a little longer, go ahead and relay the message using one language at a time. Your efforts will be appreciated.

For the introductory language class, this idea of politeness or social acceptability is reinforced by the "Voice-Off" policy for the class, which the instructor presented as a slide for students to read. Restricting use of certain modalities at particular times and spaces ensured accessibility of information for both students and instructor.

Despite the focus on learning ASL on its own terms, rather than through English during class, ASL08 explained that the instructor also complicated the notion of "correctness" in ASL as it could appear in the real world during personal conversation. However, the priority remained on understanding or understandability. The following interview excerpt is provided in transcript form to show how ASL08 is *performing* signed literacies through gesture while communicating primarily in English to report linguistic distinctions. *The Quiet Place* is a movie ASL08 watched on her own time unaffiliated with the ASL class.

H: When you were walking across campus and you had a conversation with Kristi about *The Quiet Place*. Could you take me through that conversation one more time?
ASL08: Yeah. So basically, there was a guy in that movie. And he says, (signing simultaneously and exaggeratedly exact English) "I have always loved you."
H: Uh-huh?
ASL08: And I was like [HAVE], "Pretty sure this is possessive."
H: Yeah.
ASL08: That doesn't express past [PAST] the way it does in English. So I happened to bump into Kristi, and I was like, "Oh! I watched this movie called The Quiet Place, and they said, (signing simultaneously) 'I have always loved you.' [WHAT] Is that correct? Like I feel like that's wrong. [WRONG]"

Figure 64

Juxtaposed Images of English-ASL Differences/Evaluation

Note. ASL08 shows the sign HAVE (possessive), contrasts this to PAST (spatial placement behind the body in ASL), and then her evaluation of the original usage as WRONG.

ASL08 (cont.): And she was like mm (1st person RS: juggles hands). And she was like there's kind of a spectrum and over here you have sign and ASL (left/non-dominant side of body) and over here you have English (right/dominant side of body). And that's maybe a little bit here (indicates spatial placement right of center), but it's ok.
H: Uh-huh.
ASL08: And so just kind of like that just gave me some further understanding of "Oh, I see there's – it's not just like there's English and ASL. There IS kind of a spectrum and there are certain things where it's like "Yeah, it's not perfect ASL, but it's acceptable. People would understand what you're saying."

Figure 65

Juxtaposed Series of Images Establishing Language Spectrum

Note. ASL08 establishes a spectrum within the signing space that shows grammatical agreement with placement of ASL on her left (non-dominant) and English on her right (dominant), placement of the example phrasing from the movie along this spectrum to the right of center, and her deeper understanding of acknowledging that spectrum.

In this excerpt, ASL08 is accomplishing more than just code switching. She is layering language through VGS modalities and spoken language. Her initially exaggerated simultaneous signing of exact English in reported speech/sign of the movie character indicates an unnatural flow as she is evaluating it in contrast to more typical ASL conventions. In establishing a visual spectrum, she is both paraphrasing the signs of her instructor while explaining what these meant in spoken English. In these examples, she is both *performing* complex literacies in real time as she *reports* on her understanding of literacy conventions and acceptable variation (for purposes of understanding), which her instructor is also helping to shape.

ASL08 also explained why this understanding needed to be expanded through a story about attending her cousin's graduation at Rochester Institute of Technology (located near Gallaudet University with a large Deaf student population as well), and him telling her that people would be upset that the university president had given the graduation speech in English while simultaneously signing the words.

> And I was kind of like that's so weird. Like why would you be upset about it? But now, having learned more about the language, like because it shows that you haven't put any effort into actually learning the language. Because that's like day two of class. You find out it's not just signed English. It's its own language. So then you're totally discounting the fact that it IS its own language. So then I was kind of like, "Ok. It's nice that he made an effort, but I can still see why that would kind of be upsetting." Cause like if you tried to speak in Spanish, and you just took your English words and used the Spanish word for each one, it wouldn't make any sense.

These connected stories show the various forms of sponsorship across time and space that all form part of ASL08's process from awareness, recognition, acceptance, and performance of variation in ASL and variation across the overlapping terrain of ASL and English in North American contexts. These options and variations in modality are not only resources that are available in her semiotic repertoire, but their performance is also mediated by language ideologies, which are also part of her repertoire. As she is reporting on her experiences, she is also communicating with someone she knows has a background in ASL and uses spatial literacy placement and contrast to paraphrase her conversation with the instructor and express more than her spoken words can convey.

Interestingly, ASL06 also demonstrated spatial contrast and agreement while describing a shifting understanding on the relationship between spoken English and signed ASL over time through her gestures by placing the two languages in space on either side of her body while she talks about the differences between ASL and English. She contrasts her own past ideas with current understanding by communicating with two different modalities simultaneously. Her hand

gestures are not ASL language, but demonstrate visual/spatial literacy practices that were developed during ASL class.

Screen shots from the interview are included *after* the quoted spoken excerpt to highlight the role that both aural and gestural literacies are playing so that they can both be understood on their own terms. In actuality, there is a layering effect from these modalities both taking place simultaneously, but this presentation allows for a two dimensional rendering of a more dynamic communicative event. The screenshots are vertically aligned so that ASL06's establishment of horizontal space can be visible to the reader/viewer. Key phrases from the spoken excerpt are matched with these images to show where/how they occured in relation to the spoken response. The spoken interview text reads:

> I think my thought- or my thinking has definitely shifted just because the grammatical structures ARE different, and I think at the beginning I was like, "Oh, you can definitely like sign WHILE speaking," but it's really hard to because like even things like "Where is the library?" We say, "Where is the library?" but the ASL structure would be "Library is where?" And so I can't really think of it like that, like I had to think about what I want to say in English, but then think about how you would sign it in ASL and then sign- sign it in ASL.

Figure 66

Juxtaposed Series of Images on English-ASL Structure over Time

the grammatical structures (places hands in close proximity)

sign while speaking (brings hands together from outside)

I can’t really think of it like that (moves hands away from center)

what I want to say in English (establishes one hand on dominant side)

how you would sign it (points to non-dominant side from dominant side)

sign it in ASL (hands show motion, but not handshape for ASL sign)

Before taking the class, ASL06 also initially assumed that ASL and English could take place simultaneously through different modalities and that they shared more of a linguistic "equivalence" through grammar. However, both ASL06 and ASL08 demonstrate visual/spatial literacy practices they learned from ASL class through gestures that accompany their spoken English while explaining the challenges of signing one language and speaking another language simultaneously (which they are not doing). ASL06 and ASL08 incorporate visual/spatial literacy practices through gesture, not full language as they speak in English.

The supplemental materials that Kristi shared during class like the international signing video mentioned by both students during their interviews grounds ASL language in a more universal Deaf experience with more similarities to other signed languages than to spoken or written languages like English and French. The textbook acknowledges and rejects immediately the common assumption or "myth" that ASL is coded English during the introductory materials and incorporates Cultural sections with significance on language use based on "Deaf World," "Deaf Culture," and "Deaf spaces." This is an important threshold concept the book establishes for culturally based language learning.

Literacies of Engagement: Performing Variation/Translation

The last chapter addressed the importance of sux^{w}wiʔɑb, or mythic stories, as a learning genre for the Southern Lushsootseed community. Since we previously established the impact genres can have as part of semiotic repertoires, "stories" (as an inclusive genre) in the ASL class were also important for students' developing literacy practices. Narrative Video Assignments (NVA) required students to learn, perform, record, and upload a video of themselves signing stories in ASL from their *Signing Naturally* textbook and DVD materials. NVAs included many kinds of more specific story genres including folk tales, historical tales, jokes, fables, etc. However, the sign used for the category of NVA stories as presented in the textbook is provided below. Notice the arrows and two sets of hand positions to indicate motion on the two dimensional page.

Figure 67

Sign for Stories in ASL Textbook

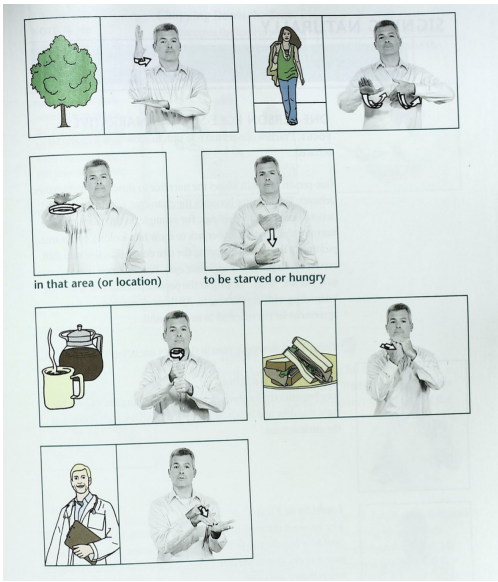
ASL06 said that her preparation to record herself signing NVAs included taking notes to help cue her as she signed. ASL08 said for the first NVA, she asked her Deaf friend to sit across from her behind the computer so that she could get corrective grammar feedback and would have a social context for telling the story instead of viewing herself on her computer screen.

Students did not strictly conform to the story (either by elements or articulation) as modeled by the signer in the book/DVD during the performance of their NVA stories. For example, one early story that students signed for the class was "Timber." The textbook describes the story as follows: "'Timber' is a well-known folktale told within the Deaf community. Joey tells the story of a lumberjack who realizes that a tree is 'deaf' and that yelling 'timber' won't bring that tree down" (310). In fact, the punchline of the story revolves around the narrator fingerspelling the word T-I-M-B-E-R instead of yelling it so that the final tree (which is deaf) will fall.

The scanned excerpt from the textbook introducing "Timber" demonstrates some key vocabulary for this story. Notice the preference for visual references, not linguistic references in English for ASL signs when possible. Signs with motions necessarily include arrows to represent three dimensional spatio-temporal elements on a two dimensional page. These book items merely introduce key vocabulary for students to follow the context of the story when they watch it being signed. The DVD that accompanies the book actually shows the signer (for this story, Joey) signing the whole story and then signing the story by sections or "scenes" as the textbook designates them. Notice the sign for COFFEE is included as vocabulary, which is relevant for the lunch section of the story and examples of student variation discussed below.

Figure 68

Vocabulary Preview for "Timber Story" in ASL Textbook



ASL06 draws attention to the visually iconic nature of many signs in ways that made ASL vocabulary seem intuitive for her. She uses the example of the sign TREE as she describes this observation. This particular sign was introduced by the book and used for the “Timber” story as can be seen in the scanned excerpt above. This example suggests the memorable nature of contextual story elements and visual referents, even when used for other contexts and purposes.

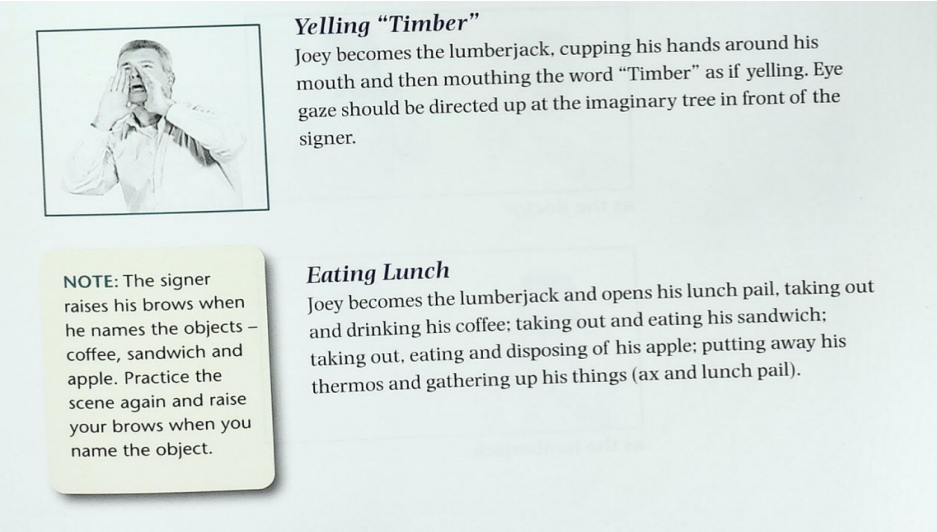
Figure 69

Visual “Intuitiveness” of Signs for ASL06 (TREE)

One of the major language features for students to practice in the “Timber” story is one person role shift, where the narrator shows how a character behaves. Below is a small excerpt from the textbook that describes two parts of the story that use one person role shift. Notice that the lunch section describes a series of actions including drinking coffee and eating an apple. Students were encouraged to perform or articulate variation within story elements during class. During a small group activity practicing the story by scene in class, the instructor modeled changing the apple from the textbook to a banana through a modified handshape and the act of peeling it in long strips.

Figure 70

Stages & Grammar of "Timber Story" in ASL Textbook



Yelling "Timber"

Joey becomes the lumberjack, cupping his hands around his mouth and then mouthing the word "Timber" as if yelling. Eye gaze should be directed up at the imaginary tree in front of the signer.

NOTE: The signer raises his brows when he names the objects – coffee, sandwich and apple. Practice the scene again and raise your brows when you name the object.

Eating Lunch

Joey becomes the lumberjack and opens his lunch pail, taking out and drinking his coffee; taking out and eating his sandwich; taking out, eating and disposing of his apple; putting away his thermos and gathering up his things (ax and lunch pail).

The following examples show students telling the story with their own variations. Screenshots are provided from NVA video files for ASL08 and ASL04 along with contextualizing excerpts of gloss and translations of the NVA transcript. As before, glosses for signs are represented in all-caps, RS is role shift (followed by description), CL is a classifier handshape (followed by description), and IX stands for indexing a referenced item through pointing.

ASL08 signs the story with two thermoses in the lunch box instead of one. The first is coffee, which the lumberjack hates and throws away. The second is tea, which he gladly drinks. She also changes the apple from the story as modeled in the book into an orange for her signed version. The following screen shot pairs show the signs for COFFEE and HATE, TEA and positive evaluation, ORANGE as a lexical item and as a classifier handshape holding an orange while peeling it with the other hand. Notice both ways of showing the orange (as a lexical item and as part of one person role shift) are important for the story. The section of the story is both glossed and translated for context.

Figure 71

Juxtaposed Images & Transcript for ASL08's "Timber Story"

Gloss	RS: "rummage" CL-C: "cylinder beverage container" IX COFFEE HATE RS: "throw over shoulder"
Translation	He rummaged around and pulled out a thermos. It was coffee, which he hated, so he threw it out.

Gloss	RS: "rummage" CL-C: "cylinder beverage container" IX TEA "ok"
Translation	He rummaged around some more and pulled out another thermos. It was tea, which was great.

Gloss	IX ORANGE "thumbs-up"
Translation	There was an orange - great!

Gloss	CL-C-(CLAW): "pick up orange" CL-C: "hold orange" RS: "peel orange with difficulty getting started"
Translation	He got it out and used his fingernail to start peeling it.

ASL04 seems to conform to the modeled story more as her lumberjack drinks coffee and eats an apple, but during her signing of the lunch scene with the apple, in addition to providing the sign for APPLE, she also demonstrates shining it on her shirt before eating it. This is another form of variation where clarity of meaning through principles of one person role shift to show the character's behavior is more important than *replication*, or performing strict conformity to story elements exactly as modeled. The screen shots show the lexical item APPLE and the apple being held with a classifier handshape during one person role shift as it is shined on ASL04's shirt.

Figure 72

Juxtaposed Images & Transcript for ASL04's "Timber Story"

Gloss	IX CL-C-(claw): "pull out round item" APPLE
Translation	There was an apple.

Gloss	RS: "shine apple on shirt, bite and chew apple"
Translation	He shined the apple on his shirt and ate it.

When I/Holly took this class the year before, I actually introduced finding a water bottle in the lunch box by using the sign WATER and manipulating a bottle shaped vessel through a more slender classifier hand shape instead of a larger thermos for a hot beverage. I chose this option for my story because it made more sense to me: when someone is conducting manual labor, they need to stay hydrated. Notice the difference in my classifier handshapes from the other two participants as each of us establish the size and shape of the items we are manipulating in space through visual/spatial cues as we hold and remove the lids of our drinking vessels.

Aside from the context that each of us provided through lexical items (WATER for me, COFFEE for ASL04, and TEA for ASL08) my C-handshape classifier holding the vessel demonstrates a more slender cylinder for the water bottle than the slightly larger C-handshape classifiers of ASL08 and ASL04 holding their thermoses. Removing the lid of my water bottle involved a more rapid twisting of just a couple fingers in close proximity while ASL08 and ASL04 use larger C-handshapes of different orientation to show the lumberjack unscrewing a cup-sized

thermos lid. ASL08 uses an open, claw variation on the C-handshape, closer to the real life motion of removing a lid while ASL04 at least starts with a closed C. I also hold the vessel with my dominant hand to preserve the spatial relationship of reaching into the lunch box, the lid of which was held by my non-dominant hand when I introduced WATER. The other two signers hold the vessel in their non-dominant hands since they have released the lunch box when they introduced the sign for the beverage. Both methods show consistency with established space although ASL04 and ASL08's use of dominant/non-dominant hands is more conventional.

Figure 73

Juxtaposed Images of Classifier Variation Across Signers

Note. All three storytellers perform principles of VGL in their one person role shift and classifier handshapes to show the lunch beverage vessel being opened. However, there is variation in performance of these elements by individual signers.

The scoring rubric addresses the excerpts above in scene 3 with "one person role shift -- eating lunch." Notably, however, the rubric does not call for or evaluate any form of variation. The only location that might be indirectly relevant for variation to the story might be "delivery" with the criteria of "general fluency" or "engaging the audience."

Figure 74

Evaluation Rubric for "Timber Story" as Narrative Video Assignment

NVA #2 "Timber" Storytelling Evaluation Sheet Total Points:____/52__

4 = very good 3 = good 2 = adequate 1 = needs work 0 = missing

Scene 1: description of lumberjack	opening the story, one-person role shift – walking	4 3 2 1 0	x 1 =
Scene 2: the lumberjack and the 1st tree	eye gaze (agreement) (gauge tree) one-person role shift – chopping down the tree & "Timber"	4 3 2 1 0	x 1 =
Scene 3: the lumberjack and the 2nd tree and his lunch	eye gaze (gauge tree) one-person role shift – chopping down the tree & "Timber" one-person role shift – eating lunch	4 3 2 1 0	x 1 =
Scene 4: lumberjack and the 3rd tree	eye gaze (gauge tree) one-person role shift – trying to chop down the tree	4 3 2 1 0	x 1 =
Scene 5: the lumberjack and the doctor	one-person role-shift, calling the doctor transition (doctor arriving) two-person role shift (conversation) closing the story ("T-I-M-B-E-R"), tree falls down, thumbs-up	4 3 2 1 0	x 1 =
Delivery	general fluency sign production grammar: (use of transitions) engaging the audience	4 3 2 1 0 4 3 2 1 0 4 3 2 1 0 4 3 2 1 0	x 2 = x 2 = x 2 = x 2 =

Since variation is not a requirement or even a direct criteria for assessment, the variation that students demonstrate can be seen as a performance of values previously established/sponsored by the instructor through modeling and class activities along with other influences in their personal backgrounds and networked communication (improv and others).

Convention as Preparation for Relational Variation

ASL06 shared that class activities like practicing greetings helped her develop her language over time. She could take situations they had practiced during class and adapt them to unique

circumstances. As an example, she told a story about re-encountering a Deaf woman at a Deaf art show she recognized from a previous meeting at a Deaf church service. Even before ASL06 begins paraphrasing her signed conversation, she starts using gestures, which once again perform literacy practices, even as she reports them. She spatially places her hands at her head as she talks about mental preparation for their conversation and moves her hands together to show putting phrases together.

> "I went up to her and so it was really cool like um so at that point we had learned enough that I was mentally preparing. I was like "How can I prepare these sentences to like -How can I sign these sentences to her?" So when I went up to her, I like waved (hand wave), and I was like "Oh, like do you [YOU] like remember [REMEMBER] me like last [PAST] quarter[QUARTER]?" And then I spelled out (finger waggle for fingerspelling) like fingerspelled quarter [Q-U-A-R-T-E-R]. Um, I went [GO] to the deaf [CHURCH]- the deaf [Deaf] church [CHURCH] in Renton [RENTON]. And so I like signed that with her, and she was like "Oh yeah, I remember you." And she speaks as well, so she was speaking and she was signing with us. So that was really cool."

Figure 75

Spatial Gestures on Mental Preparation for Signed Conversation

Note. Even while not actually signing, ASL06 begins using spatial gestures as she starts her story. She places her hands at her head (left) as she talks about mental preparation for a conversation with the Deaf woman and then moves her hands together in front of her body (right) to show herself putting her phrases together in advance.

Figure 76

Juxtaposed Images of Paraphrased Signing in Reported Speech

Note. ASL06 paraphrases a re-enactment of her conversation in ASL as she simultaneously tells the story in spoken English (not matching words/signs exactly). A few representative signs are her waving for the woman's attention (upper left), REMEMBER (upper right), PAST (lower left), and CHURCH (lower right).

This example provides important insight into both *reported* literacy practices (mentally preparing/adapting known or conventional phrases to fit the particular situation) and in-the-moment *performed* literacy practices (using gesture and sign to accompany storytelling). The general phrases for greeting and starting conversations learned during class help ASL06 to personalize her greeting and start a conversation with the woman in the story that responds to

their situation and established relationship. She can then continue the conversation more adaptively to the relational context and circumstances based on the Deaf woman's initiative.

ASL06's preparation of known phrases with situational adaptations before the conversation is similar to SPA12's visualization of written language to help him prepare what he wants to say aloud. However, ASL06's preparation seems to place her known phrases into a signing space in front of her body instead of tracing sentences from left to right.

Discussion

From classroom observations, survey responses, and interviews, the findings reveal that the medium of communication is just as important as the content, and the conventionality and variation of multimodal communication as embodied technologies for literacy demonstrate the central role of semiotic repertoires in literacy sponsorscapes. The body and space are available resources for making meaning, as SPA12 demonstrated through emergent gestural in-the-moment literacy, but the sponsorship and adoption/adaptation of conventionality and variation for the ASL learners shows that these literacy practices and ideologies as resources in their repertoires can be (and are) sponsored. These insights offer support for viewing literacy practices and their development as entangled material-discursive phenomena according to an agential realism approach, rather than considering them separately.

To place these observations into conversation with the last chapter, variation was acceptable to different degrees in different aspects of ASL and Southern Lushootseed generally and in stories specifically. Whereas conformity of articulation in pronunciation and replication of word order and syntax was crucial to Southern Lushootseed storytelling with value placed instead on variation in the story lessons or take-aways, variation in articulation of signed elements was an important part of ASL storytelling with a relatively singular story lesson or take-away grounded in Deaf experience and culture for hearing students to learn. In "Timber," the discovery of deafness for the final tree means the lumberjack uses ASL to cause the tree to respond (fall) as other/non-deaf trees had to spoken language (yelling, "Timber!"). There's also the humor of supposing that language - and not the action of the axe - is responsible for bringing the trees down. Wash-back from assessment mechanisms function in both language learning communities, but even more importantly, instructor modeling were key to the kinds of variation students performed in their literacy practices.

Both responses/roles of acceptable variation in stories reference particular current and historic vulnerabilities with the status of Southern Lushootseed and ASL in relation to English. For Southern Lushootseed, access to language as spoken by first language speakers has been limited to recorded audio files (a legacy from the boarding school era in the US when speaking indigenous languages was punished), so conformity to these speaking patterns is an important act

of recovery and honoring recorded first language speakers. For American Sign Language (with a similar history of boarding schools in the US where signing was punished), oralism continues to privilege spoken English language for deaf/Deaf people in public education and culture, despite research and social justice movements around signed language benefits and rights, so raising awareness about ASL's role as a full and natural language among hearing students is an important part of the class. With greater access and empowerment of Deaf signers and culture still thriving in the US with ASL widely used and adapted based on lived realities, the engaged, relational potential of language is important for hearing students to experience. While circumstances over time and space cause literacy sponsorship to manifest differently, both classes explicitly take a conceptual approach to accessing and expressing meaning through stories, and variation is an important part of meaning making in different ways based on their situated histories.

Major influences on individual literacy sponsorscapes included disciplinary fields and other affinity groups like sports and drama. Specific to the ASL learning community, the Deaf Cultural Hours assignment placed students in community settings, so local Deaf community culture as well as Gallaudet University exerted influence on their literacy development and practices. For the Southern Lushootseed learning community, students were not required to interact with local tribal communities, but the original language documents exerted primary influence on how language could/should be learned and practiced. Contemporary language programs and their materials for/from particular local tribes and cultural references (like casinos) were incorporated into class discussions; for example, while playing "tiləb," a bingo-like game using images of local animals and corresponding Southern Lushootseed phrases. The material-discursive nature of such activities highlights the necessity of considering the more holistic resources of semiotic repertoires to understand literacy activities and the ways that these are facilitated, mediated, and sponsored by modalities, spaces, objects, and embodied histories. As introduced in the last chapter, genres also function as part of students' semiotic repertoires, and these, too, are material-discursive elements of literacy sponsorscapes. The material-discursive nature of semiotic repertoires returns us again to the importance of agential realism, which transitions into the final chapter. In it, I will consider other contexts and applications of such holistic understandings of literacy sponsorscapes.

The most important goal for teachers should not be just to broaden horizons, but to show students that they should pursue the potential that brings them the most enjoyment in life.
-Christopher G. Reed 1951-1990

Chapter 7
Next Steps, New Directions, and a Praxis of Potential

"It's important to recognize that the ways we've been trained to observe and experience the world (including cultural and disciplinary training) impact what we are able to see when we make observations, research, and write." (Shelton 2021)

(Re-)Mapping Sponsorscapes

Much of the value behind genre pedagogy from the field of composition is that greater awareness can lead to greater agency and/or performance of genres that participate in or shape an activity system. In the same way, helping instructors and students recognize the technologies and situatedness that shape their literacy practices more broadly in material/embodied ways can help them orient themselves to meaningfully navigate within, across, and outside of networked activity systems. Such a holistic commitment to dynamic, embodied purposes and interconnected modalities and practices from a full range of semiotic repertoires at play with literacy sponsorscapes invites learners into a diffractive stance from which to take situated action. As previously established, diffraction involves the consequentiality observable in a system because of the elements involved in it, and students are part of these relational, responsive, responsible, and transformational material entanglements. This concluding chapter expands an agential realism approach to semiotic repertoires in literacy development from language learning communities to a disciplinary one in marine sciences, thereby showing its applicability to praxis in teaching, research, and service in other circumstances where literacies are being sponsored and taken up.

The introductory quote from Christopher G. Reed returns this study to the focus on holistic knowledge, learning, and literacy development. It is significant not just by the content and sentiment of its message, but also through the context and medium of its message. The message is engraved on a memorial plaque at a marine sciences field station (FHL) located on San Juan Island in the Salish Sea affiliated with the university on whose main campus this study took place. The memorial is also the location of a digital "poke stop," or an area in the real world where players of the Pokemon Go phone app game can obtain gaming resources. Pokemon Go is an international "augmented reality" free-to-play game first released in 2016. The collective phenomenon of the message and its context demonstrates once again the embodied experience of moving through space and time with literacy technologies and activities mediating significant matterings and mappings of the world.

Figure 77

Juxtaposed Images of Christopher Reed Plaque and Accentuated Reality

Note. From left, a photo of the physical memorial plaque for Christopher Reed, a screenshot of the terrain map around the memorial plaque in Pokemon Go, and a screen shot of the activated Poke Stop featuring the memorial plaque.

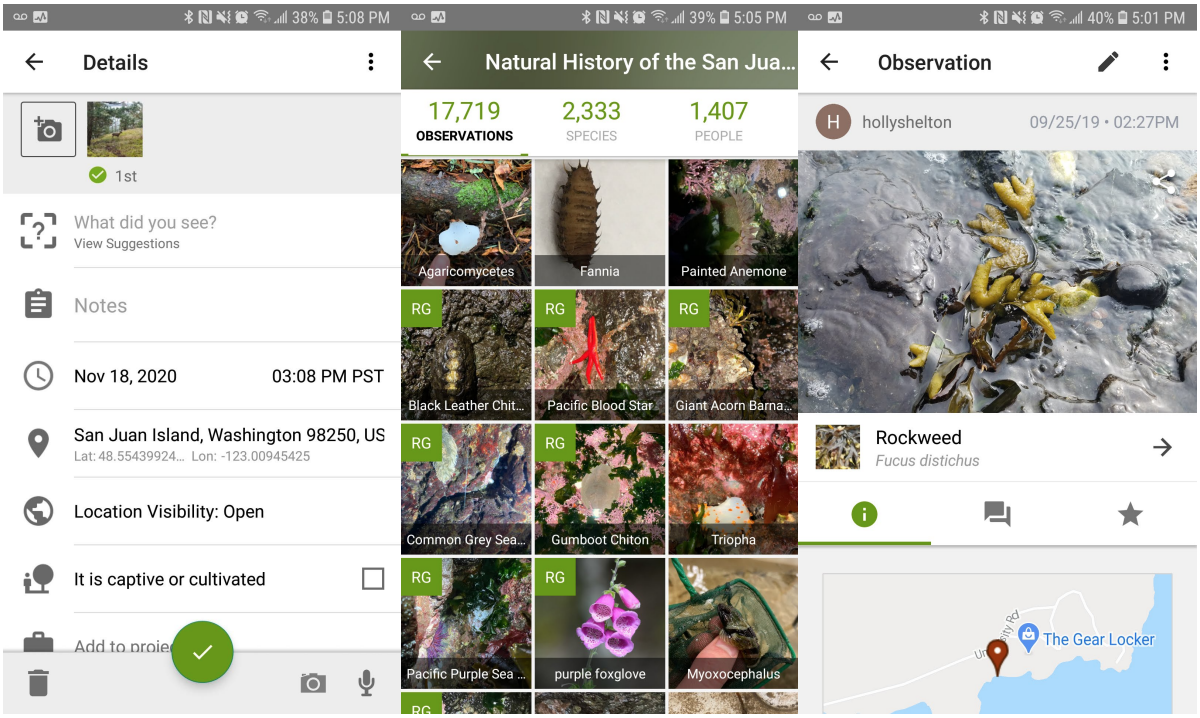
Students at the FHL field station engage in a variety of literacy activities within a particular sponsorscape through disciplinary values and place-based, embodied situatedness. Many students are asked to create observational entries for a content science class through another cell phone app called iNaturalist. Participants in the iNaturalist project "Natural History of the San Juan Islands" take photos of plant and animal species they observe in the real world and submit them to the iNaturalist app. The participants also identify which species they've documented in the photo, and the time, GPS location, and conditions for that observation are automatically recorded through metadata associated with the phone's image file.

The app and cell phones are actants within an activity system, and they mediate sponsored literacy activities related to collective research observations. For example, identification uses both common name and scientific name (latin genus and species). Under "suggestions" for identification, a suggested genus is provided along with the top ten potential species options. This project allows for a crowdsourced long-term observational dataset to track baseline conditions, important for scientific inquiry. While iNaturalist also uses a GPS mapping system, the literacy activities and purposes are much different than Pokemon Go despite similar

platforms and overall "collection" activities around digital resources that correspond to locations in the real world.

Figure 78

Juxtaposed Images of Citizen Science App and Naturalist Project



Note. From left, a screenshot of the iNaturalist app when submitting an observational entry, a screenshot of the iNaturalist app displaying all the recent collective entries from contributors to the particular project "Natural History of the San Juan Islands," and a screen shot of a particular entry selected from these observations with the image, name, date, time, and map.

These two cell phone apps show two examples of place-based literacies that are mediated by digital literacy technologies and practices situated within larger relational activity systems sponsored by commercial/entertainment actants (Niantic, the company behind Pokemon Go) and disciplinary/academic actants (FHL professors/instructors on ecological observations). However, there are very different ethico-onto-epistemological literacies (in the tradition of Barad's agential realism) anchored to this place.

Barad uses agential realism to avoid some of the pitfalls of the common Western metaphorical tradition of "reflection" for knowledge as a process of viewing phenomena from an outside perspective and instead moves toward the alternative visual metaphor of diffraction where the observer is part of what is observed. She writes that "the point is not merely that knowledge practices have material consequences but that *practices of knowing are specific material*

engagements that participate in (re)configuring the world" (pp 91, emphasis in the original). As practices of knowing, literacies are involved in material entanglements (including bodies, spaces, technologies, etc.), and these entanglements contribute to the sponsorscapes that shape literacy activity.

In the spirit of attunement to the materially entangled sponsorscapes that shape literacy activity, the next few pages of this chapter offer a land acknowledgement statement that I have included in my science writing classes at FHL that document the importance of awareness and engagement with place-based indigenous knowledge. I chose not to adapt the statement because the purpose of the statement is itself situated and an enactment of diffractive methodology and my ethico-onto-epistemological commitment as a scholar and instructor. Historically situating knowledge and the differential valuation of various ways of knowing and existing at a place over time is important for understanding how current entangled forms and practices of literacy matter and have come to matter. It traces sponsorscapes over time and space and therefore opens possibilities for deeper insights into the activity system and onto-epistemology of what it means to exist and contribute to knowledge-making within that activity system.

Establishing this understanding as a threshold concept at the beginning of my science writing course sets the tone for a continuing investigation into where ideas, conventions, and disciplinary activities/identities come from and how they come to matter. Ecological impacts and conservation are important aspects and values of many activities at the marine science field station. Therefore, tracing past decisions that have consequentially led to current situations is an accessibly relevant way of introducing and inviting this type of investigation into literacy sponsorscapes alongside writing assignments that engage a large range of students' semiotic repertoires. As the example below demonstrates, the language used to establish this shared understanding is sensitive to local, cultural, and disciplinary engagement, not based in terminology from literacy studies.

[beginning of quoted text]

University of Washington campuses and learning sites occupy traditional lands of Coast Salish peoples. I encourage you to explore many diverse forms of knowledge connected to this place that can provide valuable insights into the issues we'll be researching and writing about, which can help contribute to a fuller picture and more compelling and/or responsible scientific inquiry.

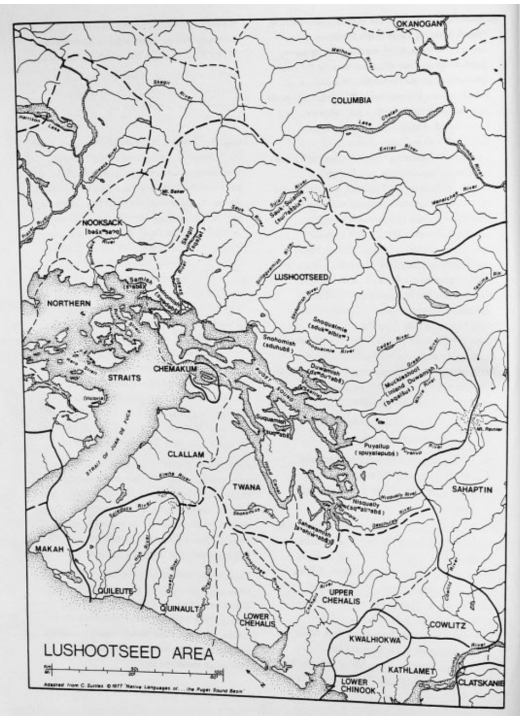
Oral histories have an important role in documenting observations and experiences of people and places over time. In 1987, University of Washington linguist and Lushootseed language instructor Vi Hilbert gave a lecture at Orcas Center about the role of such stories at establishing connections to historic sites, specifically for the native presence on Orcas Island. Chief Tsilix^{w} (Bill James) has been recorded telling the story "Survivors of the Flood," which documents the

significance of these islands to his people, the present-day Lummi Nation. In the mid-1800s, their ancestors living on the San Juan Islands were forcibly relocated to Tulalip reservation and elsewhere. In addition, interviews with elders in the present-day Tsawout First Nation in Canada indicate traditional territory extending across the current US and Canada border including the San Juan islands. The Douglas Treaty of 1849 in Canada and Treaty of Point Elliott of 1855 in the US are significant land management documents. Hudson's Bay Company instructions for colonizing Vancouver Island explicitly record the following considerations (Claxton, 2007, emphasis added):

> "With respect to the rights of the natives, you will have to confer with the chiefs of the tribes on that subject, and in your negotiations with them you are to *consider the natives as the rightful possessors of such lands only as they are occupied by cultivation*, or had houses built on, at the time the island came under the undivided sovereignty of Great Britain in 1846. *All other land is to be regarded as waste*, *applicable for the purposes of colonization*. The right of fishing and hunting will be continued to the natives, and when their lands are registered, and they conform to the same conditions with which other settlers are required to comply, they will enjoy the same rights and privileges."

Notice that these philosophies of land use and waste have impacted and continue to impact current environmental conditions and issues in the locations around Friday Harbor Labs.

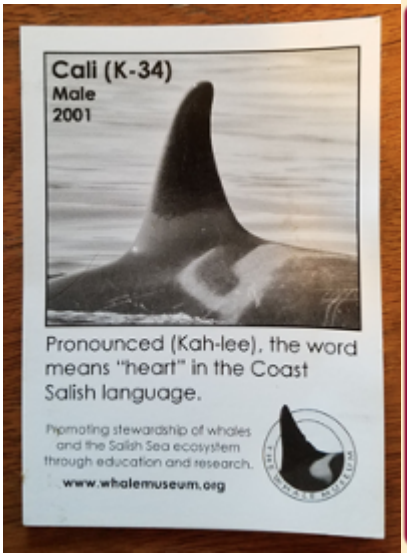
Current UW Southern Lushootseed language instructor Tami Hohn talks about the importance of the "intellect of a language," or significant concepts stored and encoded in language and culture. The map from *The Lushootseed Dictionary* (Bates, Hess, Hilbert, 1994) documents traditional lands where varieties of Lushootseed and related Coast Salish languages were spoken below. Notice the orientation around significant features like water and mountains, rather than north. The map from the Tsawout website also shows differences between traditional land use and current national borders.



In addition, note the following observations from T.T. Waterman (1922), who helped document traditional geographic place names from this region. Cultural perspectives influence the significance people attribute to the environment, which can impact the questions that get asked and how they are answered. Waterman writes:

> "The Indians of the Puget Sound have no names for the Sound, as a body of water, except x̌ʷəlč, "salt water," which term they also apply to the Pacific Ocean. I doubt if the Sound ever obtruded itself as a unit into their consciousness. One of the most conspicuous features of the Sound is a large expanse of land known as Bainbridge Island, lying opposite Seattle. The Indians of Bainbridge Island and the adjacent shores had no name that I can discover for Bainbridge Island itself. They had, however, upward of three hundred names for different places on the island. I have recorded nearly a hundred of them myself. If an Indian in a canoe were "headed," as he would say, for Bainbridge Island and were asked where he was going, he would in reply name the spot where he proposed to land."

Many traditional place names document plant and animal life in the area, geographic features, or other significant aspects of human observation and experience there. During this quarter, we are studying and learning about systematic and innovative ways of observing and communicating knowledge of the natural world. As we do so, it's important to recognize that the ways we've been trained to observe and experience the world (including cultural and disciplinary training) impact what we are able to see when we make observations, research, and write.



For more opportunities to engage traditional knowledge, check the language resource on aquatic animal vocabulary from Tulalip's Lushootseed website: https://tulaliplushootseed.com/aquatic-3/

[end of quoted text]

The idea of noticing "ways we've been trained to observe and experience the world" places sponsorscapes and a full range of semiotic repertoires in literacies within the realm of inquiry even as students are learning disciplinary writing. The importance in teaching and learning shifts from noticing and learning conventions of the field to include the values, histories, and activity systems from which those conventions have emerged and considering alternatives. Again, greater awareness can lead to deeper understanding and more agency on behalf of students as they bring the nexus of their lifewide trajectories into this disciplinary learning situation for a time.

Recognizing, Attuning, and Diffracting Sponsorscapes

To present a further clarification on sponsorscapes by contrast, a common yet problematic metaphor for education is a mother bird (instructor) feeding youngsters (students) in a nest with the instructor determining what is important and pre-packaging that information with minimal agency or context for the passive students. While this model has been widely critiqued and may appear to be a straw-man to be knocked down, it is still sometimes applied in educational practice when assessing student "needs." Situating disciplinary and other knowledge alongside literacy practices/ideologies and inviting students into that process is more like two birds on the wing where one may be more familiar with the local terrain, air currents, and how resources can be attained, but it is not ultimately the only set of eyes or wings navigating the space and activities. Recognizing a full range of resources and strategies also means that using tools like

sticks or water displacement to get food as ravens have been shown to do is a valued form of getting food, rather than more conventional scavenging or hunting. In other words, recognizing and attuning to a full range of semiotic repertoires in literacy opens more possibilities into both natural ways of accomplishing learning and real world tasks and also often more effective ones. It also does not reject conventionality, but situates it. More than just awareness of sponsorscapes, such an approach invites students to more consciously participate in them.

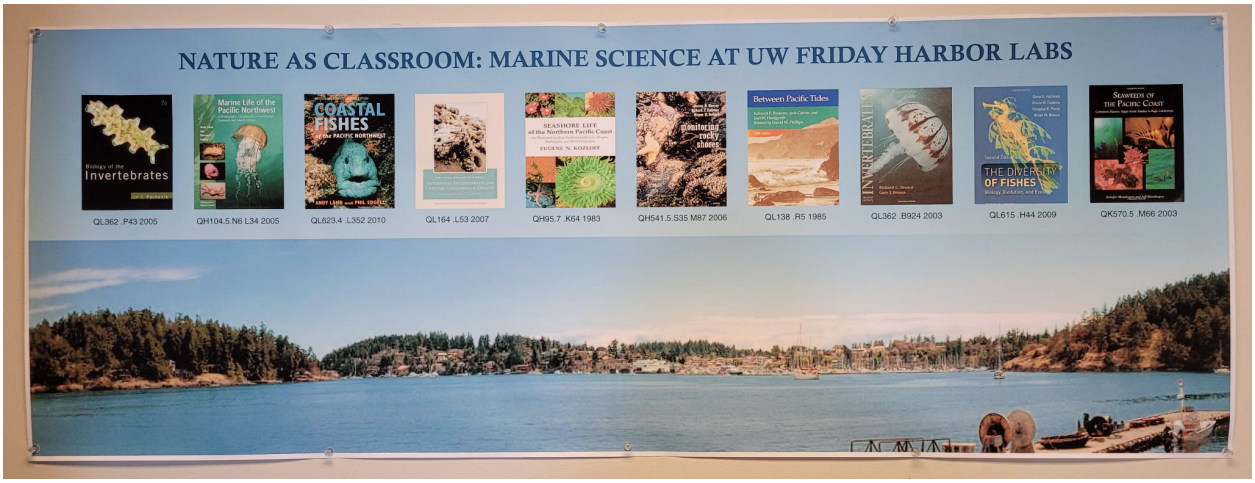
Common understandings of literacy introduced in the first chapter can also be subsumed by this more specialized understanding. For marine science, "ocean literacy" is a term that refers to people having familiarity with important ocean concepts. Reading and writing in a traditional sense are also included as one of many available forms of a full range of literacy modalities in communication. Attending to sponsorscapes means that the values underpinning such knowledge and conventions are included in the process of literacy performance and practice.

I include some ideological and situated texts that are part of the literacy sponsorscape at FHL beyond the writing class specifically to identify values and practices that already exist and opportunities for attunement as a writing teacher to cultivate simultaneously a more holistic approach to literacies relevant to the sponsorscape and also invitational to student background knowledges. This context serves as an example of localization and reapplication of transliteracy sponsorscape insights for teaching/research praxis. The first several examples are posted in the FHL library, an important, but definitely not the only or even primary space for literacy activities and technologies at or around the field station. I follow with selected additional examples from other spaces: specifically, at the field station docks and three of the twelve labs.

Posted on the wall of the library, a poster claims "nature as classroom," and places a photo of the seascape view from FHL as a background or foundation for the textbooks that are highlighted by both cover art and reference code to help locate them on the shelves. This establishes the idea that the world can be read, similarly to the books that are featured with knowledge specifically tied to this location. In fact, one of the graduation requirements for the university's Marine Biology major is an integrative field experience, for which FHL can be counted.

Figure 79

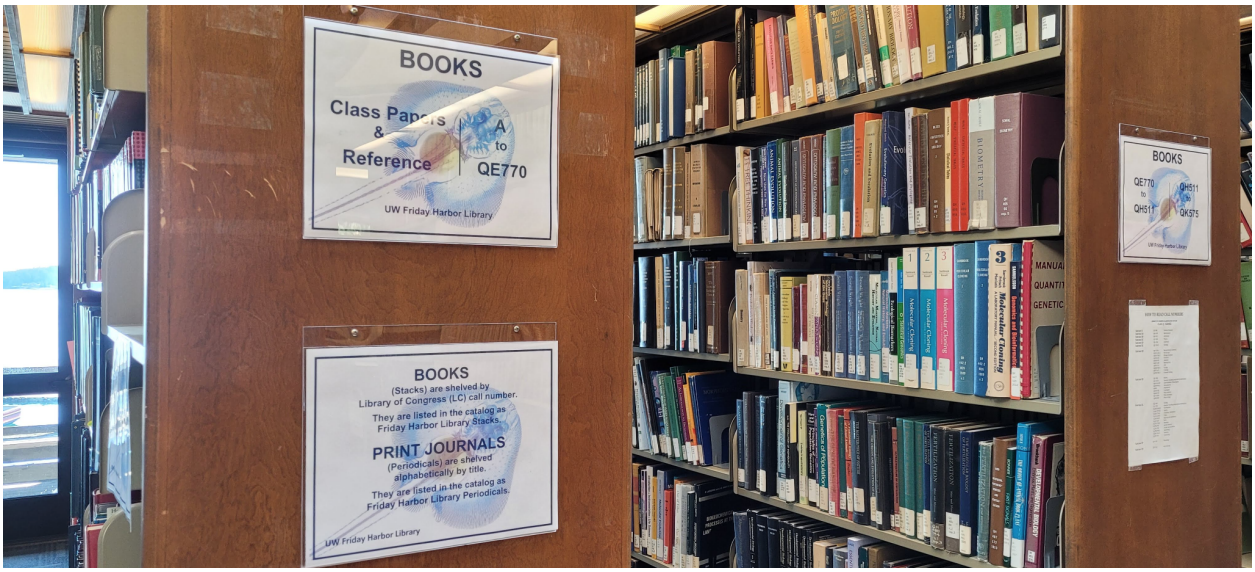
FHL Library Text: Nature as Classroom



Labels on the physical bookcase shelves feature the stained image of a scanned ray that highlight both the technical imaging methods used by one of the labs and the aesthetic beauty of visual modalities involved in research activities. Such connections are valued and encouraged at FHL.

Figure 80

FHL Library Text: Bookshelf Label Signs

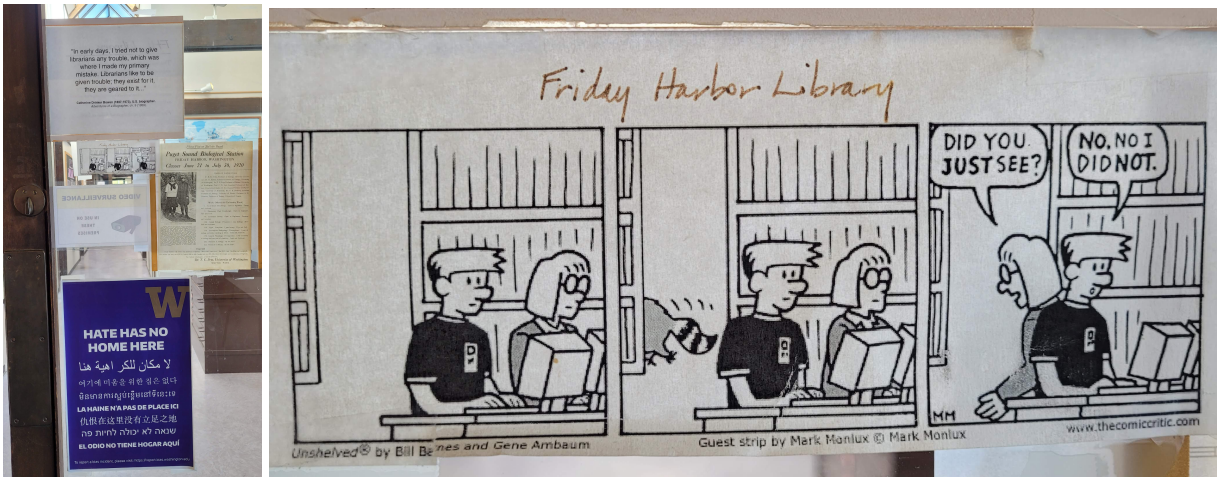


The glass doors leading into the library have many postings on printed paper including a quote on librarians loving to be “given trouble,” a multilingual statement on inclusion developed by the

university's main campus, a historical newspaper clipping featuring the labs, and a comic strip. The comic strip has been scaled up to show more detail. Someone has added a handwritten note to label the situation in the comic as "Friday Harbor Library." The comic itself troubles the distinction between knowledge inside the library and unexpected experiences normally outside the library. There are also, in fact, free ranging raccoons, otters, deer, and other wildlife on the grounds of the field station.

Figure 81

Juxtaposed FHL Library Texts: Door Postings & Comic



In fact, connections between learning inside and outside the classroom are highly encouraged, especially in nature. I was able to coordinate with one of the other course instructors, who shared a large number of my students and was taking her class on a boat trip to get a "sense of place" around the islands. For her class, students had specific activities for observing features of the area coordinated by a handout with a map and field guides. For mine, I took an interdisciplinary approach to observations of the natural world from science and poetry. I invited two guest speakers to talk with my students to frame the trip: the first specialized in poetry with a focus on animals and place while the second was a grad student researcher from one of the labs who had been involved in some FHL-hosted poetry slam workshops in the past. After hearing from these differently positioned scholars at an interdisciplinary nexus, students in my class made observations of the natural world on the boat trip and then prepared poems to share at a poetry bonfire gathering a few days later. While the trip itself was the same, the purposes and literacy activities for different classes were different.

During this trip and many others like it, I asked students to document examples of science writing (often for the public) that we could discuss later in class. Below are two examples of field guides for students provided on the boat and a posted sign about eelgrass, important for the

local ecology, at a park information board where the boat anchored for an hour on Stuart Island. The last photo shows myself and the three other instructors who co-coordinated activities for the field trip on the boat (masks were a pandemic requirement). Partnerships with teaching colleagues in other disciplines or community members/groups may or may not be readily available, but cultivating these partnerships can enhance and reinforce student learning across classes and make some of the sponsorscape values and purposes of different fields more transparent in relationship to others. Finding and documenting real world genres and texts can also ground classroom literacy activities in broader lifewide ecologies.

Figure 82

Juxtaposed Images from "Sense of Place" Field Trip

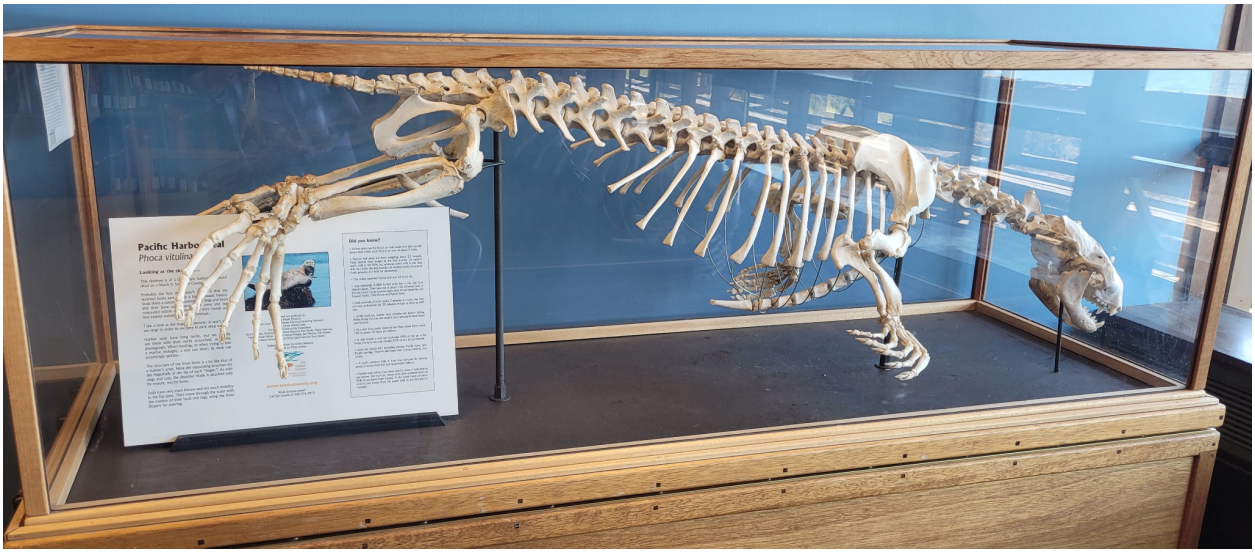
The skeleton of a Pacific Harbor Seal, or *phoca vitulina*, stands in a corner case by some windows overlooking the harbor and field station docks, where living examples may sometimes be seen in the waters. The latin name in italics after the common name demonstrates a scientific convention for species identification. The information that accompanies the skeleton itself uses the heading "Looking at the skeleton," and describes what can be understood by visually examining the body features. Again, in the terminology of place-based literacies and reading the world as texts, it is describing how to *read* the skeleton as a text. Skeletal morphology and skeletal articulation are phrases used for some of the classes offered at FHL and activities of related research and education communities. I used a member check on this terminology with a former FHL post-doc specializing in bio-mechanics and functional morphology:

> The phrase "reading a skeleton" sounds pretty natural to me, in a way that you can "read" quite a few things about an animal's movement pattern and even behavior from a skeleton. I am not sure if I have actually heard somebody use that exact phrase but have a few people in mind immediately who could have… (Kruppert, personal communication 4/28/2021)

He also said that across disciplinary classifications, form and function are interrelated. Notice the specialized disciplinary terminology with skeletal morphology as the actual *form* of the skeleton and skeletal articulation as a *constructed sculpture* of that skeleton that is used in similar ways to specialized linguistic terms like *word* morphology on how words are put together and *phonological* articulation on how sounds or signs are actually produced. The way that bones and bodies fit together and present communicate information about an animal and its life. In slightly broader localized circulation, the nearby whale museum in the town of Friday Harbor also displays many skeletons and skulls of marine mammals with descriptions of what information the bones indicate. In a *material* sense, the bones are speaking. In this context and many others, examining objects/technologies/texts in the holistic literacy sponsorscape can lead to questions like "What does this object/technology/text tell us about the community using it?" or "What action(s) is this object/technology/text accomplishing?"

Figure 83

FHL Library Text: Pacific Harbor Seal Skeleton



For a brief glimpse of the broader ecology and connections to the harbor seal on display at FHL, a whale skeleton (among others) is pictured below as it hangs from the ceiling of The Whale Museum in Friday Harbor. The black information plaque in the lower left of the photo introduces this Gray Whale Skeleton with scientific/latin name below in italics as *Eschrichtius robustus* and provides a description. On the same wall below the skeleton is another information display in green called "The Inside Story: Comparative Skeletal Anatomy of Three Mammals," which compares human, dolphin, and river otter skeletal features. Teaching the public how to read bones as part of a *story* invites them into the study of marine mammals and places them in relation to the animals through a human skeletal replica. These activities and values in the local

research/education ecology are opportunities for a writing instructor to attune to embodied literacies (in this case literally involving aspects of animal bodies): a conscious identification for the instructor across disciplines. Embodied literacies may not always be so literal. Looking for ways that bodies, objects, spaces, and social relations are assembled in particular ways as part of a larger activity system offer opportunities for aligning and building upon disciplinary and other ways of knowing in writing.

Figure 84

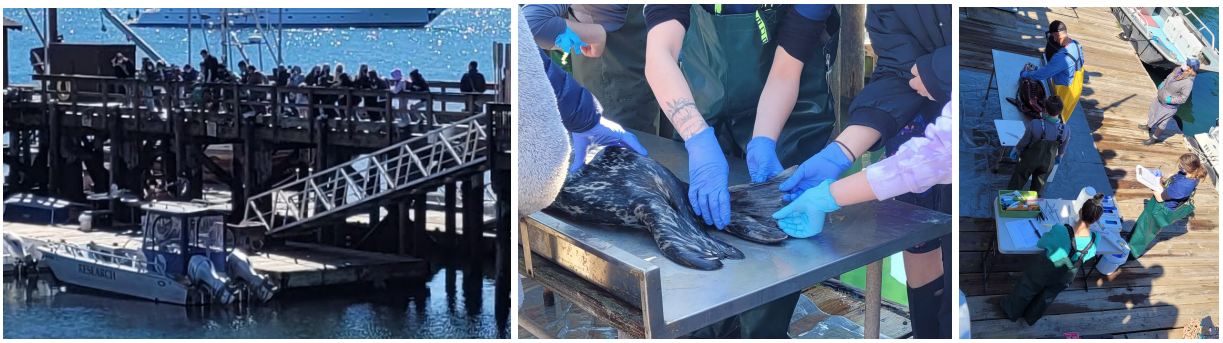
Articulated Skeleton Displays at The Whale Museum

Transitioning outside of the library, the next set of photos documents students observing the necropsy of a harbor seal. The skeleton display in the library and dock necropsy were both created and led by the Seadoc Society, which is another scientific organization active in the Salish Sea region. The location of the necropsy is on the FHL lower dock area, so the first photo shows students standing on the upper dock to gaze down, a spatial arrangement that provides visual access. The second photo shows the time period before the necropsy when students are allowed to touch the seal and receive explanations about the evidence of observed phenomena. Some students run their fingers over the spine or pelvis region to see how the vertebra and pelvic bones that would not normally be visible on a healthy seal are protruded, which indicates malnourishment. Other students explore the tail and back limb region to understand swimming mechanics. In the third photo, the necropsy is performed while being narrated both for students to understand what the workers are doing along with the significance of observations and for assistants to keep records documenting findings and preparing other tests. The lungs in this case are a darker color than normal, which indicates an infection.

Many of these moments involve *embodied* reading practices and modeling with explanation by professionals in an outside organization engaged in research as part of their activity systems. Touching and tactile methods of exploring the seal carcass are part of the available resources students use to understand and interpret the visual and spatial elements of the seal's body. Cuing similarities in the writing class could include modeling from the teacher on critically engaging a projected reading text and student opportunities to "tinker" with aspects of writing like rearranging the order of paragraphs to check effects for the audience and purpose of the writer.

Figure 85

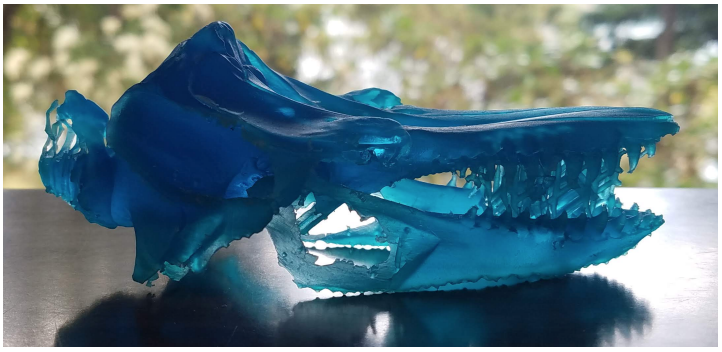
Juxtaposed Images from SeaDoc Society Harbor Seal Necropsy



Visual and spatial modalities continue to be important in creating scientific models, and the computer programs and interfaces for 3D printing at the labs involve another assemblage of literacy technology. The following image is a 3D print of a scanned killer whale skull. In this instance with the killer whale skull, even a "failed" print contributes to knowledge production. Creating a smaller scaled version of the skull creates a very thin edge to print because a living killer whale's lower jaw is actually hollow and filled with fluid to receive sound during echolocation. The file itself was found in an online database by some of the undergraduate research internship students, but this particular print was created for me (Holly) with help from one of the post-doctoral researchers, who worked in the lab that houses the 3D printers. The jagged triangular gaps in the lower jaw show where the material did not print correctly. Students had used their own relational network for trouble shooting to print more successfully using a different material and increasing the size.

Figure 86

3D Printed Killer Whale Skull



Expanding the scope or turning the lens of literacy sponsorscapes can include not just attending to the product of a 3D print as a text, but following the process of human-material interfaces in technologies of 3D modeling and printing to show how these assemblages contribute to student learning through relational literacies and integrated background/disciplinary knowledges. Drawing student attention to these issues can help them map and situate themselves within literacy sponsorscapes - both as an orientation to larger activity systems and opportunities for orienteering themselves. Who is creating scans of what in online databases and why? For what new purposes are they being used by others? How is access and materialization of digital files accomplished? What role do human-material assemblages play in individual and/or relational literacies? These are the types of questions that can reveal sponsorscapes and opportunities for agency/cultivation of literacy activities in these sponsorscapes.

In the next image, during a moment of personal correspondence and consultation, a researcher shares both a labeled jar with an algal specimen (with scientific latin nomenclature and date collected) alongside a website where an artist sells prints and clothing based on algal imaging. Students in the zoobot courses he teaches need to complete a certain number of algal pressings to document local varieties. He also contextualizes this methodology and form of visual/spatial knowledge production with a lecture on the importance of women during the Victorian era using this methodology as a socially acceptable way of participating in science when they were largely excluded and highlighting more recent ways that historical archives are now being reused for DNA research studies today to track environmental changes over time. Situating knowledge production and the role of both repetition and innovation in visual/spatial research/archiving methods connects students with larger stakes over time (exposing hidden sponsorscapes over time). It also situates their invitation into a scientific existential mode of literacy at the interface with other existential modes such as art. Conventions are contextualized as emerging from research interests and traditions and exploration of variation is encouraged through art.

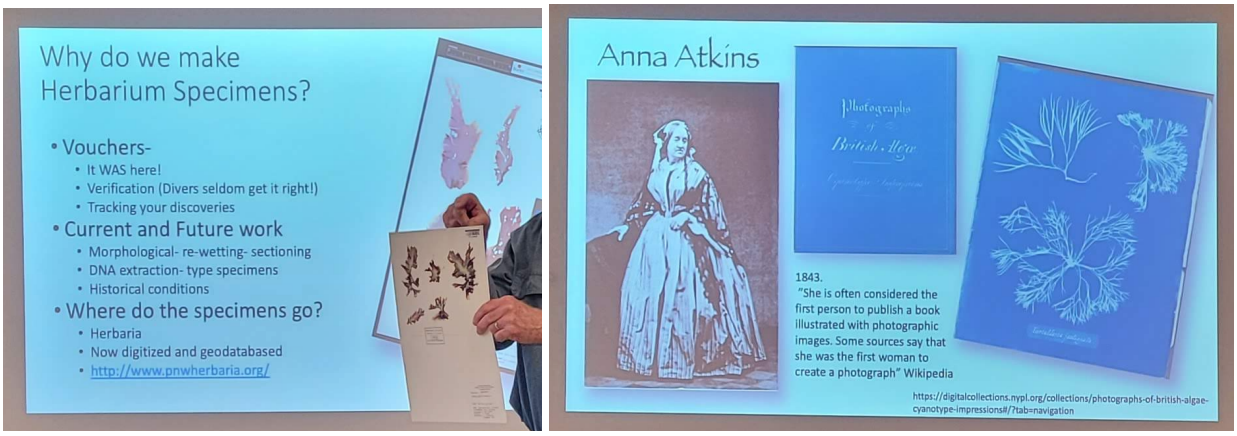
Figure 87

Seaweed Specimen in a Jar & as an Artistic Clothing Print

To accompany the introduction of multimodality in my writing class, I arranged for a guest lecture from this researcher and a follow-up algal pressing workshop for students to explore visual/spatial modalities away from the linguistic mode that is more often prioritized in our class. Many of the female students in my class visibly and physically responded to the slides about the important, yet historically underappreciated, role of women. They rocked back in their seats, exchanged glances, and gasped or made other exclamations. A group of them stayed after the lecture for an additional 30-40 minutes to continue the discussion and explore sample pressings. Making sponsorscapes visible invites student identities into literacy practices (or their disruption).

Figure 88

Juxtaposed Images from Intro to Algal Pressing Guest Lecture



At the algal pressing workshop itself, many students expressed their enthusiasm for the activity. Exploring a scientific research method (algal pressing) and writing concept (multimodality) made both activities more meaningful and relevant. Note that multiple specimens and especially layering of specimens on a single sheet of paper would not create an acceptably scientific sample that would appear in an herbarium archive, but the design choices of this artistic activity involve visual and spatial arrangement in personally meaningful ways (and as gifts for others). As a valued genre in the broader learning ecology, I brought a field guide on seaweeds to the workshop for students to consult. Some students proposed a class gallery event after the pressings were dry, which meant they were also taking ownership of the process and purpose of the workshop. Finding opportunities for students to explore literacy activities and projects in conjunction with their other interests and investments means tapping into community-valued sponsorscapes and flowing with them convergently, rather than separately/independently.

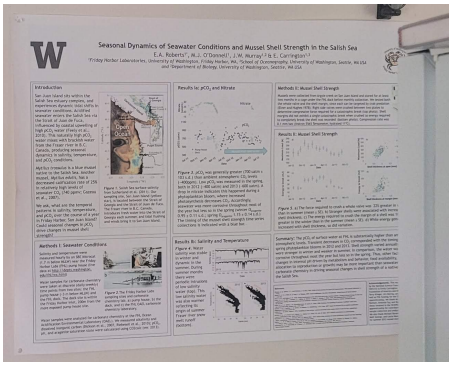
Figure 89

Juxtaposed Images from Student Algal Pressing Workshop

In the last set of images, a conference poster stands at the entrance to one of the labs. Conference posters are a common genre that researchers use to share their projects and findings with other specialists. It has been repurposed here after the conference/event for which it was prepared for a similar purpose at a localized scale for lab visitors. Its location where it can be seen through the glass windows in the entrance doorway invites anyone who enters and people outside this lab research group to see the poster. Notice the importance of visual data and spatial arrangement. Students at FHL are not just getting exposed to these genres, but performing them as well. The second photo is from a conference poster session at the end of the quarter in Autumn 2019 to accompany student projects in the research class. Other members of the FHL community at large attended and at this event and others demonstrated deep investment in student experience and research activities.

Figure 90

Juxtaposed Images of Conference Posters on Research



When I found out that the research class had a required poster presentation and research paper due, but more lab mentorship from their instructor than writing support, I rearranged the plans for the end of my course to analyze these genres and hold group conferencing workshops for different draft sections of this work to support student writing project development in this other class. Students requested more of these group conferencing sessions after the first. Making the rhetorical situation of these genres more explicit and finding community values that cause them to appear in certain ways helped students find meaningful variation on genre conventions to present their projects to others.

This brief assortment of images and incidents does not offer an in-depth or even fully representative analysis of all the literacy activities that take place at the field station. For now, as a concluding chapter on a study that has mostly focused on language learning communities, these snapshots are a phenomenological collection of diffractive insights on how the study take-aways may be recontextualized to different settings. However, this collection shows that a full range of semiotic repertoires must be considered as they are always already being used to construct and communicate knowledge. It also demonstrates that literacy activities are certainly entangled with the research activity systems at the labs and the lifewide learning trajectories of everyone involved.

Sponsorscapes on the Horizon

In other settings, being present and noticing potential assemblages and available semiotic resources is an important way to attune to the sponsorscapes at play. Writing instructors or other literacy learning facilitators can conduct their own basic multi-modal ethnographies into sponsorscapes by exploring spaces with some affinity to their class purposes/context and documenting evidence of literacy technologies and ideologies available or on display. Inviting students into this process can be a potential source of collaborative inquiry. Studying

assemblages of texts instead of individual texts can highlight the relational and situated nature of knowledge and to encourage a more holistic constellation of knowledge, rather than just individual/linear models. What counts as a text and literacy activities should involve a full range of semiotic resources across modalities. If there are common activities, objects, or texts in circulation within the larger activity system, *locating* the role of those activities/objects/texts in time and space can foreground sponsorscapes and student responses to those sponsorscapes through their literacy repertoires as a result. I should highlight that encouraging awareness of sponsorscapes does not and should not mean wholesale or uncritical acceptance of current human-material assemblages and relations, especially across current-historical disparities, injustices, and inequities. However, it can allow for considered and more agential/strategic action throughout a range of existential modes and open possibilities for finding new/different ways forward.

Much of my research and teaching disposition centers on rhetorical listening and conscious identification across difference. In the first chapter, I introduced constellated knowledge as a decolonial practice. However, I would be remiss to ignore the reminder from Tucker and Yang (2012) that "decolonization is not a metaphor" and that even critical projects that decenter settler colonial perspectives can resettle and further colonial futures in education (pp. 1). Sponsorscapes can carry problematic relations just as easily as funds of knowledge. This is a remaining tension that must be navigated for as long as education remains located in settler colonial institutions and even beyond. Interests and experiences embodied by different elements in human-material assemblages cannot always (or ever) be easily aligned. Attunement and diffraction approaches to sponsorscapes at least offer the possibility of both harmonizing and intervening across a current-historical ecology and to both participate in and shape reimagined futurities.

Many of the insights in this project come from extensive time and engagement with different learning communities and their activity systems. Presence and rhetorical listening were key relational research practices and dispositions I cultivated. During this time, I was not just an observer, but an entangled participant myself as learner (ASL and Southern Lushootseed) and instructor (science writing at FHL). My professional development as a researcher and instructor were recursively shaped by this project and insights I was gaining during that time, which is why I see such strong applications for praxis. For those who do not have the time or inclination to immerse themselves as intensely into their own locations of praxis, I offer the following questions as guidelines to help attend to literacy sponsorscapes:

1. Start by acknowledging a full range of semiotic repertoire potential. Then look for what sort of resources are actually being used, encouraged, or privileged (and/or the opposite). What does this mean?
2. Determine where you are and when you are. How does this impact literacy practices that are present/absent and how they are practiced in networked activity systems?

3. Invite learners/practitioners into this process. How do their lifewide trajectories inform deeper understanding of and choices in the learning situation and its literacies?

When I began this project, I entered with some questions around convergent topics in literacy around translingualism and multimodality, but I didn't always know the best or right questions to be asking. Sometimes entering a situation with questions was the wrong approach altogether, and listening and presence were more appropriate, which either revealed the answers to my questions in a more natural form and flow determined by the community or helped to refine/indicate the questions I should have been asking instead. This, too, became part of my approach to multimodal ethnography in the rhetorical sense of being able to shift between modes of being/acting/existing in the world or to attune to different communities. Some of my questions were adapted according to the larger story of literacy sponsorscapes over time as it began to emerge. I began to treat my research questions as "guiding" or "attuning" questions, rather than precise or only questions.

Broadly speaking, my overall guiding question as introduced in the first chapter was looking for what elements of literacy sponsorscapes matter, how they come to matter, and for whom they matter across six language learning communities. These are open questions with answers that are in a continual state of becoming over time and space. However, I have outlined how such questions, principles of networked/constellated inquiry, and related praxis can lead to attunement and diffraction at other sites (this time in a disciplinary context) in this conclusion chapter.

I would encourage future researchers who want to pursue this kind of work to either explore communities in which they are already participants, or place themselves at a convergent nexus or constellation where they can reasonably expect some phenomena related to their topics of interest/inquiry to exist/emerge. Accustom yourself to some ambiguity at the beginning and to holding your questions loosely as you listen, watch, and involve yourself in being present to understand what is significant about a time/place/configuration/assemblages. Some ethnographers would refer to this as a process of moving from etic to emic perspectives, but the purpose is not to *become* the community or appropriate community literacies, but to trace meaning and mattering *in* community from a diffractive, yet attuned stance. Research questions, just like researchers, require attunement.

This brings us, then, to a final guiding question while reflecting back, prospecting forward, and diffracting (as always) in the current moment: what has this project accomplished overall, and how can we understand such a story of literacy that took years in the making to follow? Chapter one of this project traces and situates knowledge about literacy sponsorscapes over time and different purposes while introducing semiotic repertoires and agential realism as they can be applied to questions of literacy. Chapter two outlines a holistic approach to mixed methods research around convergent literacy phenomena. Chapter three focuses on the onto-epistemic

situatedness and temporal-spatial circumstances the learning communities that participated in this study and hints at other activity systems and networks with which they are connected. Chapter four establishes embodiment as an important onto-epistemic form of literacy priming and mediation. It documents conceptual frames relating to language and suggests that embodiment may be a form of preliminary literacy for projecting/reading the world. Chapter five shows how technologies and conventions of literacy (genres, print/digital mediums, cultural traditions, etc.) encourage/promote certain forms of literacy activity that interact with the purposing/re-purposing of literacy practices from other networked systems. This tells us that wisdom, values, and action take shape, inhabit, and are rooted in human-material assemblages. Chapter six highlights the role of modality on reported and performed literacy practices with a particular focus on linguistic and literacy variation as norm. It shows that variation in literacy modalities is always present, inherently ideological in practice, and can be sponsored.

All of these chapters support the premise of agential realism in that semiotic repertoires in literacies and their sponsorcapes are entangled: diffractive, "from-the-inside" phenomena, rather than reflective, "from-a-distance" phenomena. My own exhortation is that these insights have direct implications for praxis in teaching, research, and service activities. As a final take-away, readers will have probably noticed that at the beginning of every chapter in this project, there are two quotes. The first is from a source text that is sponsoring my own work as a researcher in an onto-epistemic way and influencing how I am relating to the material in that chapter. The second is a quote from a text related to the sponsorscapes of particular learning communities in the study and show the ways that more localized sponsorscapes can provide deeper collective insights to the other areas of study as a whole when they are recontextualized. This is one last explicitly reflexive way of integrating principles of attunement and diffraction as part of a research repertoire.

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Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

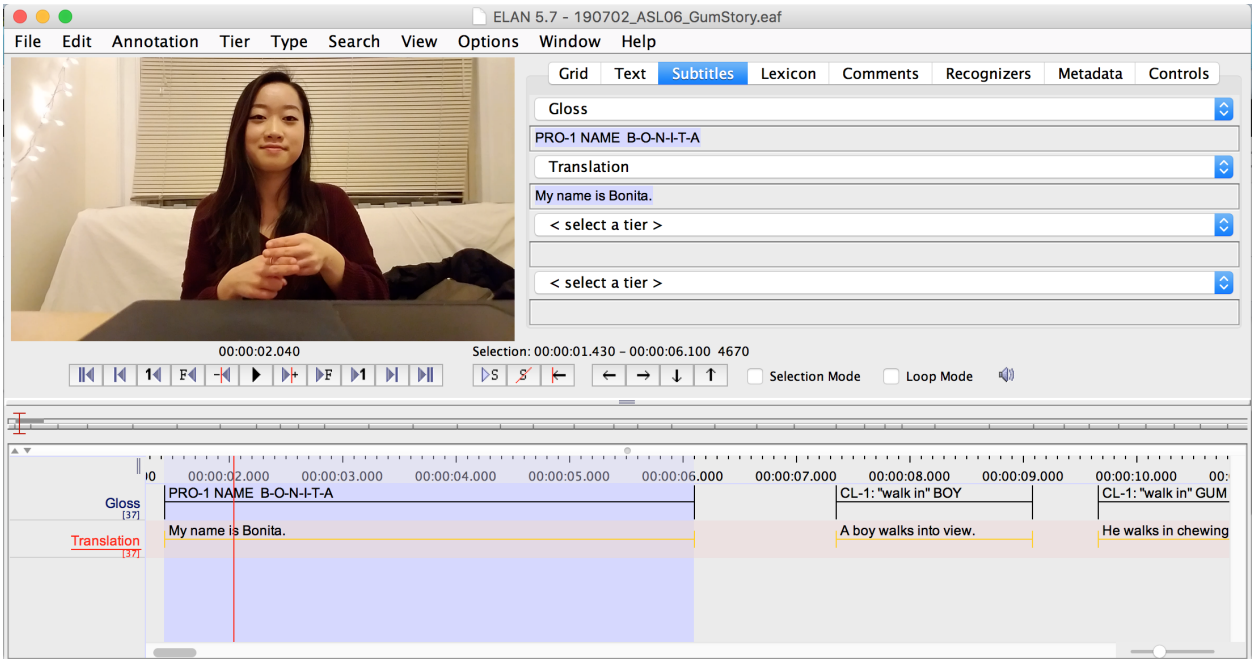
General interaction

(.)	pause, silence
/	overlap
-	linking
[ ]	contextual circumstances
(( ))	researcher notes

ASL-specific glossing

CAPS	signs
+	repetition
!	emphasis
CL	classifier (based on hand shape)
DASHES	finger spelling
IX	index (pointing)
NMM	nonmanual marker (like facial expression FE or depiction DP)
PRO	pronouns (specified as first, second, or third)
RS	role shift (including eye gaze EG, head tilt HT, or body shift BS)
[non-dom]	non-dominant hand is used to sign

ASL-specific glossing techniques and classifier notation are adapted from guidelines provided by the American Sign Language University resource website. Two examples from an ASL assignment are provided below for clarification.



The first tier in ELAN records glossed information. For example, PRO-1 indicates a first person reference. The signer has pointed to herself. NAME is a lexical item, and therefore represented as a gloss in all caps. The meaning of the sign is not an English equivalent - it is used for notation purposes only. ASL has no written form, so English glosses are used for purposes of analysis. Using all caps signifies this notational feature. Finally, the signer's name is given using finger spelling, so dashes are used as a convention to separate the letters.

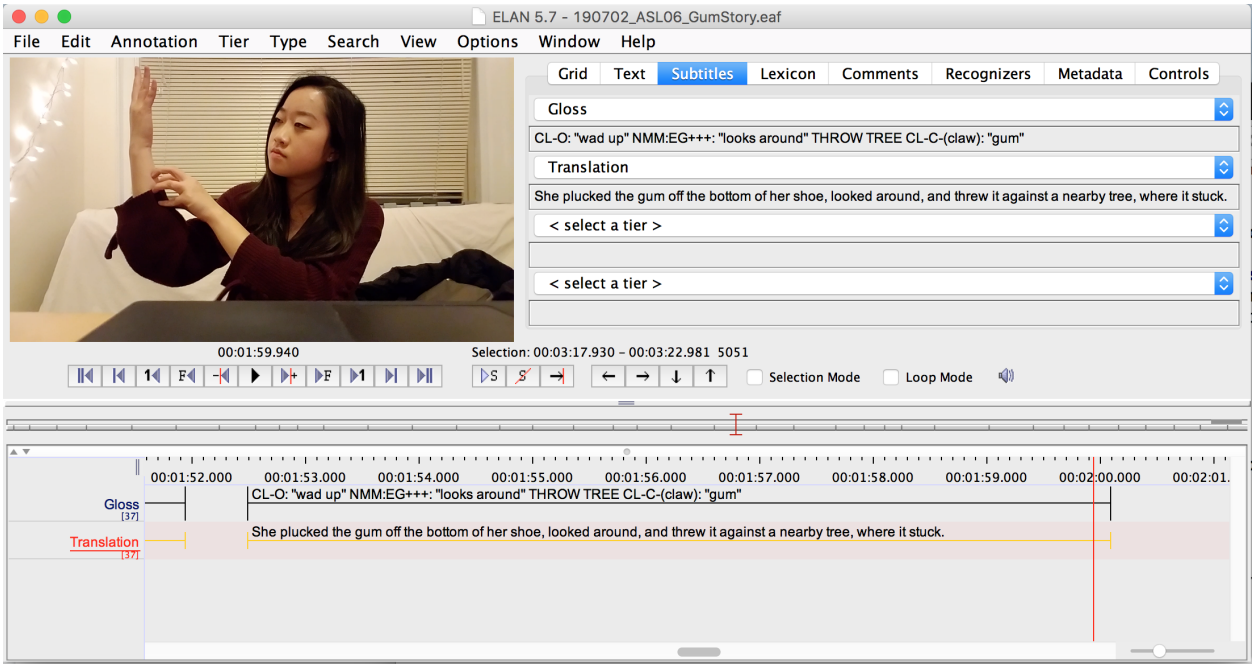
The glossed tier therefore reads as follows:

PRO-1 NAME B-O-N-I-T-A

The tier below provides a free translation (not word-for-word translation) in English:

'My name is Bonita.'

The multiple tiers in ELAN for Gloss and Translation therefore allow access to different forms of meaning from the signed communication for systematic analysis.



In the second example, specific ASL lexical items such as THROW and TREE are glossed in all caps. Classifiers are often more complex since they represent a description or quality, rather than a lexical item and depend heavily on context and established visual/spatial relationships. Classifiers are therefore represented in the gloss with the convention 'CL,' which must be

specified by hand shape and a contextualized meaning is then provided after a colon in parentheses.

For example, a classifier with an O handshape is used to represent the motion of wadding up a piece of gum, which had formerly been established in the story as a lexical item. This appears in the gloss as CL-O: “wad up.” Shortly thereafter, another classifier uses a C handshape with fingers spread (claw variation) to show the spherical object of the gum against a surface (the TREE). This is represented as CL-C(claw): “gum.”

The instance of a nonmanual morpheme (NNM) in this example, which is eye gaze (EG), represents a linguistic phenomenon of ASL called depiction in which the signer takes on the identity of the person or thing being represented. Therefore, the shifting of the signer’s gaze from side to side represents the woman looking around. This is indicated with the conventionalized acronyms NNM:EG. The plus signs indicate repetition of this shift in eye gaze, and the information in parentheses that follows the colon provides the contextual meaning based on previously established information. In its entirety, then, the gloss reads NNM:EG+++: “looks around”

The complete glossed tier for this section therefore reads as follows:

CL-O: "wad up" NMM:EG+++: "looks around" THROW TREE CL-C-(claw): "gum"

However, a free translation incorporating all these signs together is provided in the tier below:

‘She plucked the gum off the bottom of her shoe, looked around, and threw it against a nearby tree, where it stuck.’

Glossing takes a large amount of specialized knowledge in order to access and understand the meaning of signed messages they represent, but it has been provided for transparency and will be explained where relevant in the text of this study. Classifiers in particular offer valuable insights into the variation and situatedness of communication. Free translations are insufficient to represent the patterns, innovations, and complexity of literacy practices in American Sign Language.

Appendix B: Student Surveys

Background Information & Permission

This survey is part of a study about language, literacy, and identity and what influences might be acting on the development of these practices at and beyond the university. If you choose to participate as a **survey respondent**, your name and information will be protected with a coding system with a number that will replace your name that is stored separately from the data and then a pseudonym that will appear in any publications or academic presentations.

The coded data will be stored in a password protected database, and you will have access to your own data and permission related to its use at any time. You do not have to complete this survey or any other part of this study. There is no monetary compensation. Your participation may help improve success in teaching and learning languages, though, including your own self-awareness and reflection. I may use study results for publications, presentations, and training purposes.

If you understand these procedures and agree to participate, please sign and date below:

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Printed Name: _____ Language Class: _____

"Transnational Literacy Sponsorship" Survey

1. Please list languages, dialects, accents and varieties you know. What is your proficiency level in these languages (1-basic, 2-low intermediate, 3-intermediate, 4-high intermediate, 5-advanced, or 6-fluent)? How/where did you learn them? Who do you use them with?

Language 1: _____ Proficiency: 1 2 3 4 5 6

Where/how learned: _____ Use with: _____
Most familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing
Least familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing

Language 2: _____ Proficiency: 1 2 3 4 5 6

Where/how learned: _____ Use with: _____
Most familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing
Least familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing

Language 3: _____ Proficiency: 1 2 3 4 5 6

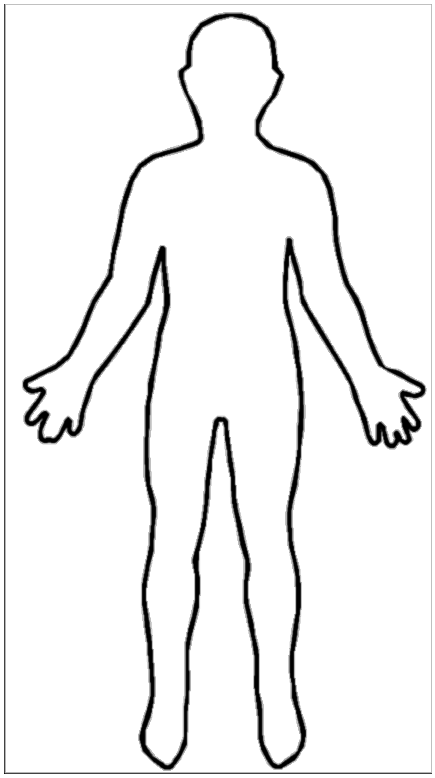
Where/how learned: _____ Use with: _____
Most familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing
Least familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing

Language 4: _____ Proficiency: 1 2 3 4 5 6

Where/how learned: _____ Use with: _____
Most familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing
Least familiar/comfortable with: listening speaking reading writing

2. Is there a reason you placed the languages in the order you did (1st, 2nd, etc.)? If so, what is this reason? Is there another order that would also make sense? Does order matter for you?

3. For each language that you know (at any proficiency level), please label the location on the body or space around the body where you feel like that language most belongs for you. Think about how that location represents your relationship to the language or how you use it.

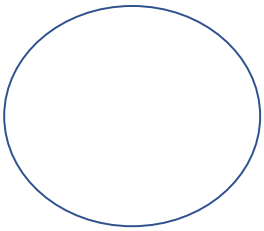


4. Please explain why you chose to place the language(s) where you did.

5. What are your reasons for taking your current language class? Why do you want to learn the language? How do you expect to use it outside the class?

6. Do you go by any different names or nicknames in any of the language varieties you know? If so, how did you get each of your names?

7. In the space below, the center of the circle represents your core identity as you understand it. Please write any names or nicknames you use in your language varieties in, on, or near this circle to show how closely this name relates to your core identity. For example, a name written far outside shows less connection. A name in the center is a stronger connection.



8. Please explain why you chose to place the name(s) where you did.

9. Is there anything else you think I should know about your language background?

10. Do you have any questions for me?

11. **May I contact you by email about the study?** If yes, please provide your email address below and check each box for what purpose you give me permission to contact you. *If you **do not** wish to be contacted, leave this section blank. I will not contact you without your permission, and I will not give your email address to anyone else.*

Email address: _____@_____

☐ You can contact me about a follow-up interview about my answers on this survey.

☐ You can contact me about the results of the study to give me a chance to respond.

☐ You can contact me to answer a question I asked in the section above.

☐ You can contact me with more information about becoming a **participant researcher** with more involvement in this study and a mentoring opportunity in qualitative research methods with the potential for co-authoring a publication or academic presentation. This does not yet mean I have agreed to participate or that I will be chosen to participate.

May I access and reference your participation on the class website if your class has one? I want to look at class participation online generally to investigate the difference between classroom and digital literacies. The Family & Education Privacy Rights Act (FERPA) means that you have the right to keep your coursework private. Any work that you receive a grade for cannot be seen or made public without your permission. In language classes, this may involve a participation grade for online participation.

Your privacy will be protected in the same way as the information from this survey. Any personally identifiable information will be coded and replaced. I will not be able to see your grades related to participation on the course website. You do NOT have to give me permission to see or reference your participation in the class website. It will not impact your grade in any way for the class.

Do I have your permission to view and reference information you post on your class website?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Please remove the lower part of this survey and keep it for your own records:

You've participated in a study called "Transnational Literacy Sponsorship" about language, literacy, and identity. As a **survey respondent**, your name and information will be protected with a coding system with a number that will replace your name that is stored separately from the data and then a pseudonym that will appear in any publications or academic presentations.

The coded data will be stored in a password protected database, and you will have access to your own data and permission related to its use at any time. There is no monetary compensation. Your participation may help improve success in teaching and learning languages. The results may be used for publications, presentations, and training purposes.

The lead researcher is Holly Shelton in the English Department. If you have any further questions about this study or wish to change your permission to use your data, you can contact her at hshelton@uw.edu. Alternatively, you can contact the UW Human Subjects Division that approved this study at hsdinfo@uw.edu or 206-543-0098.

Appendix C: Student Interview Questions

1. It seems like you're thinking about your relation to languages as [conceptual framework].

    1) an internal/external contrast of identity or cultural affiliation
    2) metaphorical, or identifying languages as emotional, logical, or tool-related
    3) how you produce or receive the language
    4) cultural, contextual, or relational associations
    5) proficiency level or learning strategies

To what extent would you say this statement is accurate? (Follow-up: Is there a different way you think about your relation to languages at different times? What experiences make you think about your relationship to languages this way?)

2. How does your past experience with language impact the way you're learning [current language]? Do you notice any benefits or limitations? Has this changed over time?

4. You said that your motivation to learn [language] was [from survey]. To what extent has your language class aligned with these goals? Any limitations you notice?

5. What other resources or groups do you use to learn this language outside of the class?

6. [If not specified on the survey:] Can you explain if you were given the names you reported on the survey or if you chose them yourself?

7. Please draw a map of your classroom learning space. [give paper & writing utensil, then wait] (Follow-ups: Where would you locate yourself in this space? How does that impact your interaction and learning?)

8. Do you interact with your fellow students or the teacher in other spaces outside the classroom? (Follow-up if yes: Please describe this interaction and how it impacts your learning. Follow-up if no: Do you interact with others who use this language?)

9. What kinds of materials do you usually interact with in this class (like a textbook, Canvas, powerpoint presentations, etc.)? (Follow-up: How do these impact your learning?)

10. What was your experience with [specific assignment]? (Follow-ups: What topic did you choose and why? Can you walk me through the process of how you created this assignment? How similar was this assignment to something you've done in the past or in other situations? Can you walk me through the process of how you created this assignment? What skills or resources did it require? How do you feel about the assignment and how did you feel during this assignment?)

11. What kind of assessment does your teacher use for the class? (Follow-up: What was your experience with this assessment? How did it impact your learning?)

12. For this study, we're particularly interested in the idea of language contact. To what extent do the teacher, class materials, or other students invite or constrain references to other languages, language varieties, or cultures? (Follow-ups: What does this look like? What's your reaction to this?)

13. We're also really interested in the idea of localization. To what extent do your teacher, class materials, or other students reference the local area or living circumstances? (Follow-up: What's your reaction to this?)

14. What is your favorite word or concept you've encountered in the language so far and why does it stand out to you? Does this word or concept exist in English or any other languages you know? How would you describe it, and how did you learn it? (rate scale 0-7 positive to negative; rate scale 0-7 on how strongly you feel)

15. Is there a word or concept you've encountered in the language so far that you feel friction with and why does it stand out to you? Does this word or concept exist in English or any other languages you know? How would you describe it, and how did you learn it? (rate scale 0-7 positive to negative; rate scale 0-7 on how strongly you feel)

Typical clarifying questions:

What do you mean by [term]? / That's a really big idea. Could you unpack that? What I'm hearing you say is [paraphrase]. Is that right? / Do you mean [paraphrase]?

Appendix D: Instructor Interview Questions

1. At the beginning of Autumn 2017, how long had you been teaching [language] at UW? What kind of training was required or provided? How has this teaching experience changed over time?
2. Did you come to the job with any prior teaching, language, or other work/experience? To what extent (if any) has this prior experience impacted your current language teaching?
3. What is your background or relationship to the language you teach for this class? Where/how did you learn it, and who do you use it with in what contexts?
4. What other languages or language varieties are you familiar with? What is your background or relationship with these languages? How does this knowledge impact the way you think about [language]?
5. What is your teaching philosophy? Has this changed over time? What kind of influences and experiences helped you develop this philosophy?
6. What freedom do you have to choose/develop your own class materials (including textbooks, slides, videos, handouts, etc.) and activities? What kind of outside requirements/training from the department, university, etc. do you also need to follow? How do you navigate these requirements and your own teaching philosophy and desires?
7. To the extent of your knowledge, what is the history of this course at the University of Washington? How long has it been offered and how did it get started? What sources of funding support the class? What is its relationship to other courses and extracurricular or community groups inside or outside the university?
8. What other teachers, administrators, communities, or professional organizations do you interact with for your job? What does this look like? How does it impact your teaching?
9. Are there any trends you notice with the kinds of students who study this language? What seems to be the impact of these patterns from student demographics and motivations on individual student learning and the class context as a whole?
10. What kind of assignments and assessments do you use for the class? What is the purpose of these particular assignments and assessments?
11. For this study, we're particularly interested in the idea of language contact. To what extent do you, class materials, or students invite or constrain references to other languages, language varieties, or cultures? What does this look like? What's your purpose or reaction to this?
12. We're also really interested in the idea of language localization. To what extent do you, class materials, or students reference the local area or living circumstances? What does this look like? What's your purpose or reaction to this?

Appendix E: Story Translations

Little Silver Salmon

SLU05	SLU06	Provided with Transcript
The little (sockeye/silver) salmon are in the ocean, and listening to the big silver salmon. The time for him (the silver salmon to go upstream into the rivers was coming. They (the silver salmon gathered together and they were heading upstream. And then came the little salmon, and he said: "However, I want to go now." (He was impatient to go) And here comes the big salmon, who says to him: "It is not possible for you to go. It is very dangerous at that river. Despite what you might expect if you were there. There is a harbor seal that will eat you. There are nets, and you might get caught up in those nets. And again, there is also that otter that could eat you. And also, there are the places where you might rest where there are spears that might stick you. You could be put there and have these things happen to you. (?) And it is very (?). The river is dangerous (bad)." And so the big salmon gathered together and they are heading upstream. And now the little salmon waited and he went upstream, jumping up the river. The little salmon now went up the river. The seal looks, but doesn't jump after him. And again he goes and does not get caught up in the nets that the fishers have set. Then he goes but the otter is there and so the little salmon runs again. Then he sees the fishing spears and he goes upstream and they do not spear the little salmon. Soon the little salmon was in the center of where the salmon gathered. And he again chased after the big salmon so he could be there. And now the little salmon is happy to see the maple leaves fall upon the river banks. And they float down and they are seen by the silver salmon. And every year, there comes the little salmon to see the maple leaves fall down.	There is a Little Silver Salmon in the sea, and he is listening to the big silver salmon. The big silver salmon will be going up many rivers. Together now they go upstream. Then, Little Silver Salmon comes over and says, "I am going to coming along, I would like to go, I am going to come along." Then the big silver salmon comes over and says to Little Silver Salmon, "You are not going. The river is very dangerous. You should just stay put. There are seals that eat you. There are nets laid, and you could get caught up in them. And there is also an otter. He might eat you. And then there are also people. With their salmon spears, they could… they might spear you. You should stay put. And the water is far too swift. The river is bad. And then, the big silver salmon gather together and they go upstream. And Little Silver Salmon waits, and then suddenly he goes jumping upstream. He goes and goes, that Little Silver Salmon, he goes upstream! A seal sees him and he jumps again. And also he is not caught up in the nets. Then he keeps going, and there is an otter, and he keeps going. And then the ones with the spears see him, and he keeps going and going upstream. They do not spear him. Soon now he gets there. And he managed to follow the big silver salmon all the way to the breeding grounds. He is so very happy now, and he looks and now manages to see the maple leaves fall. The leaves float down and this is what the little silver salmon does now. Every year now he comes and he watches the leaves fall down.	There was a small silver salmon in the salt water and he heard the big silver salmon. They will be going up the river. They were together now and were going up the river a little now. The little silver salmon came and then he said, "I am coming along. I want to go. I am coming along." And a big silver salmon came and he told him, "No, you are not going. The river is very bad. You will just be killed. There is the seal and he will eat you up. There is the ones that fish with nets. You will get yourself wrapped up in the net. And there is also the river otter. He will eat you up. And there is the people. And the salmon spears could… could stab you. You could be killed. And then [the river] is very swift. The river is bad." And then the big silver salmon got together and then they went up the river now. And then the little silver salmon waited now, and in a while, he went racing up the river now. He went. That little silver salmon went up the river! Now he saw the seal and he just jumped again. And he did not get himself wrapped up in the net. Now he went again, and there was river otter, and again he went up the river now. And then he saw the ones with the salmon spears. He went, he went up the river. He was not stabbed. Soon, he was there at the place. Again, he had managed to follow the big silver salmon to where they were spawning. He was very happy now, and then he looked, and managed to see leaves fall. The leaves were floating down and now this is what the little silver salmon does. Every year now, he comes and watches the leaves as they float down.

Skunk Story

SLU05	SLU06	SLU07	Provided with Transcript
A long, long time ago the skunk was very bad, very bad indeed. The people were regularly dying from that very strong stick and waste, and as the people were dying there were afraid of that stink. Soon, the people gathered together. Oh, many people gathered together in that place and had a discussion about the skunk. "How could it be," they said, "that we might not be killed and that we might be/remain the people; how?" For some time did they converse, when suddenly there came a little old man who said to everyone who had gathered together: "Here, we might set first to skunk's bottom which could possibly stop the killing of the people." Then, "How might we set fire to it?" he said to the others. "We could do it if we used the big rock and we made it hot; then, that rock will be hot. With a big fire we could make that rock very hot. Then at the mountain they set a fire and heated the big rock, where they set a watch (for the skunk). Suddenly, the people called out, "He is coming! The skunk is coming!" They jumped up now and reached out there hands (to push the rock). They pushed the rock and it rolled, rolled towards the skunk. The old man was watching this and he said: "Now push!" And the men pushed the rock they had heated and it rolled over the skunk and burned him. And then no one was afraid of skunk because they knew of this action from long ago, so it is said.	It was long, long ago, and Skunk was very bad, he was very bad. He would kill people going around with his smell and his skunk spray. And he was killing so many people, and they feared him. But now the people gathered together. Ohh, so many were gathered and they spoke of Skunk. How could we kill Skunk without people dying, how? For a long time, they spoke, when suddenly these old men came over and they said to those gathered. Maybe if we burn Skunk's bottom, he will no longer kill people. "How could we burn him?" someone said. "We could do something to that big rock, and we could prepare a fire that will heat up the rock. We make a great fire and it will become very very hot. Then, on the hill the rock is heated up. On the mountain and someone will be on watch. Suddenly the people spoke, "He's coming! Skunk is coming over here!" They leaped up and were waiting. They will push the rock and the rock will roll and roll, and roll on Skunk. There old man was there on watch, and he said, "push it!" Then the men pushed it and it hit skunk and burned him. And now the people were no longer afraid, and they know for a long time, they say. One person said, "Skunk is not strong now! No more he can kill people! We burned his bottom!" His bottom is burned and he is so weakened, perhaps, that he	A long time ago, skunk was bad, very bad. He would kill the native people with his strong smell. And then the spraying would kill the native peoples and they were afraid. Right away, the native people came together. Oh, many gathered and talked about skunk, how they could be killed, and how the killing of native people could be prevented. They talked for a long time and an old man came and said to the gathered, "Maybe we could burn Skunk's bottom to prevent the killing of native people." "And then how will we burn him?" said one. "We could do it with a large rock and make a fire and then heat that rock. We make it a large fire that heats it very much." And then they did that on the mountain, preparing that rock. On the mountain they could keep watch. Now all of a sudden, the native people said, "Come on! Skunk is coming!" They jumped up as Skunk was passing them. They will roll the rock and then knock him flat, laying the skunk flat. Keeping watch, the old man could say, "Push now!" And then the men pushed and it went over skunk. That roasted rock burned. And then the native people wouldn't have to fear for their very lives and could know it for a long time. And one could say, "Skunk may no longer be strong. He cannot kill the native people any more. We burned his bottom!" They burned it and then it was maybe weakened.	A long time ago skunk was very bad. He was very bad. He would kill the people with his bad smell. He would spray and would kill the people and they were afraid. Right away the people go together. A lot of people gathered together and they talked about skunk. "How can we kill him so he cannot kill the people? How?" They talked for a long time. Finally an old man came and said to the group "Maybe we could burn skink in the butt so he can't kill the people." "How will we burn him?", someone said. "We can do it with a big rock and we can do it with fire and heat the rock up. We can make a big fire and it will get very hot." On the hill a rock was made hot now. On the hill someone was on watch. Finally he said to the people, "He's coming! Skunk is coming!" They leaped the there they were waiting. They will push the rock and it will roll, roll onto skunk. The old man was there on watch and he said, "Push it!" The men pushed it and the heated rock went over skunk. It burned him. Now the people were not afraid of him and know it now for a long time. It was said. Someone said, "Skunk is not strong now! He cannot kill the people now! We have burned him in the butt!" He was burned in the butt and weakened, I guess, He can't kill the people now. There is how he is today.
And another one said: "The skunk is not strong now! He cannot hurt or kill any of the people because we have burned his butt! He (skunk) has been burned and is very weak and can't hurt anyone!" And that is how skunk is today.	can no longer kill people. That is how it is today.	That's what happened to this very day.	

Owl Woman and Chipmunk

SLU05	SLU06	SLU07	Provided with Transcript
"The Chipmunk and Owl Lady" A long time ago in a far off place lived the little chipmunks with their grandmother in the brushy place. One day, the grandmother said the little little one: "Chipmunk, take your cedar-root basket and go pick some berries. Do not eat the berries as you pick them, and look out for Owl Lady." And so, chipmunk listened and understood. She took her cedar-root basket. As Chipmunk was doing this, a young deer came towards Chipmunk, who could hear the deer's hoofbeats. The deer was eating the berries as the deer picked them. Chipmunk climbed way up high into the trees and began to count the berries that she had picked. "One ripe berry, Two ripe berries, Three ripe berries." Suddenly, Chipmunk heard someone walking down beneath her. Chipmunk could now see that down in the forest beneath her was that Owl Lady, moving through the depths! On her back, Owl Lady was carrying a cedar root basket. There were a great many little children confined in Owl Lady's cedar basket because they had been bad. Very bad indeed. Owl Lady had been walking around, stealing the little children. Owl Lady had tied them all together. She (Owl Lady) went around, and was usually hungry. And so she (Owl Lady) sat there, eating the little children. Owl Lady had become very hungry, so she reached into her basket and put two little children in	Owl Woman and Chipmunk. Long, long ago, a little girl and her grandmother lived in some brush. One day, her grandmother said to her… "Chipmunk, grab your basket and go pick some berries. Don't you snack on the berries, and keep an eye out for Owl Woman." Now, Chipmunk listened to her. She grabbed her basket. Prepared with a little deer foot, she went to the berry bush where she normally picks berries. She climbed up high and snacked on the berries, and counted the berries that she ate. One ripe berry. Two ripe berries. Three ripe berries. Suddenly, she heard something walking along below her. She looked at the area down below, and Owl Woman was standing below her. Her baskets were carried on her back. There were so many children inside because they were bad. They were so terrible. She would travel around, stealing children as she went. She would detain a child and then eat them. Perhaps she was very hungry, and then she might eat so much, even two children. But Chipmunk did not grow afraid because where she picked berries was very high up, and she knew that the Owl Woman could not grab her. Owl Woman knew it too. Owl Woman spoke to Chipmunk, saying, "Chipmunk, your father wants you." Then Chipmunk told her, "I don't have a father. He died a long time ago." Own Woman really thought now, and she spoke	Owl Woman and Chipmunk. Way over there a long time ago, there lived a little girl child and her grandmother in a brushy place. One day her grandmother said, "Chipmunk, take your cedar root basket and go to pick some berries. Don't you be snacking, and look out for yourself with Owl Woman." Right away, Chipmunk understood. She grabbed her cedar basket, which was made with the hoof of a deer, and then she went to the ripe bushes to pick berries. She climbed to the top and counted her snacks. One berry is ripe! Two berries are ripe! Three berries are ripe! Suddenly, she heard steps below her. The being carried a cedar basket on her back. Many little children were inside because they were very bad. Super duper bad. She would walk around stealing children. She would always get hungry. If a child was stuck, she would eat it. If she was hungry, she might eat a couple children. This did not make Chipmunk afraid because she was picking berries very high up, so Chipmunk knew Owl Woman couldn't manage to reach her. But Owl Woman knew she was stuck. Owl Woman said to Chipmunk, "Chipmunk, your father wants you." And then Chipmunk said, "I don't have a father. He's been gone a long time." Owl Woman thought about it even more and then she said to Chipmunk, "Your mother wants you - wants you to go home." "Oh, she's	Owl, Owl Woman and Chipmunk. A long time ago, there lived a small child and her grandmother in the bushes. On day, her grandmother told her, "Chipmunk, You take your cedar root basket and you go in order to pick berries. You don't be eating the berries as you pick them and you watch out for Owl Woman." Chipmunk understood right away. She took her cedar root basket. It was made from the small leg of a deer and she went to one berry bush where she was picking berries. She climbed up high and then she ate the berries as she picked them and she counted her picked, eaten berries. "One ripe berry. Two ripe berries. Three ripe berries." Pretty soon now she heard someone walking below her. She had her cedar root basket on her back. There was a lot of small children inside because they were very bad. They were very bad. She was always walking along stealing the children. As she went she would be getting hungry again. She would stop and she would eat a child. If she was really hungry she would eat a lot of two children. Chipmunk did not become scared because she was picking berries up high and Chipmunk knew Owl Woman could not get her. Owl Woman also knew this. Owl Woman told Chipmunk, "Chipmunk. Your father wants you." And then Chipmunk told her, "I do not have a father. He died a long time ago." Owl Woman really thought

her mouth. And now Squirrel was afraid, because she had gone very high up into the trees to pick berries and now she realized that she was not safe (?) from the grasp of the Owl Lady. [Not sure what xwi? Is doing in the last part of the sentence.] She (Squirrel) knew that was stranded with that Owl Lady. And then Owl Lady said to Squirrel: "Squirrel, your father is looking for you." And then Squirrel said: "Not my father. He has been dead for some time." Owl Lady thought about this some more, and then she said to Squirrel: "Your mother is looking for you. She wants you to go home." "Oh, it is well known that she has been dead for some time now, since the snow on the ground passed by," answered Squirrel. And now that Owl Lady was angry: "Your aunt is looking for you." And Squirrel replied: "I don't have an aunt." And now Owl Lady was very angry. So she said to Squirrel: Your uncle is searching for you." Squirrel laughed and then said: "I have never had an uncle." So now Owl Lady said: "Your grandfather wants you." Oh! Squirrel looked at Owl Lady and said: "My grandfather died first, and that is what was reveled to me." Now again did that Owl Lady say to Squirrel: "Your grandmother is looking for you. She wants you to go home." Now Squirrel believed that Owl Lady. If she (Squirrel) didn't say anything it was because she needed to think (about what Owl Lady said). "(I	again to Chipmunk, saying, "Your mother wants you. She wants you to go home." "Oh, though she died long ago, many snows have passed," replied Chipmunk. Owl Woman grew angry now. "Your aunt wants you." Chipmunk told her again, "I don't have an aunt." Owl Woman grew even angrier at that. She said to Chipmunk, "Your uncle is looking for you." Chipmunk laughed and told her, "I have never had an uncle." The Owl Woman said "Your grandfather wants you." Oh, Chipmunk looked down at Owl Woman and then she said to her, "My late grandfather died before I was born." And once more now Owl Woman said to Chipmunk, "Your grandmother wants you. She wants you to go home." Then Chipmunk did believe Owl Woman. She said nothing because she wanted to think. "Would you hide your eyes real good?" Owl Woman laughed and then said, "Okay, my eyes are hidden real good. Look how they are." But Owl Woman was a monster. She was pretending to hide her eyes. Then, she was not hiding her eyes because she was still blinking. Chipmunk said now to her, "You are not hiding your eyes, you are still blinking." Then she laughed. Owl Woman told her, once again, "Believe me, I am hiding my eyes real good now." She was still examining her. She said now to Chipmunk, "My eyes are really closed." Then Chipmunk remembered what her grandmother	been gone a long time, you know, many snows have passed," Chipmunk replied. And then Owl Woman got angry. "Your aunt wants you." Chipmunk replied again, "I don't have an aunt." Owl Woman got very angry. She said to that Chipmunk, "Your uncle is searching for you." Chipmunk laughed as she said, "I didn't have an uncle." Owl Woman said, "Your grandfather wants you." Ah, now Chipmunk looked at Owl Woman and then said to her, "My grandfather has not been around since before I was born." Owl Woman said to Chipmunk again, "Your grandmother would like you to go home." This made Chipmunk believe Owl Woman. She wasn't saying anything because she wanted to think. "Could you hide your eyes really well?" Owl Woman laughed and then said, "Yes, I can hide my eyes really well. Like this!" The monster Owl Woman did it. She covered up her eyes. But then she didn't hide them because every once in a while she would flutter them. Chipmunk said, "You're not hiding your eyes. Every now and then you flutter your eyes." […]	about that now and then she really told Chipmunk again, "Your mother wants you She wants you to come home." "Oh! She died a long time ago many winters past.", Chipmunk answered her. And now Owl Woman was mad. "Your aunt wants you." Chipmunk really told her now, " I do not have an aunt." Now that Owl Woman was really mad. Now she told Chipmunk, "Your uncle is looking for you." Chipmunk laughed and told her, "I do not have an uncle." Now Owl Woman said, "Your grandfather wants you." Oh, Chipmunk looked at Owl Woman now and then said to Owl Woman, "My grandfather died before I was born." Now Owl Woman really told Chipmunk, "Your Grandmother wants you. She wants you to come home." Then Chipmunk believed Owl Woman now. She did not say anything because she wanted to think about it. "Can you hide your eyes real good?" Now Owl Woman laughed and she said, "Yes, I am hiding my eyes real good. Look how they are." Owl Woman was a monster. She pretended to hide her eyes. She was not hiding her eyes because she was still blinking. Now Chipmunk told her, "You are not hiding your eyes, you are still blinking." Then she laughed. Now Owl Woman said and then she really told her, "Trust me, Now I am hiding my eyes real good." She was still examining her. Now she told Chipmunk, "Now my eyes are truly
won't go,) not until you cover your eyes really well." Then Owl Lady laughed, and she said: "Yes, I am hiding my eyes. Look! You can see how well I am hiding them!" Then that monster, that Owl Lady, she pretended to hide her eyes. But she did not hide her eyes because she was still blinking (peeking?). The Chipmunk said: "You have not hidden your eyes, I can see you are still blinking (peeking?)." Then she (Owl Lady laughed). Owl Lady again said to Chipmunk, "Really, I will be good and hide my eyes." And then she sized up Chipmunk. Chipmunk said: "Now she *really* has hidden her eyes." And then, Chipmunk remembered what her Grandmother had told her: "Be good and look after yourself, for if Owl Lady sees you she will grab you." Chipmunk knew she couldn't jump near Owl Lady. She couldn't jump towards the log. And so now she jumped. Chipmunk jumped high up into the air and over the head of Owl Lady, and Owl Lady tried to grab Chipmunk. But Owl Lady merely marked Chipmunk's back (with her claws). And that is why Chipmunk has a mark (on her back) to this day.	told her. "Look after yourself well, and don't end up getting grabbed by Owl Woman." So, she could not jump near the Owl Woman. She could not jump from branch to branch. She leapt now. Then she jumped above the Owl Woman's head, then Owl Woman could truly get at her now. She just scratched along Chipmunk's skin. That is why Chipmunk is marked to this day.		hid." Then Chipmunk remembered what her grandmother had said to her, "You watch over yourself good so that Owl Woman does not get you," and so she could not jump near Owl Woman. She could not jump stick to stick. She jumped now. Now she jumped above Owl Woman's head and Owl Woman could truly get her now. She just scratched Chipmunk on the back. That is the reason Chipmunk is marked today.