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The *International Journal of Literacy, Culture, and Language Education (IJLCLE)* is an open-source peer-reviewed international journal dedicated to publishing research in the field of literacy, culture, and language education from multi- inter- and trans-disciplinary perspectives. Its mission is two-fold: (1) to promote exchange of ideas and dissemination of research, and (2) to facilitate academic exchange between scholars from diverse fields of study worldwide. Authors are invited to submit manuscripts describing scholarly research on a wide range of topics related to language, literacy, culture in education. (ISSN: 2642-4002)
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Focus and Scope

The International Journal of Literacy, Culture, and Language Education (IJLCLE) is multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinary and focuses on all aspects of language, literacy and culture in education worldwide. Theoretical and conceptual study, empirical and applied research using qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies, critical papers, special issues and book reviews are all invited. Contributions from a host of disciplines such as sociolinguistics, sociology of language, psycholinguistics, educational linguistics, applied linguistics, linguistic anthropology, raciolinguistics, literacy studies, cultural studies, language and gender studies, language and political economy, media and technology, language education, teacher education, educational policy, semiotics, pragmatics, language policy and planning, language revitalization, and linguistic landscapes are very welcome. The intended audience of *IJLCLE* are researchers, scholars, educators, and graduate students from around the world.

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International Journal of Literacy, Culture, and Language Education
Volume 1, December 2020

Contents

Articles

Introduction
Serafín M. Coronel-Molina 1

The Sacredness of Remembering and Re-storying
Christina Romero-Ivanova 4

University Students' Demotivation in Learning Second Languages: The Case of Australian Universities
Giuseppe D'Orazzi 28

An Examination of Translingual Practices on a Mobile Application: Implications for Pronunciation Instruction and Raising Learners' Translingual Awareness
Yoo Young Ahn 54

Multimodality in Early Childhood Education
Kelsey C. Deklerk 73

Book Review

***Ideology and Hegemony of English Foreign Language Textbooks. Globally and Locally Written Practices* by Ömer Gökhan Ulum and Dinçay Köksal**
Reviewed by *Nasiba Norova* 88

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Volume 1, December 2020, pp. 1-3
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Introduction

Serafín M. Coronel-Molina

The *International Journal of Literacy, Culture, and Language Education (IJLCLE)* was born out of the peer-reviewed *Working Papers in Literacy, Culture, and Language Education (WPLCLE)* published virtually in five volumes from 2012 to 2017. *IJLCLE* is an open-source, peer-reviewed international journal dedicated to publishing research in the field of literacy, culture, and language education from multi-, inter-, and transdisciplinary perspectives. Its mission is to promote the academic exchange of ideas and dissemination of research among scholars and researchers from diverse fields of study worldwide. Authors are invited to submit manuscripts describing scholarly research on a wide range of topics related to language, literacy, and culture in education. Theoretical and conceptual study, empirical and applied research using qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies, critical papers, special issues, and book reviews are all invited. Contributions from a host of disciplines such as sociolinguistics, sociology of language, psycholinguistics, educational linguistics, applied linguistics, linguistic anthropology, raciolinguistics, literacy studies, cultural studies, language and gender studies, language and political economy, media and technology, language education, teacher education, educational policy, semiotics, pragmatics, language policy and planning, language revitalization, and linguistic landscapes are very welcome. The intended audience of *IJLCLE* are researchers, scholars, educators, and graduate students from around the world.

This inaugural volume contains four articles and one book review chosen from an array of submissions for our 2020 publication. The first article, titled "The Sacredness of Remembering and Restorying" was written by Christina Romero-Ivanova. This article discusses the silencing of women and their use of storying to overcome this silencing and to make sense of traumatic life experiences. The author includes women from a cross-section of racial and socioeconomic class categories, to ultimately show how silencing of women's voices can impact all women. It further shows the multiple ways that women can find to regain their voice and "talk back," enabling them to make themselves heard, but also to process these traumatic events and move beyond them, allowing for personal and social growth and the development of resilience.

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The second article, "University Students' Demotivation in Learning Second Languages: The Case of Australian Universities," by Giuseppe D'Orazzi, examines the tendencies of Australian university students with regard to foreign language studies. In particular, he explores the various factors (motivators or demotivators) that can lead students in elementary-level classes in French, German, Italian or Spanish to decide to either continue or abandon their studies, dividing the students into three categories: continuing students, discontinuing students, and quitters. He explores their motivations at micro, meso and macro levels, and finds that elements at each level can work together in dynamic and interchangeable ways to either motivate or demotivate students, depending on the interactions of these levels for each individual.

The third article, "An Examination of Translingual Practices on a Mobile Application: Implications for Pronunciation Instruction and Raising Learners' Translingual Awareness" by Yoo Young Ahn, attempts to analyze the usefulness of a noneducational online contact zone that uses translingual transliterations involving both the Korean and English alphabets in supporting improvement in English pronunciation. The author finds that the nonstandard transliterations used in this online platform did indeed seem to help users improve their pronunciation, and that the format also seemed to encourage participation. From this, she draws conclusions regarding implications for classroom pronunciation instruction.

The fourth and final article, "Multimodality in Early Childhood Education" by Kelsey C. Deklerk, explores the uses of multimodality to support literacy education in early childhood education classrooms. The author emphasizes the importance of age appropriateness of activities, and hence, the inclusion of some activities and objects that might not normally be considered as literacy practices. Being more flexible in defining "literacy" activities, she asserts, enables students to be positioned as "the expert in their own learning" and creates "collaborative learning environments. She is also cognizant of potential issues that could arise around these multimodal activities, and emphasizes the need for further research to explicitly "connect the fields of multimodality and early childhood education."

This first volume of *IJLCLE* ends with a review by Nasiba Norova of the book titled *Ideology and Hegemony of English Foreign Language Textbooks: Globally and Locally Written Practices* by Ömer Gökhan Ulum and Dinçay Köksal.

Acknowledgments

IJLCLE is a project very near and dear to my heart. Despite the fact that I have invested an immense amount of time and effort in developing the concept for this journal, and have taken care of the production process by formatting and editing the whole content of this inaugural volume in coordination with the respective authors, I could not have done it alone. Both the creation of *IJLCLE* and the editorial process of the present volume are the result of the continued support, hard work, and dedication of several people. First of all, my profound gratitude goes to James Damico, the previous Chair of Literacy, Culture, and Language Education, for his kind support and for helping me find temporary office space for the operations of *IJLCLE*. My appreciation also goes to the folks in the Education Technology Service (ETS) in the School of Education for graciously providing a computer.

My special thanks go to Xin Chen for accepting to join the *IJLCLE* Editorial Team. Xin provided invaluable assistance in her role as Managing Editor. In close coordination with me, she has been in communication with the authors who submitted their papers through the *IJLCLE* online platform. She also identified blind reviewers for the papers, and she was in charge of sending

acceptance and rejection letters to the authors. In addition to all this, Xin has been in charge of updating the content of the *IJLCLE* website from time to time.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to institutions, friends, colleagues, and social media venues from Indiana University and from around the world for their help in publicizing the *IJLCLE* website and the Call for Papers locally and globally. I am also deeply grateful to my colleagues in the Literacy, Culture, and Language Education Program, Department of Curriculum and Instruction in the School of Education at Indiana University, and colleagues from around the world for accepting my invitation and agreeing to serve on the Editorial Board.

I am profoundly grateful to all the contributors to this volume for choosing *IJLCLE* to publish their work. My deepest gratitude also goes to IUScholarWorks for hosting the *IJLCLE* website and for supporting this new publication venue through their online platform. Many thanks to Sarah Hare and Jenny Hoops for their invaluable assistance for the creation and operation of the *IJLCLE* online platform. Last but not least, my profound thanks also go to the blind reviewers for their detailed and rigorous feedback, which led to a rich, insightful exchange with the authors. Without the generous assistance of all these fine people and institutions, *IJLCLE* would never have become a reality, and this volume before you would never have seen light of day.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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The Sacredness of Remembering and Re-storying

Christina Romero-Ivanova

Abstract

This article discusses findings from a qualitative research study which focused on how women from diverse backgrounds used storying as a space to make sense of life experiences that had highly impacted their lives. This article explores how women's stories mediate their experiences of being temporarily silenced, how they resisted others' silencing over their own viewpoints, and how their storying mediates different ways of "talking back" through story-writing in letters and journals and story-living through an intentional practice of wearing an artifact of trauma. Multiple interviews were used as the primary data sources, and through these the participants' stories emerged. Intersections of gender, race, religion, and socioeconomic status in the participants' stories were analyzed, and the categories of silencing, resistance/talking back, and resilience developed. Findings included the participants' abilities to navigate issues related to others' forced perspectives on their bodies as a social and political space (Pitts, 2003; Woods, 2012).

Keywords: narrative, silencing, resistance, talking back, resilience, intersectionality

Introduction

This article focuses on three women participants' storying, from a larger narrative inquiry study which was conducted to understand how women from diverse backgrounds used storying as a space in which to make sense of their crucial experiences. Narrative methods were employed to glean detailed accounts of three women's storied experiences. Eventually, as the three women's stories emerged, the inquiry delved into each woman's different modes of storying (orally relating their experiences, journaling, letter-writing, and collage-making), to attend closely to their use of language and to triangulate the meanings that emerged.

Background

Individuals' everyday literacies have been widely studied from various perspectives (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Heath, 1983; Jones, 2006; Scribner & Cole, 1978), and the research has provided insight into the complexities of individuals' layered backgrounds and experien-

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ces. Increasingly, individuals' narratives are being acknowledged as important ways of knowing and have stimulated a line of inquiry specifically into Women's Ways of Knowing (WWK) (Bartky, 1996; Belenky et al., 1986; Bye, 2005; Daniell, 2003). As Belenky et al have characterized this perspective, the aim is "to bring attention to the missing voices of women in our theories of how people know and learn" (p. 3) and create a necessary space for women to be able to talk about their own knowledge gleaned from their experiences.

Gaps in Knowledge

WWK (Bartky, 1996; Belenky et al., 1986) considers the complexity of individuals' knowledge, and their storying of that knowledge, but it has not emphasized women's storying as an embedded literacy practice. As Pahl and Rowsell (2010) note, "some stories are artifacts, told and retold over and over" (p. 11). Youths' and teenagers' stories have been acknowledged, as well as their connections to embedded artifacts and literacy practices (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010). However, the space that acknowledges women's storying of their own lived experiences as significant literacy practices has not been significantly established. A space for considering women's storying of their experiences, and a recognition of their storyings as literacy practices, needs to be further developed.

Storying, as Pahl and Rowsell (2010) state, is connected to literacy: "Talk and story can also be connected to literacy. From small stories, bigger stories can grow" (p. 40). From storying, other literacy practices, such as writing, emerge. The widening of a space that considers individuals' intimate literacy practices, such as storying crucial events, can then cause the focus to shift even closer to individuals and the ways in which they interact with the world (Freire, 2004). More importantly, this space can continue to enable individuals to center their ways of knowing and being within their own familiar contexts (Heath, 1990; Moll, 2000).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the overall study was to evoke, listen to, and learn from the stories of women who had "risen from the ashes" of their experiences with marginalization and abuse in order to understand how their storying mediated their experiences with being silenced, resisting/talking back, and developing resilience. It was also intended to foster awareness and appreciation of the entire spectrum of women's experiences.

Literature Review

Women's Ways of Knowing (WWK)

WWK addresses different types of knowledge that women have: received, objective, procedural, constructed, and the knowledge of silence. The knowledge of silence, which is the last knowledge addressed in WWK relates to women's feelings of inadequacy, disconnection, and voicelessness. Although it is the last perspective addressed by WWK, it is presented as women's first stage of knowing and is experienced by many women, especially those who have been situated in contexts and/or lives of instability, chaos, abuse, or isolation. Some women transition from this way of knowing to deeper, more articulate ways of knowing as they begin to understand the truth that lies within self-knowledge, while others never progress beyond the knowledge of silence for their entire lives. A large part of knowing silence is also feeling powerless, so women who have only this way of knowing feel capable only of taking in others' knowledge. For these women, others who are in authority are the holders and keepers of all truth, while they are the receivers of whatever truth those in power provide.

Women who have knowledge only of silence also reside in the fixed positions of knowing their stationary positions and in not being heard in those positions (Belenky et al., 1986).

Critique of Women's Ways of Knowing

WWK has been criticized as a one-size-fits-all construction and one which treats women's experiences collectively rather than taking into consideration their diverse backgrounds and lived experiences and the different intersections in their lives (Collins, 1991 Lather, 1992). It has also been criticized for its inability to demonstrate knowledge that is unique to women or to their experiences (Longino, 1994). Another major critique has been WWK's ideological notion of silence being an immobile space, in which women cannot speak. It has discounted the learning that can be gained while an individual is in the position of being silent. First, as Collins (1991) and Lorde (1977) argue, individuals are never completely silent. Second, as Collins (1991) argues, silence can be an empowering space in which to "transcend the confines of race, class, and gender oppression" (p. 93).

What is problematic is the failure of such perspectives as Women's Ways of Knowing, in their attempts to delineate stages in women's resistance to patriarchal values and behaviors, to generalize women's experiences with and responses to oppression without considering the various individual ways in which gender identity intersects with other social identities. Intersectionality, as noted by Shields (2008), as a comprehensive perspective with a "particular emphasis on the integration of studies of race, class, and gender" as well as other axes such as age, ability, and sexual orientation (pp. 99-100), has become an influential perspective from which to acknowledge and understand women as diverse individuals who have diverse experiences, and has provided a space for inclusion (Carbado, et al, 2013; Fernandes, 2010; Patil, 2013; Shields, 2008).

Literacy

Literacy is the use of speaking, writing, and other cultural practices to create meaning (Barton, 2001; Heath, 1983; Kern, 2000). Literacy is not merely a skill, but a dynamic process that moves across various communities, discourses, and cultures. As Pahl and Rowsell (2010) state, literacy "involves many different scripts, and it can exist in many different languages and settings" (p. 3). For the sake of this article and its implications for reflective digital narrative practices, I conceptualize literacy as artifactual (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010).

From a widely held perspective, which was also adopted in the study addressed in this article, literacy is construed as a *sociocultural practice* in which the individual is able to interact with others in social spaces amenable to sharing experiences and enacting a wide range of literacy practices, including family and out-of-school literacies (Bakhtin, 1981; Garcia & Gaddes, 2012; Heath, 1983; Vygotsky, 1997). Individuals' reading, writing, and other expressive practices convey the significance of values, relationships, and objects in their lives. Literacy is also defined as culturally embedded practices and behaviors or *discourses* (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 1998) that create meaning in their lives.

As a diverse sociocultural practice (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Cazden, et al, 1996; Gonzalez et al., 2005) that also involves the use of multiple discourses (ways of talking, behaving, and interacting) to navigate different contexts in daily life (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 1998; Jones, 2006; Kern, 2000), literacy is also a network of cultural practices that comprises much more than reading and writing. Literacy, which involves individuals' diverse practices and modes of expression, enables them to draw richly on their "Funds of Knowledge" (Gonzales et al., 2005; Heath, 1983; Moll, 2000), which are understandings and knowledge that they have for navigating their home and community spaces and for making meaning in their lives, which have often been storied as resources (Gonzalez et al., 2005).

Marginalized Ways of Knowing

As Belenky et al. (1986) observe, intuitive ways of knowing have long been marginalized by the predominance of scientific methods as the source of valid knowledge:

> Relatively little attention has been given to modes of learning, knowing, and valuing that may be specific to, or at least common among, women. It is likely that the commonly accepted stereotype of women's thinking as emotional, intuitive, and personalized has contributed to the devaluation of women's minds and contributions, particularly in Western, technologically oriented cultures, which value rationalism and objectivity. (p. 6)

Dillard (2012) argues for knowledge and inquiry that honor individuals' experiences by privileging their rich and diverse remembering, stating:

> We have been seduced to believe that scholarship that is 'good' (i.e., legitimate and worthy of consideration) has no relation to the body and spirit, is strictly of the mind, and then only of those minds that are not Black, female, or concerned with spirit. (pp. 19-20)

Goldberger et al. (1996) critique mind-body dualism, which conceives of individuals' minds and bodies as separate entities, arguing:

> mind-body dualism, tracked across time and the evolution of Western thought, has resulted in the pitting of reason against emotion and male against female. Such a split has contributed to the persistent dichotomizing and stereotyping of modes of thought and ways of knowing and being. (p. 14)

Embodied knowing (Goldberger et al., 1996; Pitts, 2003), which opposes the idea of mind and body as separate, can facilitate ways to communicate complex meanings gained from knowledge of crucial experiences with abuse and oppression (Pitts, 2003; Talvi, 2000). As posited by Pitts (2003), embodied ways of knowing, which may by expressed in such ways as body modification, may allow women to subversively reclaim their female bodies: "Women's subcultural body art violates beauty norms in a number of ways, and according to the rhetoric of body modification communities, subverts the social control and victimization of the female body" (p. 49). Connected knowing, referring to knowing oneself as a means of knowing others (Anzaldua, 1990), which is often overlooked and ignored (Belenky et al., 1986; Dillard, 2012), is a way of knowing that is highly related to storying one's life. The research findings discussed in this article relate to the participants' ways of knowing their selves and bodies and through these knowings, their mediated experiences of understanding others around them.

Conceptual Framework

Storying allows others to bear witness, as Lather and Smithies (1997) suggest, which entails the obligation "to look with restraint as we bear responsibility to the women who have told us their stories" (p. xvi). This sharing can bring healing (Kidd, 1996) and, further, represents women as individuals who have dynamic ways of voicing their experiences. As Luke (1994) posits, "Women have different ways of speaking and a different relation to language and knowledge" (p. 213). As such, Women's Ways of Knowing Silence (Belenky et al., 1986) and women's talking back (Collins, 1991; hooks, 1990) were the two chords of theory that were foundational to this research study. Artifactual Literacies (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010) was also an important piece, as it provided richness related to the three participants' stories as artifacts themselves, as well as providing connectedness to the bodily and embedded artifacts that were parts of the women's lives.

Methods

Narrative Inquiry Design

Freire (2004) reminds us that individuals exist "historically, culturally, and socially" (p. 97) and that these dimensions of their lives are shared with others through dialogue as innate human process and an "existential necessity" (p. 88). Using Daiute's (2014) narrative inquiry perspective as an inquiry design to study women's storying of their experiences allowed for understanding women's narratives as "accounts of daily life, stories that spring from the imagination, vignettes of daily life" (p. 2). Narrative inquiry, which is the practice of gleaning stories as data and then analyzing them for significant emerging themes (Daiute, 2014), allowed for "small stories" (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010, p. 40) or meanings to emerge.

Research Questions

The research question and subquestions evolved as the study began to center on the narrated lives of three women from diverse backgrounds who lived in the Southwestern and Midwestern regions of the United States. The central question which guided the study was *How do women from diverse backgrounds use storying as a space to make sense of their crucial experiences?* Other questions that helped in understanding the women's stories and why these were told focused on how the stories mediate the women's crucial experiences, and how the stories become paradigms of the women's individual experiences.

Narrative Analysis

According to Daiute (2014), narrative analysis enables the telling of individuals' stories, and at a deeper level it seeks to understand why stories are told as they are told. Narrative analysis was helpful in locating the more elusive data of expressive language and participants' values as they were embedded in the primary data. Narrative analysis also allowed for paying close attention to the stories themselves as they emerged as embodied ways of speaking about personal and systemic injustices (Miller & King, 2011).

Values analysis helped to identify participants' reasons for telling the smaller and larger stories of their lives (Daiute, 2014). Pahl and Rowsell (2010) describe values analysis as "a way to identify narrative meaning in terms of values expressed in and interacting with narratives" (p. 68).

Intersectional Analysis

Mackay (2013) states that intersectionality "usually refers to the study of how power works (or doesn't work), and how various oppressions intersect; it means focusing on power relationships" (p. 1). As a theory rooted in black feminism and critical race theory and originally proposed to dismantle historical marginalization occurring in fields such as law (Carbado et al., 2013), intersectionality can also be used as a tool of analysis for deconstructing the underlying structures of power that influence and impact individuals' actions and behaviors (Mackay, 2013).

For the research study that is discussed in this article, intersectional analysis allowed for ways to approach and understand unexplored place of three different kinds of women's storying rooted in their diverse lives.

Coding

First, significant episodes within each participant's crucial event that emerged from her storying through journaling, letter-writing, oral storying, and/or making a collage were coded. Within each episode, initial coding (Charmaz, 2014) was used to identify significant action, identity, and meaning. Initial codes involved using in vivo (Saldana, 2016) featuring the participant's own language, to form future categories. After the initial coding, transcript data were reread for highlighting participants' values and reasons for telling their stories (Daiute, 2014).

While conducting initial and focused coding, ways of knowing emerged and were then color coded. Intersectional analysis was then used to code for point of view located in the women's different intersections of gender, socioeconomic status, religion, and family status, which, along with the women's personal communication styles, indicated their positionality with regard to the experiences they had shared.

Each story the women shared was used to uncover the deeper meanings of what they were storying (Clarke, 2005; Daiute, 2014), and as the stories unfolded, meanings emerged. Each story was viewed as a whole, including the context within which it occurred and the motivation of the person telling the story. The context of each of the women's interviews, along with the researcher's own emic knowledge of some of the stories' backgrounds were considered.

Narratives emerged from first cycle in vivo initial and narrative coding, and from the second cycle focused coding. Narrative coding was further used to pay close attention to each participant's purposes for storying their experiences. Settings were also important because oftentimes these were often the locations of trauma and silencing. Plot was coded in terms of the significant actions of the participants and others in the participants' stories, always reflecting the former's point of view. Capturing spoken features was important to make the voices of the participants present in the report.

Besides bearing in mind participants' values, focused coding (Charmaz, 2014) was also used to consider the women's belief systems.

Participants

Participants in the study were three women from diverse backgrounds. Each of the participants was invited to the study because of her willingness to talk openly about her experiences, particularly about crucial or highly significant events that had impacted her life. Each woman was then interviewed using a three-cycle interview process (Charmaz, 2014; Seidman, 2013) with a beginning, intermediate, and ending interview for each crucial event, with additional interviews to clarify the data. Interviews (30-45 minutes in length) were conducted using this cycle to understand participants' lived experiences and the meanings within them and to richly contextualize the knowledge that was received. Initially, the participant was asked to tell, from beginning to end, about the selected event (one that we had agreed upon) and the people involved in them. The second interview involved talking about episodes of the event. During the third interview, the participant elaborated upon each of the selected events by talking about the meaning that she drew from it.

In addition to the interviews and the storying they entailed, data were collected from multiple sources representing various literacy practices, which included letter-writing, journaling, collage-making, as well as participant observations. Each of the data sources contributed uniquely to the key themes that emerged as the research question *How do women from diverse backgrounds use storying as a space to make sense of their crucial experiences?* was pursued. See Figure 1 below for the data graphic representation.

Chowsie

At the time of the research study, Chowsie (pseudonym) was 88 years old and lived in a small town in the Southwestern region of the United States.

Chowsie's worn and aged hands, bodily artifacts that testified to her life story, spoke eloquently of her accomplished independence and survival despite being impoverished. Our interviews and her sharing of her journals and letters allowed me some insight into the intersections of her life as a Caucasian woman, a former teacher, an inhabitant of Taco Town (a primarily Latino section of her town) and an individual whose self-reliant labors have been performed through her own body. Being silenced, resisting/talking back, and maintaining resilience were the dominant categories of Chowsie's stories. Her narrative was essentially the tale of a strong woman's will to survive and to thrive despite difficult circumstances. Each of the smaller stories I drew from within it made sense of a different facet of her life. To fully capture her voice, I titled these stories with her words: "The Rape," "Punishments," "School Teacher," "Building the 'Ole Shed,'" and "The Quirt." Chowsie's storying as an interactive process provided a dynamic space in which she spoke freely and I listened, sometimes offering my own experiences to testify. I then restoried her experiences. Chowsie also narrated her experiences through journal writing and letters she wrote to me. Chowsie not only performed literacy practices such as journal and letter writing for the overall research study but had also used literacy practices such as letter-writing through the years. All of these facets of literacy as a practice of sharing and listening that emerged in the form of Chowsie's journals and letters were channels through which her stories streamed and through which the reader will be able to appreciate her in my restorying of her experiences.

K

At the time of the research study, K (pseudonym) was 35 years old and lived in an urban area in the Midwestern region of the United States.

K's interview data and journals helped me understand the intersections of her life as an African American woman, a spouse, and a full-time mother, and her tattoo served as a visual text to frame her narrative and my analysis. Being silenced, resisting/talking back, and maintaining resilience are the dominant categories within the larger narrative of K's pregnancy, her son's death, her inscribing a permanent memory of him on her body with a tattoo, and her subsequent achievement of a life goal. The salient events of her pregnancy, her son's death, and her tattoo seamlessly developed as I reflected on her emotive ways of speaking and writing. With her collaboration, I titled the stories representing these episodes to fully capture her voice: "The Difficult Pregnancy," "A's Death," and "Forever My Angel: Carrying My Son, Carrying My Story." In the next section, I relate her story holistically, followed by my analysis of its dominant themes. K's storying as an interactive process provided a dynamic space in which K spoke freely and I listened, sometimes offering my own experiences to testify. Centrally, K storied through her tattoo, which was an embodied literacy practice because of its symbolism that related to her backstory of trauma and silencing. Storying her tattoo was also an embedded literacy practice because she had storied it to many others in her daily life. K was able to story her experiences by enacting different literacies, which included collage-making that I requested at the onset of this study. Her collage contained language and symbols related to her last pregnancy, as well as a letter she had written to her deceased son. All these facets of literacy, sharing and listening, and K's collage-making were channels through which K's stories flowed and are brought together in my re-storying of her experiences.

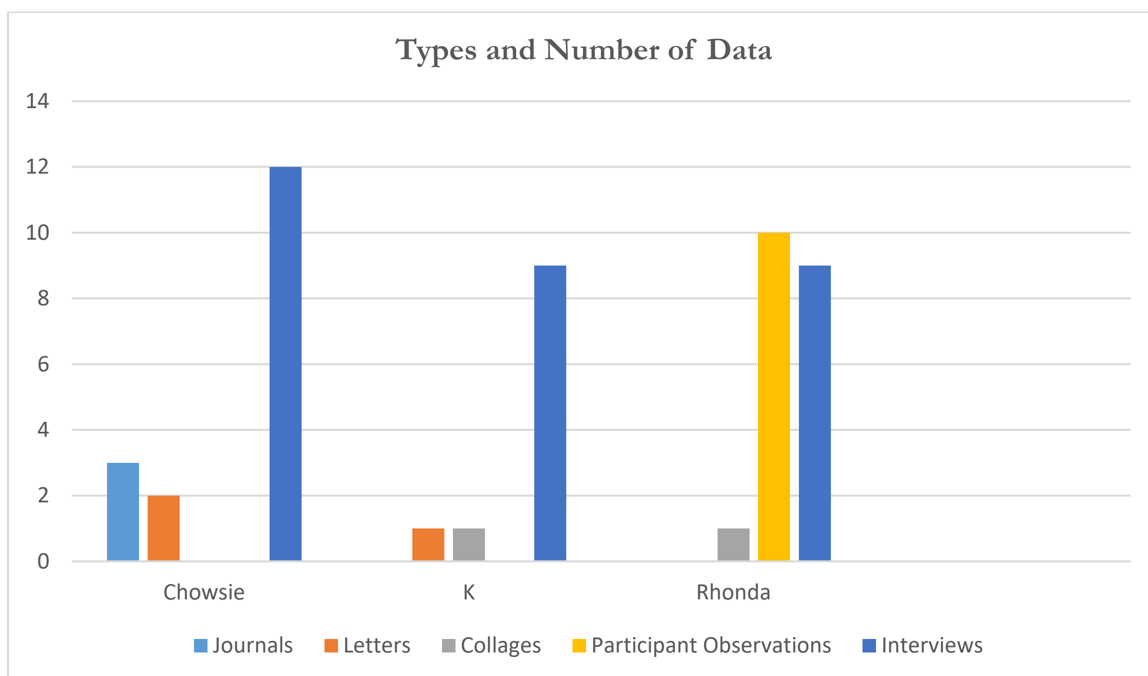
Rhonda

At the time of the research study, Rhonda (pseudonym) was 50 years old and lived in an urban area in the Midwestern region of the United States.

Rhonda's interviews were like vessels in which she offered her experiences and stories so I could understand and appreciate the intersections of her life as a Caucasian woman, a pastoral spouse, mother, and Cradle Roll teacher, in the center of which was a silence created by a grief she found she could not meaningfully share. This grief was the loss of a child during a failed pregnancy, signified by the photograph of Rhonda's hands holding a white rose. Being silenced, resisting/talking back, and maintaining resilience are the dominant categories of the narrative of Rhonda's miscarriage, its aftermath, and her subsequent embodiment (Nieves, 2012) of hope in her teaching, which unfolded in our interviews as I reflected on her emotive way of speaking. I titled the stories representing these episodes to fully capture her voice: "Loss of My Angel," "New Pregnancy: 'It Was Hard to Let Go,'" and "Joy in Teaching."

Rhonda's storying as an interactive process provided a dynamic space in which she spoke freely and I listened, sometimes offering my own experiences as a way to reciprocate. Though she shared most of her storying orally, as she did not feel comfortable writing, she also created a collage which further demonstrated the resilience that emerged in our conversations. The literacy practice of letter-writing, which she had enacted soon after her pregnancy loss, also emerged in her data. All these facets of literacy, sharing, and listening, and Rhonda's reflections on her interactions with others as well as her letter-writing, were channels through which her stories flowed to be shared in my restorying of her experiences.

Figure. 1. Types and number of data for Chowsie, K, and Rhonda



Terms

Before addressing the women's stories and analysis, I offer some introductory terms and how they have been defined for discussion about the overall research study. Other terms will be addressed in the following sections. *Silence* is a term that I use to signify a space in which an individual is kept from speaking and being heard but which also may be used as a temporary haven for repositioning oneself in relation to others. *Agency* is a term I use to describe an individual's willpower and action taken to produce a particular result. *Intersectionality* is a term I adopted from Third Wave feminism to refer to the intersections among different social identities such as race, class, gender, and religion. *Women's expression* is a term I use to counter the version of silence as a fixed state that Women's Ways of Knowing presents and to describe women's diverse ways of "talking back" to others who seek to oppress them.

A Narrative Analysis of Silencing, Resistance/Talking Back, and Resilience Silencing

Silencing that prevents a woman from speaking up and sharing her experiences with others is a way of suppressing her "authentic voice" (Houston & Kramarae, 1991, p. 389). I define silencing as a practice that others enact to ignore or deny a person's perceptions and perspectives. In Chowsie's storying, two distinct kinds of silencing emerged. Physical silencing was imposed by others who literally forced Chowsie down through acts of violence against her body. The physical abuse she experienced from her parents and rapist when she was very young caused her to fear further repercussions should she tell others about the corporal punishments and rape she endured, and this fear caused a silencing of her story, a period when she did not story her experiences to others. Unlike the speaker in "The Yellow Wallpaper," whose end was self-destruction, Chowsie successfully leveraged agency from her story silencing by intentionally enacting behaviors and ways of talking back to those who had sought to control her voice. Her other stories, which included her experiences of teaching and building her shed, were ones she was able to share with others through the years. Thus, the story silencing related only to Chowsie's experiences of abuse at a time of vulnerability in her life. Specific examples of this physical muting and story silencing are discussed in the following sections.

Physical Silencing as a Catalyst for Story Silencing

These stories, which magnified the tensions of silencing, were locations of meaning construction (Alcoff, 1988). "The Rape" was such a story, which magnified the physical silencing Chowsie had experienced at the hands of one in whom she had placed trust: "He climbed in on the side. He pushed me over backwards and raped me. I hollered and he put his big ol', rough hand on my mouth and took me out to sea. He made me bleed. He broke my hymen." Rape is the epitome of patriarchal violence, with a more powerful individual exercising brutal physical control over a less powerful individual (hooks, 2015). As Chowsie testified in stark language, the rapist physically compelled Chowsie's silence during his forceful enactment of violence by overpowering her and invading her body. In the language she uses, Chowsie restories this act of violence which she suffered, but she does so not simply for the purpose of telling the story of a girl who lived through a traumatic experience. Her language is purposefully frank and therefore forceful, just as her rape was forceful. In her storying, both in her interview and in her journal writing, Chowsie spoke harshly, as if she were reliving the rough hand, the internal breakage, and the bleeding, in both oral and written language that can be considered a "language event" (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010, p. 40; Barton & Hamilton, 2000) in that Chowsie had used raw language to convey the deeper meaning of having one's body violently assaulted.

Hearing without Listening

In the episode "The Hard Pregnancy," which was the background story for K's tattoo, K described her husband's continued opposition to her decision after she became pregnant: "I was six weeks along. And I thought, he's my husband and he'll eventually fall in line with my plan. Um, but, no he didn't. He verbally abused me the entire time." K's husband held to his own perspective that their family was not financially stable to be able to have a third child and ignored K's perspective. In prevailing over his perspective, she evoked his retaliation in the form of verbal abuse, which, as hooks (2015) notes, can be a form of patriarchal violence. K's husband's response was an enactment of an ethic of domination, in this case over her emotions because he could not control her body. It was also an "unforced silence" (Kirkland, 2013, p. 35), an act of ignoring K's perspective. While he maintained his perspective, K also held to her own perspective of having the right to become pregnant despite their financial circumstance because it was her body that was involved, as a result of which her body became the site of contention. In following through with her decision, she faced continued opposition from her husband: "And during the pregnancy, um, I was told, um, you know, I was going to gain weight, and [my husband said] I'm not attracted to you. And it caused me to look down on myself, you know" (K, interview). The above passage shows K's experience of her husband's disparaging remarks as an attack on her identity and her meaning-making of the experience (Alcoff, 1988; Evans, 2003), in which she reflected on her husband's behavior and words as damaging. K's meaning-making also led her to act in ways that were reactionary to her husband's accusations so as to prove him wrong: "Everything that I could do, because you know, I wanted to prove to myself and him that, you know, I'm not going to gain a whole bunch of weight, you know, during this pregnancy I'm going to stay active, blah blah blah." K's storying of this issue of body image during her pregnancy speaks of a culturally constructed narrative of the need for weight management because of seeing "flesh as a problem" (hooks, 2015, p. 35), to which K subscribed uncritically, indicating her deference to his and to the socially condoned perspective while self-silencing any alternative perspective she might have held regarding her body during pregnancy.

Story Silencing

Rhonda's internalization of others' silencing, which resulted from their resistance or inability to acknowledge her storying as she intended it and sympathize, denied her the opportunity to talk about her experience with others. Rhonda reflected on times she attempted talking with her mother:

> What made it really hard for me was when like, even when my mom was supportive and stuff, um … she did tell me, she said, "You know, I don't really know what to say to you because I never lost a baby."

Like her mother, others in her family seemed incapable of empathizing because they had not experienced a miscarriage: "You know, my mom had never lost a baby. My mother-in-law had never lost a baby. My sister-in-law had never lost a baby." Even more than their inability to put themselves in Rhonda's situation, the language in their responses showed a lack of active listening (Uttal, 1990) and sincere questioning that would demonstrate some effort to try to understand and value her experience even though it was outside their own. Rhonda recalled another instance when she felt silenced, this time by her hair stylist's apparent fear of sharing her experience:

> And I was surprised because like I had gone in to get my hair done like a week afterwards and it was actually one of the first things that the girl who had been doing my hair – she noticed that I wasn't wearing a maternity top because that was like the first thing I did as soon as I got the pregnancy test. And so she was almost afraid to even talk to me about what was going on. It was like she just knew

> something was wrong. It was really weird because I had that response from her. She was like really afraid to share anything with me.

As previously shown in K's story, others sometimes have difficulty listening and responding to one's difficult experiences, as was the case when Rhonda's stylist was afraid to open conversation about Rhonda's loss. As noted earlier, following the results of her pregnancy test, Rhonda had come to the salon to have her hair styled by the same woman, with whom she enthusiastically shared her news, but after her miscarriage, she felt as though she should not to talk to others about her loss. This self-censoring speaks to women's common practices of keeping their conversations acceptable on the surface, not allowing painful personal experiences to emerge (Uttal, 1990). As an "identifying event" (Hardy & Kukla, 2015, p. 107), Rhonda's miscarriage was an incident that was perplexing because it was difficult to make sense of the loss and so caused her to question herself. Also, Rhonda's empowering narrative of a woman who was so happily pregnant that she had openly shared the event with others had transitioned into an empty narrative of a woman whose pregnancy had failed and had nothing to show from the loss except no longer wearing maternity clothes. This noticeable difference, which signified an unhappy event, made others hesitant to approach the subject, which resulted in a story silencing. Different situations and individuals in Rhonda's life hindered her storying in different ways. Rhonda reflected on how family members silenced her by being silent themselves:

- "He [Rhonda's husband] doesn't talk about it too much, because I don't think he wants to stir up any emotions and then deal with that."
- "And my mom, of course, I know she knows that I'm hurt about it, but I mean, she doesn't bring it up or talk about it."

Though Rhonda's husband and mother did not act in ways that prevented her from speaking, their avoidance behaviors discouraged her from talking naturally from her own perspective of having suffered trauma and loss and thus suppressed her "authentic voice" (Houston & Kramarae, 1991, p. 389).

Resistance/Talking Back

Resistance through Embodying the Artifact of Trauma

Women often resist by talking back as a way of responding to dehumanizing actions against themselves, their identities, and their stories. Despite Chowsie's facing silencing as a victim of physical violence, she was able to story her resistance/talking back in behavior which was powerfully symbolic. One of the most potent examples of this resistance/talking back was her enactment of a routine of normalcy while projecting the trauma she had experienced through her clothing: "And I wore the little dress the next day and I hemmed it and sewed it and those were the days when you wore a dress to school." By mending and wearing the very dress in which she had been raped, Chowsie symbolically enacted self-repair while publicly displaying an artifact of the trauma, which negated the silencing (Uttal, 1990) and talked back to those who would judge her, even though they were not aware of either the rape or her resistance to its effects. Chowsie's wearing of the dress outwardly demonstrated adherence to the cultural norm of the time, "those were the days when you wore a dress to school" (Chowsie) but more deeply represented resistance to the cultural norm that marginalized women's perspectives (Tong, 2014).

Resistance through Embodying the Tattoo

Women tend to place tattoos where they can easily be concealed (Fisher, 2002; Horne et al., 2007). K resisted this practice by conspicuously displaying her tattoo on her left upper arm. When I asked how

others reacted to the tattoo, she stated, "Tattoos are conversation starters, they can tell a lot about a person." The tattoo mediated her story by allowing K to talk about painful experiences that others were likely to find difficult to hear: "When most people ask about a tattoo, they aren't expecting to hear a sad story." She described how this story had created discomfort in conversations: "When I tell people about my tattoo, they get embarrassed. Embarrassed that they have somehow caused me more pain by making me explain or relive what happened." However, speaking openly about her life and the part of it represented by her tattoo provided a way for her to externalize the trauma she experienced (Leader, 2015). Also, having an elaborate tattoo on prominent display was a way for her to talk back to those in her life who have sought to deny her self-image and control what she did with her body. Stengle (2003) has argued that women may acquire tattoos to "regain control over their bodies" (p. 22).

K's tattoo may thus be interpreted as her way of visually storying a life that, in Symington's (2004) words, comprises "multiple, layered identities derived from social relations, history and the operation of structures of power" (p. 2).

Resistance through Jaded Language

During one interview in which she described the language she tended to use when she reflected on her experiences, Rhonda used the word *jaded,* which suggests an element of cynicism in her responses to others' dismissal of her agency and a degree of self-irony in looking back on her behaviors. In the *Urban Dictionary* (2017), "jaded" is defined as having a feeling of overwhelming emotional numbness after having experienced negativity. Just as Rhonda's enacted behaviors in the hospital were ways of resisting others' silencing, the very language she used to story those behaviors showed what she viewed as her jaded resistance in talking back both to the medical staff members and to others in her life who had privileged their own perspectives and ignored hers. Rhonda's jaded language was a language of power (Fairclough, 2001) because it mediated the emotional numbness she felt to describe pacifying practices that were enacted by others. Though I might have found other words to appropriately describe Rhonda's resistance, I also use the word "jaded" in this writing to honor her authentic voice. Rhonda's jaded words (bolded below) unapologetically described her experience of medical care while in the hospital:

- "'I want to make sure that you're in P.O. [having no more medication to take] after midnight,' and all that good junk"
- "That to me was a crock"
- "He patronized me with the tests and all that"
- "But at least the doctor did pacify me"
- "Maybe it's because they just knew I was so much of a basket case, they just wanted to knock me out and get started"

Through her storying and derisive language, Rhonda was able to convey the frustration she had felt with efforts to calm her into compliance (Kirkland, 2013). Expressions such as "patronized me" and "pacify me" are jaded phrases of talking back that identify Rhonda's self-knowledge of having been in a powerless position as a patient who had little authority over her medical care. These, along with others, "all that good junk" and "knock me out" are jaded as well and reveal her own perspective on the medical team's effort to hurry her through the process of acknowledging her miscarriage and undergoing the D&C.

Resilience

Chowsie's Resilience

Chowsie's storying revealed not only her resistance to physical and story silencing, but also her meaningful resilience and the values she gleaned from her experiences. The story of "The Quirt" revealed the meaning she had made and the strength she drew from her father's physical punishments. Chowsie told the story of her father's cool wrath when she inadvertently contaminated a bucket of milk, as he calmly finished the chore he was doing, then beat her mercilessly with a leather strap, and finally ordered her to complete her work. This story was told not in self-pity or complaint but as an element in her development into the person she had become: "This kind of raising got me set for life. I've always accepted and faced any issue that may and did occur in life. Didn't fear anything as a wilting violet would say. I did my best to do it." Chowsie's meaning making from her experiences with enduring her father's physical punishments related to her capacity for hard work. In the interviews, Chowsie admitted that her life on the farm, where she had been perceived more as a farm hand than as a child, had been difficult, but she had gleaned from it the value of being able to work hard and help her family. This robust value, which was the opposite of the fear of a "wilting violet," became a mantra that carried her through "any issue that may and did occur" in her life and was still strong in her storying of the work she accomplished on her property.

K's Resilience

Regarding K's purposes for her tattoo, permanence and nonpermanence emerged as subthemes of resilience. In 2015, eight years after A had passed away, I asked K to create a collage. As part of the collage, she wrote a letter to A in the present tense, addressing him as he was before his death. The letter also alludes to a future in which she will not forget him:

> Which because that ... You know I am an atheist, and I don't just believe like how I was raised that I will see him again, so that is my memory of, of him. Is, is that ... you know, that he was here. So that's basically the reason for the tattoo. Kind of how, kind of sort of, um, to kind of keep that memory with me so I never forget, you know, you know, forget him.

Carrying her son on her body as a visual representation of her experiences was a way for K to keep his existence permanent as an absent presence (Maddrell, 2013). Her belief, as she stated, was that she would not see her son again, so the tattoo enabled her to stay connected to his memory: "I get to look at them [K's living sons] every day, but I don't get to look at him [A] every day, so the tattoo is the kind of ... is the memory of him." As Stengle (2003) posits, wearing a tattoo can be a memorializing practice to connect spiritually with someone who has passed away. K noted, "I wanted to do something kind of permanent to keep his memory alive." The visual storying of her tattoo, a marker/commemorator of a life event (Fisher, 2002; Wohlrab et al., 2007) helped K to commemorate A's life, connect with A, and transition through the crucial event of his death. Her storying was a way to heal; as she stated: "Telling people about my tattoo is actually therapy for me in a way."

Sharing her story with others was also a way for K to help others. As a mediator of her storying, her tattoo became a way for her to nonverbally empathize with others' difficulties by testifying to her own troubling experiences. In "Forever My Angel: Carrying My Son, Carrying My Story," K reflected on what her tattoo and storying do: "There are young mothers out there that have three kids, two or three kids and she's young, in her 20s, early 20s and she's doing a lot, there's a lot on her shoulders. You can do it, you can get through it. Never give up," which was her own version of this mantra of resilience that she offered as a testament to her own experience of pushing through challenges. K's willingness to story her experiences for others allowed her to use her body as a social and political

space (Pitts, 2003; Woods, 2012). By talking with others about her experiences when they asked about her tattoo, she could explore tensions related to sociocultural and patriarchal pressures, such as others' efforts to control her female body and to silence her story.

Rhonda's Resilience

Collins (1991) reminds us that "People are rarely powerless, no matter how stringent the restrictions on our lives" (p. 110). Though Rhonda's ability to story her pregnancy loss with family and friends was limited by their unwillingness to allow her to share her experiences authentically, she was able to share with others. She described one opportunity that allowed her to talk openly about her loss:

> One night, I was really depressed, so, um … and the only thing I could find was a suicide hotline. And I called them, and I said, "I'm not really suicidal, I'm just really upset." And it was a guy that answered the phone, which I was kind of like, "I don't know." Understanding this guy, he was actually very good, and when I was sharing my thoughts and stuff, his thing was, "It sounds like you have not really come to terms with the one pregnancy, and you really need to do that, because you've got this other pregnancy going on."

The man's listening and healing advice stimulated Rhonda's writing to her baby:

> I don't remember now exactly how long it was, but it was, um … on notebook paper, and it was several sheets. And I kind of just wrote to the baby about how much I had wanted to get, um, pregnant, how excited. It was a planned pregnancy. What I was planning on it being named. Plans for the future. I mean, I just kind of talked like it was here, and, um, how I was really, you know, sorry that things hadn't worked out. Um, and then I shared the thing that it was still my hope that we would get reunited.

This passage illustrates that writing to her baby was itself an act of resiliency, which might have been difficult to carry out immediately following her miscarriage, especially given others' lack of support. However, the opportunity to talk with someone who listened and gave positive feedback allowed her to come to terms with her loss and honor its significance, as expressed in such comments as "how much I had wanted to get pregnant" and "It was a planned pregnancy," which show the hope Rhonda had invested in that new life and which had survived as a hope for the future in which she and the child would be reunited. In the space and privacy of letter-writing, Rhonda was able to freely inscribe the meaning of her loss without others attempting to manipulate or quiet her perspective. She was also able to write about her belief, despite others' distinctly opposite views, that she would see her child someday.

Findings

This study was premised on the principle that women's storying can be an important literacy practice through understanding how women from diverse backgrounds use storying as a space to make sense of their crucial experiences. The findings that are discussed in the following sections relate to how each woman was able to use stories for mediating her crucial experiences with silencing and how the stories exemplified each of the women's individual experiences.

Silencing

Physical silencing emerged as others' actions of physically restraining a woman's movement and voice during acts of violence against her body, revealed in Chowsie's storying of her rape and parents' corporal punishments.

The silencing of hearing without listening occurred as others overrode the woman's attempt to express her experience by asserting their own opinions without regard for her perceptions or

perspectives. To frame this kind of silencing, I use the narrator's perspective from Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 1892 story, "The Yellow Wallpaper," in which a woman suffers from depression and experiences silencing and eventually psychological disintegration because of her husband's ignoring of her emotional needs. The contrast between the narrator of "The Yellow Wallpaper" and my participants' own experiences is that the women in my study were resilient and overcame others' control rather than succumbing to their situations. Hearing without listening occurred in K's and Rhonda's cases, in which each woman's perspective on her pregnancy fell on the deaf ears of relatives and others, who listened only to themselves. K's storying revealed hearing without listening when her husband and other family members privileged their own perspectives related to K's belief system and pregnancy.

Chowsie's storying did not reveal an episode of others' hearing without listening, as her fear of consequences prevented her from even attempting to tell others about her rape and punishments, resulting in a period of silence.

The different kinds of silencing that the women experienced, however, eventually impelled resistance, and they converted the silencing into agency as they found ways to talk back in diversely subversive ways, which will be discussed in the next section.

Resistance/Talking Back

By "talking back" (hooks, 1990, pp. 207-211) and through choosing to speak about their lives, women powerfully resist oppression (hooks; 1990; Stewart, 1994). The women participants in the study were able to talk back through their implicit and explicit literacy practices. One way was through language. Each of the women in this study used unapologetic language as a way of talking back to the silencing she had faced.

The women's use of uncensored language that authentically communicated their difficult life experiences (Lather & Smithies, 1997) was a resistance to the silencing they had experienced – silencing that sought to discount their independence and capabilities as women. Along with their use of language, the women's behaviors were often acts of resistance and demonstrated how each leveraged agency from the silencing and embodied their experiences.

Memorialization (Hardy & Kukla, 2015; Otte, 2007) emerged across all three cases as an act of talking back. Rhonda's actions of first writing to her deceased child and then collecting her hospital items (the hospital band and other items) and enclosing them in a checkbook box were acts of recognizing and naming her experience (Hardy & Kukla, 2015; Pahl & Rowsell, 2010) of the life that had existed within her at one time. The other women's memorializing also emerged as ways of talking back. K's embodiment (Nieves, 2012) of her son's existence in a tattoo and her letter-writing to him were ways in which she memorialized her experiences and talked back, revealing her harsh backstory. Chowsie's wearing of her defiled dress the day after her rape and letter-writing to the rapist memorialized her traumatic experience and were acts of unabashedly talking back not only to the rapist, but to a culture that often ignored women's voices and minimalized acts of violence against them.

The women's behaviors that emerged from their storying revealed the different values (Bye, 2005; McGill, 2011; Thiel-Stern et al., 2011) that each claimed, and these were connected to their manner of resistance. Chowsie's values of women being as capable of doing valuable work as men and of having the personal resources for "making do" were demonstrated in her storying and symbolized in her actions of independently building structures on her property with materials she scavenged or had on hand. These values were the mantras of her daily life, as demonstrated when she continued to

use the phrase "making do" in our private conversations after the interviews. K's value of husbands treating their wives respectfully was a strong thread woven throughout her storying of becoming pregnant and her experiences during the pregnancy. Rhonda's values of life beginning at conception and the importance of nurturing children's knowledge and capabilities emerged throughout her storying of her pregnancy loss, the aftermath of the loss, and her teaching.

Each woman's storying narrated her intentional resistance to the silencing that is grounded in social and economic marginalization and testified to the profoundly vital nature of her lived experiences. K's strategic way of talking back as an African American woman who had survived the emotional traumas of a stressful pregnancy and the death of her child enabled her to resist silencing by talking in ways that would compel others to listen (hooks, 1990; Goldberger, 1996). Chowsie's talking back in both stories and accomplishments were also her strategic voicing of herself as a Caucasian woman with an underprivileged background, who had survived multiple traumas and always proudly provided for herself. As a Caucasian woman who had been silenced by the expectations of her role as a clergyman's wife, Rhonda talked back to voice the significance of her miscarriage and the tragedy of her lost child in defiance of those wishing to reduce her experience to a medical event rather than a personal experience. From this research I conclude that women resist silencing through dynamic ways of "talking back" as hooks (1990) meant the phrase, as evidenced in how the study participants used storying as a space to make sense of their critical experiences.

Resilience

Galvan (2006) describes resilience as a "going beyondness" (p. 163), that is, going beyond survival to achieve joy. Gonzalez (2006) provides an explanation of resilience that resonates with my conceptualization, as she states that it is "the enduring will to survive, and the refusal to be defeated by life" (p. 12).

To become resilient, women first become vulnerable by disclosing what has been suppressed or hidden in their lives to share and receive experiences and perspectives with others (Anzaldua, 1990; Minh-ha, 1990). As Minh-ha (1990) posits, becoming resilient involves an individual's willingness to connect with others, which may entail the release of hatred and past grievances, and requires being active agents in their own lives (Anzaldua, 1990).

Just as women are agents in their own storying (Brown, 2013), they are also agents in their own resilience. For the purposes of this research study, I define resilience as the will to persevere and prevail in the face of obstacles and setbacks, and in the context of this study, specifically to a woman's determination to survive and succeed in relation to experiences and interactions she has had in her life that have allowed her to share her story. The following subthemes explicate how each woman expressed resilience in her storying.

Story Sharing

For Rhonda, resilience first emerged through when she shared her story of pregnancy loss with the telephone counselor. She had attempted to share her experiences with family members and others in her life, but to no avail as they manipulated the conversations. However, when she was able to finally speak about her loss with the counselor, she felt empowered to write a letter to her deceased child in which she affirmed the hope she had had for a future with that child. K's sharing also emerged after a time of being verbally silent. She felt compelled to honor her and her son's lives by inscribing his story visibly her body, where it served as a "conversation starter" that also invited others' emotional expressions as they responded to her backstory. As testaments to her endurance, Chowsie's storying was also concretely shared when she described wearing the defiled and mended dress as an artifact of

surviving the recent assault on her body and when she displayed the structure (the "ole shed") she had built with her own hands on her own property.

Hope

As the women in my study storied their experiences, their indomitable will not only to survive but to rise up was apparent, and through their literacy practices I was able to understand each one's hopes for her future. K's hope emerged through the embodiment (Nieves, 2012) of her tragedy in her tattoo, which communicated to others, "I feel like I have a story to tell." Her reflection on how she storied her experience in her tattoo revealed the hope that she wanted to impart to other young women experiencing the responsibilities of motherhood: "There are young mothers out there that have three kids, two or three kids and she's young, in her 20s, early 20s and she's doing a lot, there's a lot on her shoulders. You can do it; you can get through it. Never give up."

K's hope was also illuminated by the theme of permanence that emerged from her letter to A, her deceased son, and in the permanence of her love for him symbolized by the indelible inscription upon her body, which is discussed in the next subsection.

Hope emerged as a theme in the latter portion of Rhonda's storying as she expressed her joy in being a Cradle Roll teacher. The triangulation of her interviews and my participant observations with her collage depicted her faith in children's knowledge and capabilities juxtaposed with adults' discrediting of children's abilities, and how teaching children about God and a future in Heaven related to her hopes for seeing her deceased child again.

Chowsie's hope also emerged, as K's hope did, through sharing her story and knowledge with others such as her neighbors in Taco Town and with family members. Also, like Rhonda, her hope took the form of investment in the younger generation. Her nephew Calvin (pseudonym), whom she taught to build structures basic to daily living, had been an apprentice through the years. Toward the end of my data collecting, Chowsie told of a project in which, under her guidance, Calvin had successfully obtained materials through negotiation and had independently drawn up the plans and built a structure.

Permanence and Impermanence

Permanence and impermanence emerged differently in the women's storying. For K, permanence directly related to her tattoo, which was a permanent emblem of her son on her body. Impermanence directly related to K's belief that there would not be a future with her son. For Rhonda, permanence directly related to her hospital artifacts and the remembered letter she had written to her deceased child. The hospital artifacts were permanent reminders of her loss but also of her hope for seeing her child in the future. Impermanence also related to the temporality of the physical existence of her child and others' fleeting care for her loss. For Chowsie, permanence was enshrined in the "ole shed" as a permanent signifier of her survival and will to independently thrive.

From this research, it can be concluded that women's resilience is often chorded to and demonstrated through their sharing of their stories with others. Through their storying, the women's situatedness was apparent, but their resilience, which was shown to be socially and culturally constructed by their interactions and experiences with others, glowed.

Summarizing the Three Categories

Because data was drawn from different media, including talk, writing, art, and recordings, different literacy aspects emerged across the data. Table 1 below shows these in relation to the participants' overall narratives, as well as the kinds of silencing each woman experienced, the evidence of their resistance/talking back in their stories, and the subthemes that demonstrated the resilience of each.

Table 1. Stories, Categories, and Literacy Aspects

Participant	Narrative	Silencing	Resisting/Talking Back through Literacy Practices	Resilience
Chowsie	Narrative of survival from rape, corporal punishments, intimidation, and gender and socioeconomic marginalization	-physical -hearing without listening -story	-wearing the artifact of trauma -journaling -letter to the rapist (remembered) -letter to the researcher -audial narration	-Rising Up -Teaching Others
K	Narrative of survival from emotional abuse, intimidation, and gender and religious marginalization	-hearing without listening -story	-embodying the tattoo -letter to her baby -collage -audial narration	-Rising Up -College Graduation
Rhonda	Narrative of survival from pregnancy loss and gender, religious, and social status marginalization	-hearing without listening -story	-letter to her baby (remembered) -collage -audial narration	-Rising Up -Joy in Teaching -Lactation Consultant

Storying is a Literacy

Storying in the form of narrating experiences orally, in writing, and in nonlinguistic modes is a literacy practice in that it is a construction of social meaning to be communicated and understood. In this process, smaller stories converge to become bigger stories (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010). From the research, participants' smaller stories that emerged into larger stories were able to be succinctly understood. Through storying, participants reflected on their experiences and their literacy practices surfaced in the form of oral narration, journal and letter writing, collages, and self-styled body art. The specific stories, which captured the women's crucial experiences, became larger stories of experiences with silencing and of their refutation of it by finding ways of talking back to others through powerfully intentional behaviors.

A Literacy that Matters: Storying as Artifactual

Like artifacts, stories are embedded in daily lives (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010), reveal individuals' ways of living and being (Hauf, 2010; LeCompte & Ludwig, 2007), are preserved through being told and retold (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010), and humanize our conditions. Therefore, I posit that stories are indeed artifacts because they exist as archives of individuals' ways of living and being and their personal and cultural histories (Lee, 2012). Sometimes these narratives reflect histories of oppression and silencing

that individuals have faced, how they have resisted (Collins, 1991) and talked back to others, and ways in which they have achieved agency over their voices and bodies (Tong & Botts, 2014).

How the women's stories in this study can be considered artifacts (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010) is discussed in the next subsections on stories' embeddedness, connected practices, and habitus.

Embeddedness of Stories

First, participants' stories were not separate from their current experiences or recalled only for the purposes of this research but were embedded in their daily lives. Chowsie's stories were internally embedded in her remembering of her experiences of physical silencing and had been told to others throughout the years, and they were externally embodied in structures she independently built on her property. K's stories were embedded in the script and image of her tattoo, which mediated the backstory of her pregnancy, the emotional silencing she experienced, her son's death, and how she had been able to use her tattoo as a springboard to talk with others about her experiences. They had also been embedded in her relationships as she attempted to tell others about her marriage and pregnancy difficulties. Rhonda's stories were embedded in her visceral remembering of her pregnancy loss and in her attempts to story her pregnancy loss and hospital experience with family and friends. Though she faced silencing as a pastoral spouse and through others ignoring her perspectives, she was able to use this silencing to strengthen her own stance before revoicing her experience and talking back in language that mocked her hospital experience.

Artifactual Literacy Practices

As artifacts, the women's stories shared in this research illustrated the connected literacy practices of journal- and letter-writing, oral retelling of stories, and composition of nonverbal texts. K's collage and letter written to her deceased son, as extended literacy practices, involved her choice of positive symbolic images of motherhood and use of emotive language to story her experiences. Rhonda's talk about her hospital artifacts and the letter she wrote to her lost child were literacy practices in which she powerfully located, named, and memorialized her experiences. Though Rhonda provided no written artifacts specifically for this research study, her prior literacy practice of writing to her child along with her storying revealed her habitus of using silencing as agency.

Story Habitus

As artifacts, each woman's stories helped to reveal her habitus (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010), or ways of being and living her experiences. As ways of living and being were uncovered, the stories also revealed how each woman navigated issues she confronted related to others' comments or perspectives imposed on her body as a social and political space (Pitts, 2003; Woods, 2012). Chowsie's stories, for example, revealed her lived experience as a Caucasian woman living and thriving as a survivor despite the disparaging narrative society constructed for her as a woman living below the poverty line amidst challenging circumstances. K's stories as artifacts revealed her habitus of living as an African American woman from a working-class background who overcame challenges and asserted her voice over efforts to silence it. Her stories as artifacts also foregrounded K's lived reality as a survivor and woman who rose up and pressed on despite others' oppositions and detractions. Through the years, her tattoo continued to serve as an invitation for others to hear her stories and tell their own. Rhonda's stories powerfully brought to light her lived reality as a Caucasian woman situated in privilege but silenced because of her former position as a pastoral spouse who was also a pregnancy loss survivor and a woman who unashamedly talked back in different ways to those who sought to silence her story.

The women were able to talk with others about their experiences, and their stories exemplified the kinds of tensions related to sociocultural and patriarchal pressures as others attempt to control women's bodies through physical force, through stereotypical narratives that minimize women's abilities to maintain independent lives, through coercive decision-making, and ultimately through silencing their stories and thus their perspectives. Through their linguistic habits or ways speaking about their lives, their storying created a sharing space through which a trajectory of hope flowed, gleaming vibrantly. Through the language, images, behaviors, and embodiments (Nieves, 2012) they used to story their experiences, the women showed their resilience and strength to move forward while honoring their past struggles and triumphs.

Implications for Practice

This research adds to the growing body of research on Women's Ways of Knowing and storying and suggests a need for additional research to understand more fully women's experiences in diverse cultures worldwide to capture a comprehensive view. I also recommend research on all adults' storying, men's as well as women's, to capture a full spectrum of life experiences and not lose sight of the reciprocity among individuals. As Freire (2004) suggests, "Just as it is a mistake to get stuck in the local, losing our vision of the whole, so also it is a mistake to waft above the whole, renouncing any reference to the local whence the whole has emerged" (p. 87). Thus, I envision exploring storying from a global perspective as well as a practice that can benefit different individuals who story in their own communities, schools, and homes.

With regard specifically to women's diverse experiences with trauma and tensions, the findings from this research have broad implications, one of which is to attend to alternative forms and novel elements of storying. To deeply understand the histories of others' struggles (Anzaldua, 1990), we must go beyond just listening to their narratives and, as Pahl and Rowsell (2010) argue, take notice of the artifacts that are embedded in them, especially in stories of tensions and opposition that have directly impacted their lives. For example, I argue that adult learners' bodily artifacts are embedded in their stories and need to be more carefully understood and honored.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study's goal was to investigate how women from diverse backgrounds used storying as a space to make sense of their critical experiences with silencing, resistance/talking back, and resilience. The data collected to address this question were both narrative and artifactual. Though the results are meaningful, there are some limitations. Firstly, I had known the participants for many years as kin, friend, and/or fellow church member, which might have affected data collection and interpretation. On the other hand, my longstanding friendship with each of the women could have enhanced my position as a trusted listener and encouraged her to share to the degree that she did, thereby enriching the data. Secondly, this study was not longitudinal, and the established timeline allowed for capturing only a small segment of the participants' storying. Lastly, I had insider knowledge of many of the tensions that emerged in the women's storying, which caused me to not fully distance myself from the research, but again, this position allowed me privilege as an insider.

Longitudinal studies related to women's storying could allow more varied data to be collected that might reveal how stories evolve over time. Future studies might also explore the critical experiences of women in different age groups, such as female adolescents, whose storying connected to trauma or harsh experiences is not always welcomed in the classroom or other public settings.

Conclusion

This research has confirmed that women use storying as a space to make sense of their crucial experiences, specifically with their experiences of being silenced, and ways in which they have resisted/talked back to others' silencing and have become resilient to rise up from their oppressive experiences. The women in this study were able to narrate their experiences of survival and rising up, even amidst opposition, while confronting the others in their lives, societal and individual, who sought to silence their voices. Thus, the study adds to the growing body of knowledge of women's storying by affirming it as a literacy practice in its varying narrative modes and as artifactual in its preservation of meaningful markers of a life journey. It is the hope that this research helps bring this knowledge into further discussions within academia and the research community and ignite expanded inquiry on what women's storying is and does.

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I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of Chowsie.

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University Students' Demotivation in Learning Second Languages: The Case of Australian Universities

Giuseppe D'Orazzi

Abstract

Prior studies report a tendency of university students in Australia to quit their beginner level second language (L2) courses at an early stage (Martín et al., 2016; Nettelbeck et al., 2007). Demotivational patterns are meta-analyzed to understand what hampers the interest in learning French, German, Italian and Spanish of continuing students, discontinuing students, and quitters over one year of studies at Australian universities. Such a distinction across categories of students is offered in line with Martín et al.'s (2016) research. Demotivators are structured on three levels of analysis drawing on Gruba et al.'s (2016) and The Douglas Fir Group's (2016) frameworks, which encapsulate three levels of analysis, specifically micro, meso and macro. Findings suggest that beginner L2 students in Australia are demotivated by all three levels of analysis in very dynamic and interchangeable ways. Students were found to concurrently experience very different degrees of demotivation over time.

Keywords: L2 learning demotivation, L2 learning motivation, monolingualism, multilingualism, Australian university, English dominant language.

Introduction

Australian universities are witnessing a decrease in enrollments for second language (L2) courses (Martín et al., 2016). Beginner level L2 students, more than other groups of students, experience a drop in their motivation at a very early stage of their L2 learning process (Nettelbeck et al., 2007; Palmieri, 2019). This article reports on the findings of empirical research conducted to discover patterns behind student demotivation, following Thorner and Kikuchi's (2020) definition that "demotivation describes learners who were once motivated but have lost their motivation" (p. 368).

Baldwin (2019) argues that the multiple policies introduced by the Australian government "have enhanced and strengthened the significance of languages in Australia's need for a linguistically competent population." However, she urges "future research into student motivation and satisfaction

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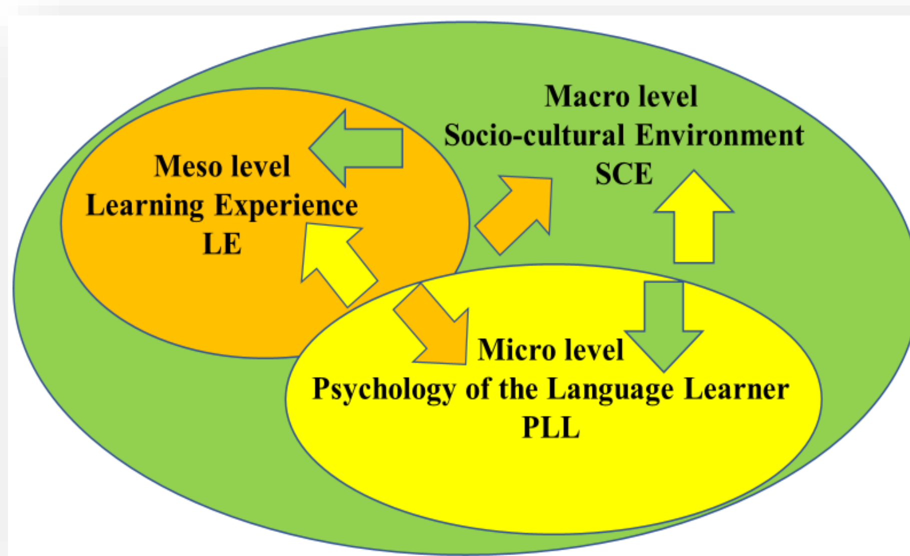
regarding language learning" in Australia (p. 212). As a result, this article aims to understand what demotivates students when learning L2s at the university level within the Australian context, since L2 attrition is "a matter of national concern" (Nettelbeck et al., 2007, p. 27).

Since research participants are embedded in an environment dominated by the current world lingua franca (see also Lanvers, 2017; Lanvers & Chambers, 2020; Ushioda, 2017), this article highlights which contextual components hamper student motivation in learning French, German, Italian and Spanish in the monolingual and at the same time multicultural context where students are embedded (e.g., Lo Bianco, 2010; Hajek & Slaughter, 2014). Psychological and cognitive responses to the L2 learning process are expected to interfere with students' goals to become L2 speakers. Such dynamics are encapsulated in the formal learning environment where teachers and lesson plans might concurrently affect student motivation.

Literature Review

A copious number of studies have been published on L2 learning demotivation. Two main views have been followed by researchers in exploring L2 student demotivation in recent decades. Traditional studies on demotivation focus on the negative experiences reported by students mainly within the L2 formal learning environment, i.e., in an L2 class (e.g., Kikuchi, 2015; Thorner & Kikuchi, 2020). More recently, the detrimental role of negative emotions has been explored when learning an L2 (e.g., Gkonou et al., 2017; Teimouri, 2018). Features from the two views are integrated in this study to consider multiple factors which are interconnected in multidirectional and dynamic relationships in line with the Complex Dynamic Systems theory (cf. Hiver & Papi, 2020). For the purpose of this study, three factors have been analyzed based on the results of a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) (see methods). Each factor represents a level of analysis drawing upon Gruba et al.'s (2016) research which distinguishes the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis (see also Gayton, 2018; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). The three factors have been named according to their focus, as shown in Figure 1 and presented in the following sections.

Figure 1. The three-level model



The Psychology of the Language Learner (PLL) at the micro level draws on Dörnyei's (2005) work, which includes variables related to students' psychological reactions to the L2 learning process and their cognitive capacities. The Learning Experience (LE) at the meso level is part of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009; 2020) and "involves situated motives that relate to the immediate learning environment, and includes attitudes towards classroom processes" (Csizér, 2020, p. 73). The Sociocultural Environment (SCE) at the macro level draws upon Ushioda's (2009) "person-in-context" construct and investigates the role of context on students' lack of interest in learning L2s in Australia. The arrows in Figure 1 illustrate the multidirectional and dynamic interconnection between all three factors at the three levels of analysis.

The Psychology of the Language Learner (PLL) Factor at the Micro Level

The PLL supports the central assumption that students' psychology and cognitive abilities may have a demotivating effect on them. The literature tends to agree that lack of self-confidence and negative emotions contribute to the decline of motivation (cf. Thorne & Kikuchi, 2020; Zhang, 2007). Four subcomponent categories of demotivators have been considered for the PLL factor at the micro level, as presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Categories of demotivators belonging to the PLL factor

Demotivators at the micro level The Psychology of the Language Learner			
Intrinsic Demotivation	Integrative Demotivation	Feared L2 Self	Performance Frustration

Intrinsic Demotivation encompasses students' lack of interest in learning an L2 over time (Ushioda, 1998). Sakai and Kikuchi (2009) define this category of demotivators as "learners' loss of interest" given to the lack of relevance of the L2 in the learner's life. A lack of desire to be in contact with L2-speaking people and be immersed in an L2-speaking environment was labelled as Integrative Demotivation, drawing upon prior studies on motivation (e.g., Gardner, 2001).

Fryer and Roger (2018) theorize the Feared L2 Self, which is the self that L2 learners fear that they will not achieve. Similarly, Śimśek and Dörnyei (2017) discovered that their research participants' motivation was affected by an Anxious Self. Their data reveal that anxious students experience anxiety in three different contexts: "language tasks, content areas and contextual conditions other than the traditional dichotomy of trait and state anxiety" (p. 65).

Students experience Performance Frustration when they lose their self-confidence and they are unsatisfied with their progress in learning an L2 (see also Cai & Zhu, 2012; Trang & Baldauf, 2007). As a result, a variety of negative emotions emerge. These have been the core of a wealth of recent literature. MacIntyre and Doucette (2010) focus on the role of fear and preoccupation on students' L2 learning performance, while Teimouri (2018) and Galmiche (2018) respectively explore how guilt and shame hamper L2 learners' motivation. Nonetheless, it appears that most of the studies on negative emotions focus on anxiety – a feeling of tension (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994) which might

"prevent some people from performing successfully" (Horwitz et al., 1986, p. 125). This correlation between learners' psychology and class performances was investigated by Dewaele (2013) and Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014). Gkonou et al. (2017) also published a series of empirical investigations to gain understanding into the role of anxiety in learning L2s. The four empirical studies presented in their book describe anxiety not only as "language anxiety" caused by the L2 learning process itself, but also as a reaction to class dynamics and strategies put in place by language teachers. Indeed, Dewaele et al. (2018) and Dewaele and Alfawzan (2018) distinguish between the role of foreign language anxiety and foreign language class anxiety, drawing on Horwitz et al. (1986). Horwitz (2017) specifies that there exist different types of L2 anxiety which are interconnected but at the same time different from each other: communication apprehension, foreign language classroom anxiety, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. For the purpose of this article, the first type of anxiety is part of the PLL factor at the micro level of analysis and the latter three constructs are included in the analysis of the LE factor at the meso level of analysis.

The Learning Experience (LE) Factor at the Meso Level

The literature furnishes a sizeable number of studies on demotivation related to the class environment, which is closely related to students' experience in learning an L2, as theorized by Dörnyei (2019). Among others, Falout et al. (2009), Falout and Maruyama (2004), Kikuchi (2015; 2019) and Kikuchi and Sakai (2009) undertook their research in Japan, Yadav and BaniAta (2013), Daif-Allah and Alsamani (2013) in Saudi Arabia, Khrishnan and Pathan (2013) in Pakistan; Moiinvaziri and Razmjoo (2013) in Iran, Ushioda (1998) in Ireland, Cai and Zhu (2012) in the US, Trang and Baldauf (2007) in Vietnam and Zhang (2007) cotemporaneously in the US, China, Germany, and Japan. In Australia, Nettelbeck et al. (2007) list numerous demotivators which influence students' attrition rates. They all have in common a strong emphasis on the role of the LE in student demotivation, which is explored here with three subcomponent categories of demotivators of the LE factor presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Categories of demotivators belonging to the LE factor

Demotivators at the meso level The Learning Experience		
Teacher-specific Demotivational Components	Course-specific Demotivational Components	Negative University Context

Teacher-specific Demotivational Components are related to the teaching style and approach of instructors, and the relationship between teacher and students (cf. Kikuchi, 2019; Yadav & BaniAta, 2013). Teachers' personalities and character also appeared to demotivate students in previous studies (Song & Kim, 2017). Course-specific Demotivational Components include the material chosen for a course, topics covered in class and the class environment (cf. Thorner & Kikuchi, 2020). Sakai and Kikuchi (2009) discovered four out of six categories related to the class environment, material, topics and approaches dominating an L2 class.

Negative University Context is related to the organization of language departments and universities in planning courses, distributing the number of students in a class and organizing extracurricular activities, i.e., social clubs and exchange programs overseas.

The Sociocultural Environment (SCE) Factor at Macro Level

The PCA detected two factors which were very similarly related to the macro context in which students live (see Appendix 1). As a result, the two factors were merged together with the attempt to explore the role of the society in which an L2 learning process takes place (see Methods section). Thus, this new factor was labelled the Sociocultural Environment (SCE) with the aim of underlining societal elements particularly belonging to Australia which might affect student motivation, since "classroom motivation is shaped by the broad social context" (Dörnyei, 2020, p. 43). The SCE factor encompasses three subcomponent categories of demotivators presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Categories of demotivators belonging to the SCE factor

Demotivators at the macro level The Sociocultural Environment		
Instrumental Demotivation	Negative Contextual Components	Negative Ought-to L2 Self

Instrumental Demotivation is caused by the scarce utility of an L2 in terms of job opportunities according to students' goals and career preferences. In Australia, the increasing pressure on students to learn Asian languages, given economic and diplomatic ties between Asian countries and Australia (cf. Baldwin, 2019; Lo Bianco, 2016; Mascitelli & O'Mahony, 2014), discourages some students from learning European languages. Such a prominent need to improve the learning of Asian languages was reiterated by the national government's *Australia in the Asian Century White Paper* (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012).

Negative Contextual Components include negative external influential variables such as the attitude of a society towards foreign languages and cultures, as underlined by Krishnan and Pathan (2013) in Pakistan and Moiinvaziri and Razmjoo (2014) in Iran. In the case of Australian society, the assumed and controversial English "monolingual mindset" (Baldwin, 2019; Clyne, 1991) and a sense of British loyalty (Ozolins, 1993) hamper students' interest in learning L2s. This is confirmed by studies in other English-speaking countries (cf. Ushioda, 2017) where an English-speaking environment might significantly demotivate students who do not enjoy enough exposure to the L2 and its related culture(s). The latter is also associated with the worldwide general lack of value attributed to L2s, given the strong obstructing role of English as lingua franca (Lanvers, 2017; Lanvers & Chambers, 2020; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017) and as dominant language in Australia (Hajek, 2001).

The Negative Ought-to L2 Self is experienced only when students' relatives, friends and peers explicitly develop a vision of the L2 learner who has no need to become a fluent speaker of a specific L2 (see also Dörnyei, 2009; Markus & Nurius, 1986). Previous research contributes to understanding that L2 students can be negatively influenced "by their friends, parents, or other people in their lives"

(Kikuchi, 2019, p. 158). Such a definition dissociates from the Anti-Ought-to L2 Self theorized by Thompson (2017), where learners are "motivated by striving to do the opposite of external expectations" (p. 484).

Research Questions

The focus of this article is to understand what demotivates beginner level university students when learning French, German, Italian and Spanish. To do so, two research questions (RQs) are raised:

- What demotivates beginner L2 students at Australian universities?
- How does demotivation differ across continuing students, discontinuing students and quitters?

Methods

A mixed-methods research approach is utilized to validate the initial hypothesis of the effect of multiple variables on student demotivation using three overlapping and interacting levels of analysis (see Figure 1 above). A self-reported online questionnaire was designed drawing upon Oakes's (2013) questionnaire on motivation and Sakai and Kikuchi's (2009) questionnaire on demotivation. Both questionnaires were partially modified to create a single, consistent tool to measure L2 student demotivation within Australian society in two different phases as part of a larger-scale study on motivation and demotivation (D'Orazzi, 2020). Such a questionnaire was later distributed via the online software Qualtrics to beginner students enrolled at the Group of Eight (Go8) Australian Universities.[1]

French, German, Italian and Spanish were chosen because they are historically the most widely taught European languages in Australia at the tertiary level (Baldwin, 2019) and they are offered at a beginner level in all Go8 universities.

A total of 719 students completed the questionnaire in the first semester of 2018. This first questionnaire included 51 five-point Likert scale items, 24 multiple choice questions, and four open-ended questions. Some of these students (*n* = 291) decided to complete a second questionnaire in the second semester of 2018. This second questionnaire encompassed the same 51 five-point Likert scale items included in the first questionnaire, 17 multiple-choice questions, and six open-ended questions. The link to the first online questionnaire was sent to L2 subject coordinators at the Go8 Australian universities, who invited their beginner-level students to fill it in. Students voluntarily provided their email address to be contacted for further phases of the research, i.e., a second questionnaire and interviews. After the end of each semester, individual interviews were administered (*n* = 37 and 25 respectively). Only students at the University of Melbourne were interviewed since the researcher was based at that university. Out of the 37 students who volunteered to be interviewed in the first semester, 12 students decided to discontinue their L2 learning process.

Derivation of Three Factors

Four factors were detected by a PCA with the statistical software SPSS using the responses provided by the 719 research participants to the first questionnaire's 51 five-point Likert scale items. A screen plot was first analyzed to understand which of the 51 items reached high Eigenvalue coefficients as presented in Appendix 2 (see Gómez, 2013). This suggested that items could be grouped into four main factors to reduce the dimensionality of such a large data set (cf. Jolliffe, 2002). Interpretation of the factors was based on considering the items with factor loadings greater than .40 (see also Sakai &

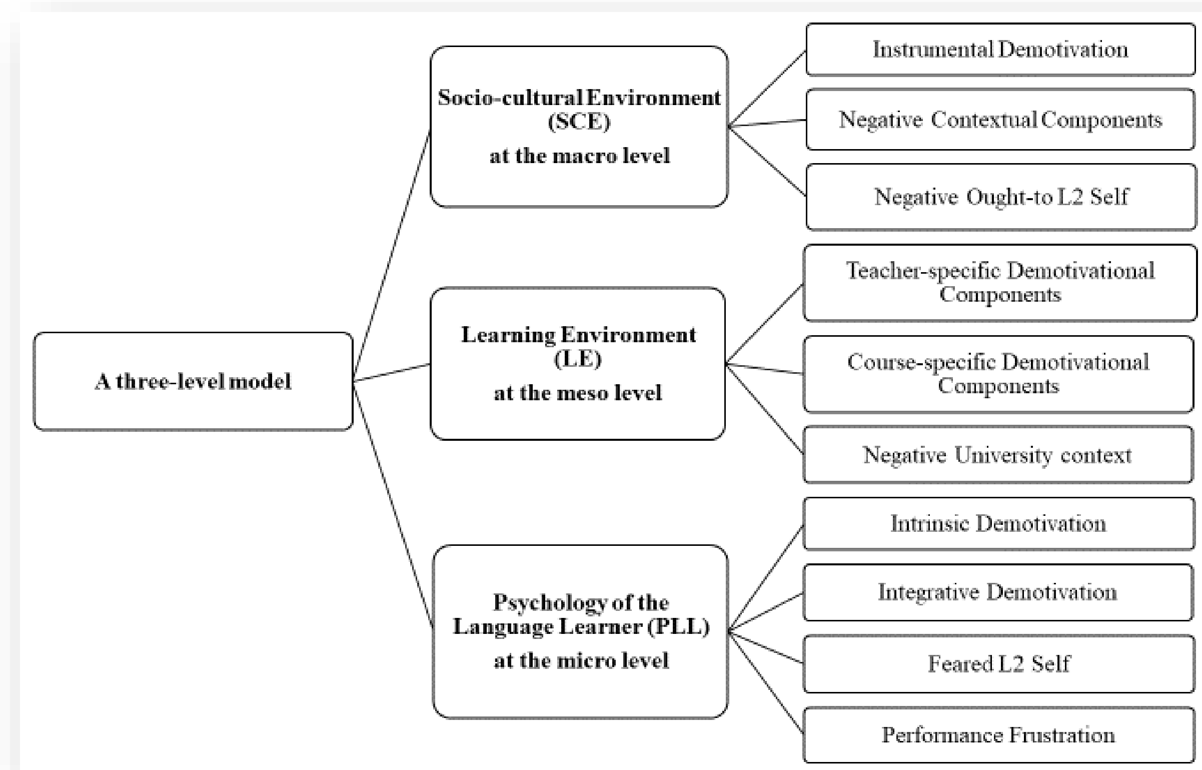
[1] Australia's leading research-intensive universities.

Kikuchi, 2009); these are shown in Appendix 1. As a result, a fixed number of factors was preset with an Oblimin rotation method with Kaiser normalization to extract four factors via a PCA.

As previously discussed in the literature review, within each factor, different theories have been applied to explain the results of quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Factor 1 includes variables related to the formal learning environment, and therefore identified as the Learning Experience (LE). Factor 2 includes variables linked to students’ psychological and cognitive reactions to the L2 learning process. As a result, it was called the Psychology of the Language Learner (PLL). Factors 3 and 4 were merged into a single factor labeled the Sociocultural Environment (SCE), given the very similar variables grouped together for each of the two original factors identified by the PCA.

The decision to structure the data analysis results into three factors was validated by relatively high Cronbach’s Alpha values and not large 95% confidence intervals for each factor – the PLL (α = .84, 95%*CI* = .820; .855), the LE (α = .86, 95%*CI* = .841; .871) and the SCE (α = .76, 95%*CI* = .735; .786). These results suggest strong internal reliability of each single factor, as observed in previous studies which utilized similar questionnaire items (e.g., Oakes, 2013). Each of the three factors was allocated to a level of analysis to simplify the analysis of multiple interconnected variables belonging to L2 learning processes. Variables of each of the three factors at three levels of analysis were organized into subcomponent categories of demotivators based on previous studies on motivation and demotivation in learning L2s, as shown in the literature review above (see also Figure 5 below).

Figure 5. Three-level model with its subcomponent categories of demotivators



Qualitative Analysis

Factors and relative subcomponent categories of demotivators discovered via quantitative methods were used subsequently for the qualitative analysis (see Figure 5 above). A thematic content analysis of students' interviews and first main responses to three selected open-ended survey questions (SQs) assists in explaining to what extent the three factors demotivated L2 students and which demotivators specifically belong to the three factors at the three levels of analysis (see Figures 8, 9 and 10 below). SQ1 appears in the first questionnaire while SQ2 and SQ3 appear in the second questionnaire:

1. Please list the three main negative aspects in studying French/German/Italian/Spanish at university;
2. Please list the main negative aspect in studying French/German/Italian/Spanish during this semester;
3. Please list the main reason why you decided not to enroll again in a French/German /Italian/Spanish subject at university this semester.

Results

Research Participants

Almost one third of research participants in both semesters were enrolled at the University of Melbourne. The second largest pool of participants was at the University of Sydney in both semesters (Table 1).

Table 1. Frequencies of research participants across institutions and relative proportions

	Survey 1		Survey 2	
Universities	**Number**	**Percentage**	**Number**	**Percentage**
University of Melbourne	228	31.7%	91	31.3%
University of Sydney	121	16.8%	43	14.8%
University of Western Australia	109	15.2%	46	15.8%
Monash University	87	12.1%	46	15.8%
Australian National University	67	9.3%	28	9.6%
University of Queensland	42	5.8%	15	5.2%
University of New South Wales	38	5.3%	13	4.5%
University of Adelaide	27	3.8%	9	3.1%
Total	**719**	**100%**	**291**	**100%**

Across L2 groups, the same number of student participants (n = 199) were studying French and Spanish in the first semester: 77 and 75 in the second semester, respectively. Less participation was observed from German and Italian students in both phases of the research (n = 176 and 71, 145 and 68, respectively).

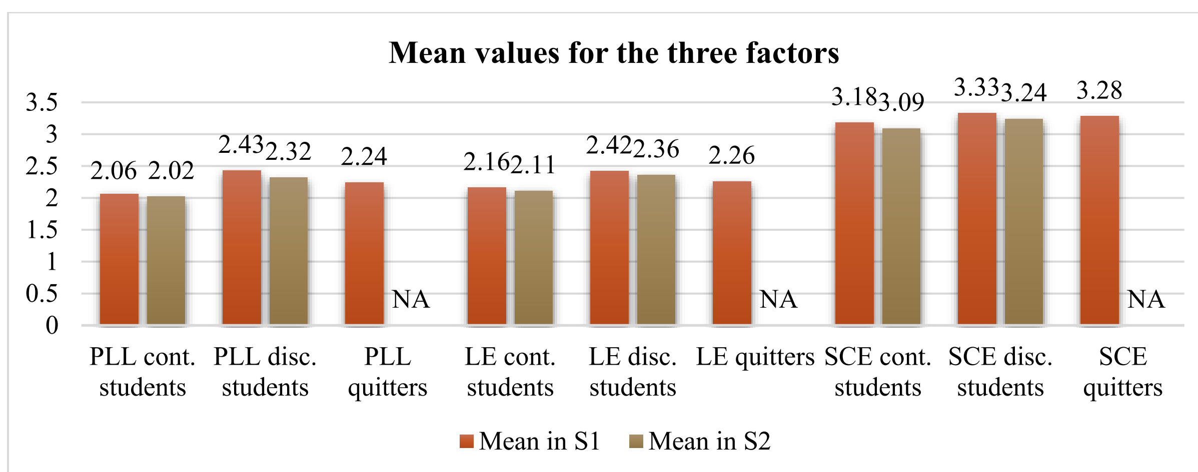
More than 92% of the participants were younger than 25 years old. Female students outnumbered male students, who were below 30% in both phases of the research. Slightly fewer than 80% of the participants spoke English as their first language (L1) or one of their L1s. However, English native speakers were significantly more numerous in the second semester (85.9%). Only 55 students had a cultural background from a country where their L2 is spoken. Twenty of them also completed the second questionnaire. Around 60% of the research sample in both semesters chose an

L2 as their optional/elective subject, including "breadth subjects" and "broadening units"[2] at the University of Melbourne and at the University of Western Australia, respectively. Fewer than 80% of the participants were domestic students, and slightly more than 60% were first-year undergraduate students in both phases of the research.

A Three-Level Model – Quantitative Trajectories

For the purpose of this article, the data analysis is structured in three levels which correspond to three factors as presented in previous sections. Differences between students who stated they would continue learning an L2 from one semester (S) to the other (continuing students) (*n* = 593 in S1 and 167 in S2) and students who stated they would discontinue learning an L2 from one semester to the other (discontinuing students) (*n* = 126 in S1 and 39 in S2 respectively) are analyzed. In addition, responses provided by 85 students who did not enroll in an L2 course in the second semester but completed a section of the second questionnaire are also analyzed. The latter are here labelled "quitters," drawing upon Martín et al.'s (2016) study distinction among (a) committed students, (b) doubters, and (c) quitters. No data regarding quitters from semester two to semester three are collected. Means of students' responses to the five-point Likert scale items of each factor show that continuing students were more motivated on average by all three factors than discontinuing students, since their mean values were on average close to 2 (in a range of five points, 1 stands for *strongly agree* and 5 for *strongly disagree*; see Figure 6). Quitters were less demotivated than discontinuing students at the micro and meso levels of analysis in semester one only, as quitters were not enrolled in semester two.

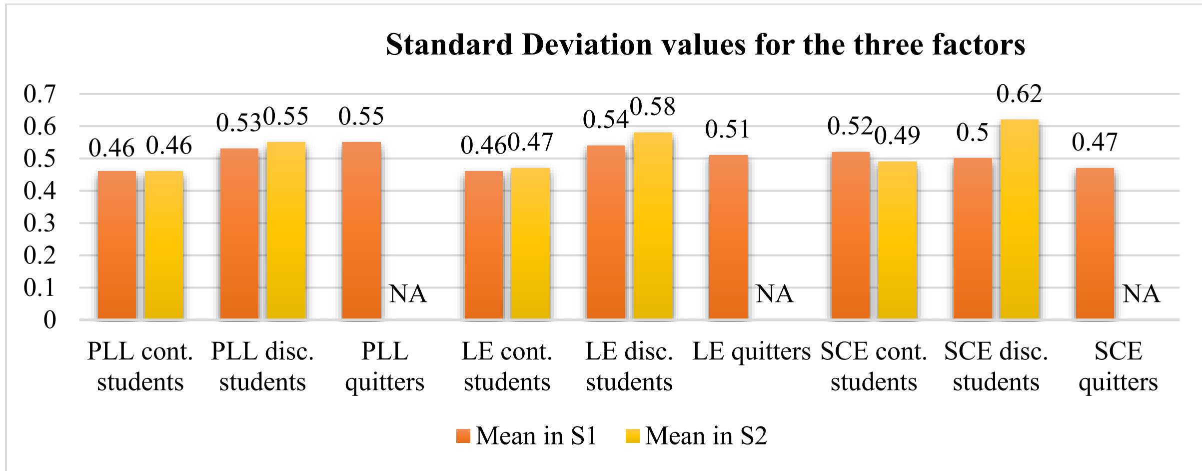
Figure 6. Mean values across factors for continuing (cont.) and discontinuing (disc.) students and quitters



Standard deviation values suggest that continuing students generally responded more similarly to the five-point Likert scale items belonging to the three factors than discontinuing students and quitters (see Figure 7). In particular, discontinuing students indicated a larger range of responses in the second semester, especially in regard to the influence of the LE factor at the meso level and the SCE factor at the macro level on their motivation.

[2] "Breadth subjects" and "broadening units" are subjects not related to students' degrees.

Figure 7. Mean values across factors for continuing and discontinuing students and quitters



The analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to estimate the differences between average responses provided by the three student cohorts. In the first semester, data confirm that the mean differences across the three cohorts for all three factors were statistically significant (see Table 2).

Table 2. ANOVA results across three student cohorts for the three factors in the first semester

Factors	PLL	LE	SCE
F statistic ***p-value***	$F = 33.4$ $p = < .001$	$F = 16.6$ $p = < .001$	$F = 5.7$ $p = .003$

In the second semester, an independent sample's *t*-test detected much smaller differences between continuing and discontinuing survey students' average responses, which were statistically significant only for the PLL factor at the micro level and the LE factor at the meso level. No quantitative data about quitters were collected in the second semester (see Table 3).

Table 3. *t*-test results across two student cohorts for the three factors in the second semester

Factors	PLL	LE	SCE
t statistic ***p-value***	$t = -3.176$ $p = .003$	$t = -2.448$ $p = .018$	$t = -1.462$ $p = .150$

The PLL factor at the micro level was the most motivating factor for continuing students in both semesters under consideration, where low means represent high levels of students' motivation ($M = 2.06$ and 2.02 respectively). Discontinuing students were not particularly motivated by this factor, since the mean values are not very low in both semesters ($M = 2.43$ and 2.32 respectively). This suggests that more discontinuing students than continuing students experienced negative psychological reactions and/or poor performances during their L2 learning process. Such a result was confirmed by higher standard deviations for discontinuing students than for continuing students in both semesters ($SD = 0.53$ and 0.55 and 0.46 and 0.46 respectively). More quitters were demotivated by the PLL, given the mean of 2.24 and the higher standard deviation compared to continuing students. Such noticeable differences were validated by the highest F value for this factor in the first

semester [$F = 33.4$, $p = < .001$] and the highest t value in the second semester [$t = -3.176$, $p = .003$] across the three factors under analysis.

Similarly, continuing students were generally motivated, on average, by the LE at the meso level in semesters one and two ($M = 2.16$ and 2.11 respectively). On the other hand, discontinuing students were the most demotivated by the LE over one year of L2 studies ($M = 2.42$ and 2.36 respectively), while quitters appear not to be as demotivated by the LE as discontinuing students ($M = 2.26$). Nevertheless, the last two student cohorts presented more different perceptions of the formal learning environment, based on higher standard deviations compared to continuing students, who answered more similarly to questionnaire items related to the LE factor at the meso level (see Figure 7 above). These differences of motivation between student cohorts were also found to be statistically significant in the first [$F = 16.5$, $p = < .001$] and second semesters [$t = -2.448$, $p = .018$].

Means for the SCE factor at the macro level demonstrate that higher levels of demotivation were shared by all categories of students. Continuing students were the least demotivated by the SCE, especially in the second semester ($M = 3.18$ and 3.09 respectively) while discontinuing students and quitters show very similar degrees of demotivation, with mean values above 3 (*neither agree nor disagree*) ($M = 3.33$ and 3.24 for discontinuing students respectively in both semesters and 3.28 for quitters in S1). Higher standard deviations for continuing students in the first semester and discontinuing students in the second semester indicate that a larger range of responses were provided by these research participants when exploring the SCE effect on their L2 learning process (see Figure 7 above). Qualitative data will confirm this result (see next section below). Students were motivated and/or demotivated by the SCE depending on their personal experience of the L2 they were studying, independently from their status of continuing or discontinuing students or quitters. Indeed, differences across categories of students were not large in the first [$F = 5.7$, $p = .003$] and second semesters [$t = -1.462$, $p = .150$], in contrast to what it was observed for the PLL and LE factors.

Furthermore, Pearson correlations were also calculated to estimate the strength of linear relationships between the three factors (see Table 4).

Table 4. Pearson correlations between the three factors in the first and second semesters

Factors	Semester	Pearson correlation	P-value
PLL and LE	1	.384	<.001
	2	.456	<.001
PLL and SCE	1	.396	<.001
	2	.397	<.001
SCE and LE	1	.159	<.001
	2	.130	.063

The strongest and most positive correlation was between the PLL factor and the LE factor in the second semester [$r = .456$]. The PLL also shows a strong, positive correlation with the LE in the first semester [$r = 384$]. This is consistent with the initial hypothesis that students' psychology was strongly connected to dynamics experienced by students in the L2 class, where the micro and meso levels of analysis were intertwined, as represented in Figure 1 above.
Students' psychology was also associated with the society where an L2 learning process was carried out. Positive correlations of medium strength between the PLL and the SCE in both semesters [$r = 396$ and $r = .397$ respectively] support the central assumption that students are "person[s]-in-context" who constantly and dynamically receive societal influences (Ushioda, 2009).

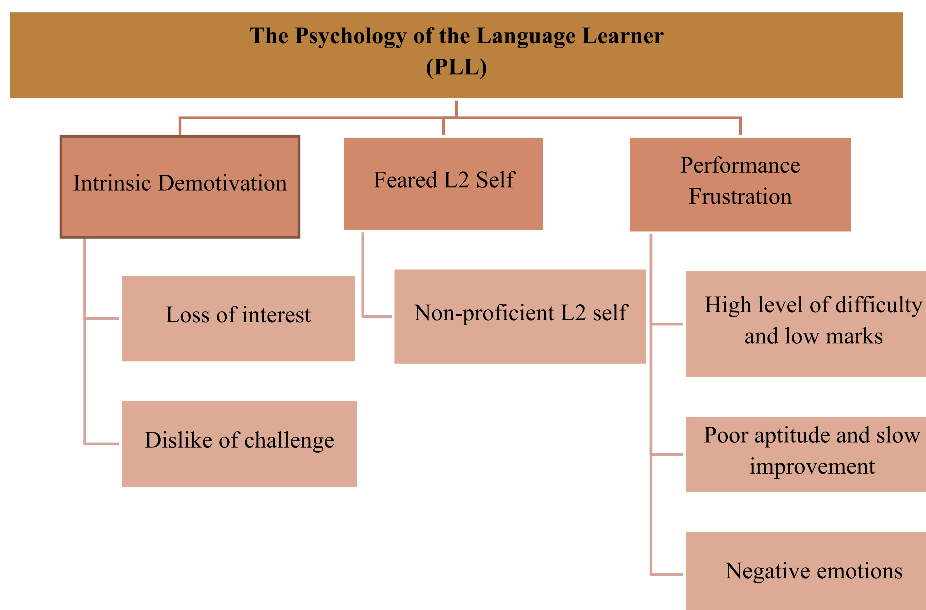
The strength of the correlation between the SCE and the LE was not as strong as the rest of the correlations between factors in the first semester [r = .159] or second semester [r = .130]. Data reveal that the formal learning environment was not particularly strongly affected by the society where students lived. Nevertheless, positive correlations of low strength demonstrate that a relationship exists between the two factors, as outlined in Figure 1 above, but it was not as important as other correlations (see Table 4 above).

A Three-Level Model – Qualitative Trajectories

Qualitative data suggest that students were simultaneously demotivated by all three factors under analysis. Themes related to the LE factor at the meso level occurred more often than others, especially in the first semester, while the SCE factor was not found to be the most demotivating factor, as previously revealed by quantitative data analysis.

Figure 8 presents the most frequently recurring themes for the PLL factor at the micro level emerging from interview narratives and responses provided by all three categories of students to the three Survey Questions (SQs) mentioned above.

Figure 8. Most frequently recurring themes for the PLL factor at the micro level

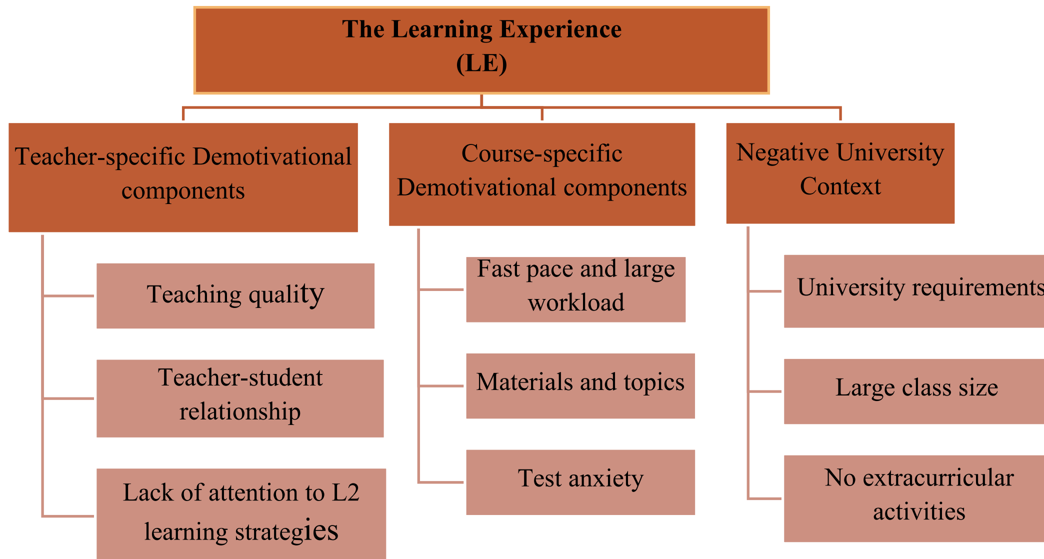


Within the PLL, demotivated survey participants and interviewees underlined that the L2 learning process was considered a very hard task. Discontinuers and quitters confirmed that learning an L2 takes a lot of time and effort. Some of them encountered more difficulties in memorizing words and concepts than continuing students, which confirms quantitative data analysis outcomes. Poor L2 performances, both in and out of the class environment, discouraged all three categories of students, who originally deemed a European L2 learning path an easy task. Hence, negative emotions hindered students who doubted their aptitude for learning L2s and received negative marks. Stress, anxiety, fear of failing, and discouragement were reported. These emotions emerged more often in the second phase of the data collection, which appeared to be more difficult than in the first semester, especially for discontinuing students. Consequently, the latter started to dislike the challenge stemming from an L2 learning process.

Slow progress and difficulties in acquiring an L2 anticipated the Feared L2 Self. The image of not being able to reach an ideal level of L2 knowledge demotivated weaker continuing and discontinuing students in both semesters and more quitters in the first semester. These difficulties experienced by research participants led quitters and discontinuing students to lose interest in the L2 that they were studying, in order to prioritize different subjects, which in most cases were their core subjects – around 60% of research participants chose an L2 as their optional/elective subject in both semesters. No themes related to Integrative Demotivation were identified in students' responses to SQs.

The LE factor at the meso level of analysis was found to be the most demotivated factor and very strongly related to the micro level. The dynamics experienced by students in their L2 class directly influenced their performance and psychological reactions, as validated by the high strength of correlations between the PLL and the LE presented in previous sections. Most frequently recurring themes coexisted together and were related to all three subcomponent categories of demotivators at the meso level (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Most frequently recurring themes for the LE factor at the meso level



At the meso level, most of the themes' recurrences were linked to Course-specific Demotivational Components. Research participants considered the pace of their classes too rapid and the amount of material studied too large. Demotivated students, mainly discontinuing students and quitters, could not keep up with the L2 course program. These demotivators became more influential in the second semester when the course workload increased and students encountered higher levels of difficulty, as observed at the micro level of analysis. As a result, they obtained lower marks, which triggered test anxiety. The choice of materials and topics was a demotivator when students were not interested in the content delivered during L2 classes and expected to improve their L2 oral skills to use in daily-life settings.

In terms of Teacher-specific Demotivational Components, students who encountered major difficulties often complained that they were not informed by their teachers about the most effective L2 learning strategies. Students who were learning an L2 for the first time in their life (almost 20% of the sample in the first semester) struggled to keep up with the course pace. Such a demotivational

variable was not frequently recurring in the second semester, as most of the interviewees declared that they managed to capitalize on the L2 learning experience in the first semester and reached higher levels of performance in the second semester.

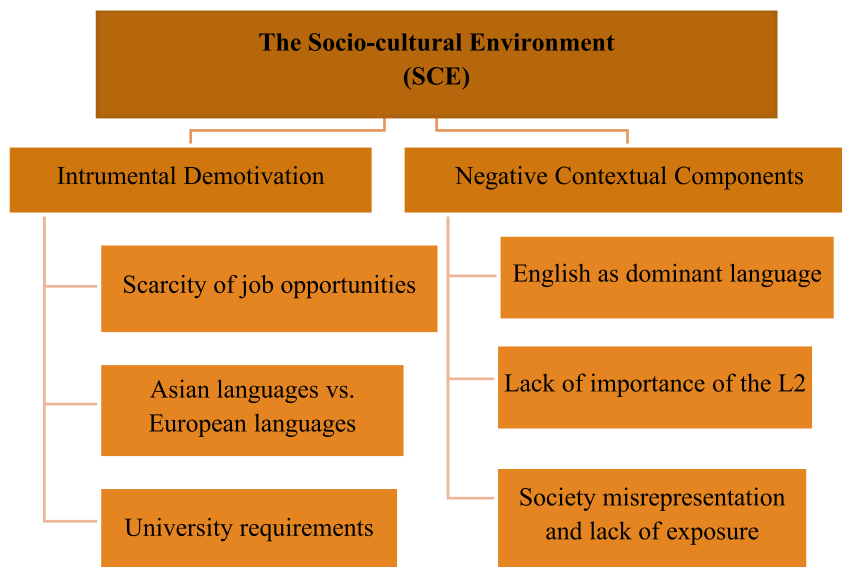
To a much lesser extent, teachers' inability to create an engaging environment, manage students' individual differences, and provide feedback were considered demotivating. Whenever teachers did not show high competence in teaching an L2 and struggled to build rapport with their students, students acknowledged a decrease in their motivation. Students expected to see empathy and understanding from their teachers when not able to keep up with the large amount of content in the L2 course.

A strong demotivator belonging to the LE was represented by the Negative University Context, when L2 classes were too crowded and not much support was provided by universities in learning the L2 outside of the frontal L2 class. In addition, discontinuing students and quitters who started to learn an L2 only to collect credit points for their study plan felt demotivated once they fulfilled their university requirements both for compulsory language subjects and/or optional/elective language subjects.

Negative University Context was also identified as the main demotivational factor in responses provided by quitters to SQ3 and by discounting students when answering one multiple-choice question which asked them why they intended to discontinue learning an L2, i.e., lack of credit points to include an L2 in their study plan for a second or third semester. Data also reveal that a small portion of discontinuing students and quitters were obliged to stop studying an L2 due to personal circumstances; e.g., they finished their university career or they encountered personal problems which were not related to the three factors under analysis, which Martín et al. (2016) identified as practical reasons.

In regard to the SCE, no particular differences in theme types were observed among responses provided by continuing and discontinuing students and quitters. Qualitative data reveal that demotivated students were not encouraged by the context where they were living (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. Most frequently recurring themes for the SCE factor at the macro level



Students emphasized the dominant role of English around the globe as a deterrent for them to learn an L2. They also contextualized the lack of importance of French, German, Italian, and Spanish within the Australian context. Those students who were demotivated by the Australian SCE underlined how Australians do not generally value European languages, which would provide them with fewer job opportunities compared to Asian languages, given the close proximity of Asia to Australia and the trade and diplomatic relations between the two geographical regions. Therefore, they experienced Instrumental Demotivation. Data also reveal that among students instrumentally demotivated, there were also students who acquired the necessary amount of university credit points for optional/elective subjects and they did not have any other practical goal to pursue.

The lack of opportunities to practice an L2 was related to Negative Contextual Components, which mostly affected discontinuing students and quitters. Overall, research participants did not feel supported by the environment where they were embedded. Since only a minority of students declared a cultural background from a country where their L2 is spoken, many students did not have family members who speak the L2 that they were studying. This led to a lack of exposure to people and, consequently, cultures from countries where the four L2s are spoken. However, a large number of continuing students stated that they managed to find their own strategies to practice their L2 and find native speakers to communicate with over time.

Since it might be possible that only the most motivated students agreed to complete a second round of questionnaires and being interviewed for a second time, fewer frequently recurring themes related to the SCE at the macro level emerged from the qualitative data collected in the second semester. Students who continued learning an L2 for a second semester appeared to be tendentially less demotivated by the SCE than students in the first semester.

Discussion

Quantitative and qualitative data show that beginner students of French, German, Italian and Spanish at Australian universities were demotivated by all three factors considered for this study at the same time but to different extents over time. Such a result confirms Dörnyei's (2020) argument that "student motivation is not constant but displays continuous ebbs and flows as well as steady 'leaks', which is, a tendency to peter out with time" (p. 61). In Australia, Campbell and Storch (2011) also highlight the fluctuation of students' motivation, which is never steady. Demotivators at the three levels of analysis differently affected students' interest in learning an L2. This influenced their decision to continue or discontinue learning an L2 from one semester to another.

Statistical analysis suggests that the three factors at the micro, meso and macro levels are interconnected with each other. Indeed, demotivators cannot be studied in isolation, but as part of a system (cf. Dörnyei et al., 2015; Hiver & Papi, 2020). The strong relationship between the three factors is validated by statistical analysis, which detected positive and statistically significant correlations between the three factors at the three levels of analysis. In particular, the PLL was found strongly interrelated to the LE and, to a lesser extent, to the SCE. Qualitative data analysis partially echoes the statistical analysis, providing more evidence that students were concurrently demotivated by the PLL, the LE and the SCE. Furthermore, relatively low means suggest that a large portion of research participants were on average motivated by the PLL and the LE factors across the three categories of students. This outcome sheds light on the simultaneous coexistence of motivators and demotivators, given the complexity of L2 learning motivation and demotivation. Kim and Kim (2015) summarize these dynamics, asserting that "it cannot be assumed that demotivation is the opposite side of the motivation coin" (p. 132).

Demotivators' Appearance Over One Year of L2 Studies

In regard to the first research question – what demotivates beginner L2 students at Australian universities – quantitative data suggest that the SCE at the macro level demotivated more students than the micro level PLL and the meso level LE factors. However, qualitative data analysis reveals that the LE factor at the meso level was the most demotivating factor.

The difficulty of an L2 as a different system of grammar rules, vocabularies, and expressions affected students with weaker cognitive abilities, which consequently translated into lack of self-confidence following prior literature examples (see also Cai & Zhu, 2012; Trang & Baldauf, 2007) and dislike of the challenge stemming from the L2 learning task. Since learning an L2 appeared to become more and more difficult over time, students tended to perform poorly in class and struggled to control their emotions, as already discovered by Dewaele and Alfawzan (2018) and Falout et al. (2009). Research participants were frustrated by their slow progress in acquiring an L2 (cf. Dewaele et al., 2008). Students who could not keep up with the pace maintained during both semesters felt demotivated (see Falout & Maruyama, 2004) and "became frustrated with the slow rate of their progress," in line with Nettelbeck et al.'s (2007, p. 15) results.

Strong correlations between the PLL and the LE factors demonstrate that dynamics experienced in class were strongly related to students' psychology. Qualitative data suggest that whenever teachers did not create a comfortable class learning environment, class anxiety emerged (see Dewaele et al., 2019). Negative emotions especially contributed to demotivating students who had no prior experience learning an L2. Therefore, this demotivator specifically appeared at the very beginning of an L2 learning process when students felt "lack of support from teachers" (cf. Thorner & Kikuchi, 2020). At the same level, but to a lesser extent, teachers were also deemed responsible for not delivering high quality classes and lacking effective teaching approaches, in line with Dewaele et al.'s (2019) and Kikuchi's (2019) findings (see also Afrough et al., 2014). L2 learners expected more communicative activities to improve their speaking skills. However, this last aspect was not entirely under teachers' control, as their agency was limited by external aspects belonging to their university structure (cf. Crozet & Díaz, 2020).

More cultural topics were also suggested by those students who felt demotivated by the content and material proposed during lessons (see Kikuchi, 2015; Kikuchi & Sakai, 2009). Students expected more extracurricular activities offered by their language departments and universities to increase their opportunities to practice. Large cohorts in L2 classes reduced students' opportunities to communicate in class, reflecting previous research results in Australia (Nettelbeck et al., 2007) and in other contexts (Daif-Allah & Alsamani, 2013).

The combination of demotivating variables stemming from the micro and meso levels contributed to building an image of a Feared L2 Self characterized by students' inability "to perform linguistically as [they] had hoped" (Fryer & Roger, 2018, p. 164) before they started to learn an L2.

Quantitative data reveal that the SCE factor at the macro level demotivated a large number of students. However, qualitative data demonstrate that the SCE was a demotivator depending on students' specific personal conditions, which changed over one year. Students less exposed to L2-speaking people encountered major difficulties in finding opportunities to practice their L2 and immerse themselves in a multicultural environment, given the current increase in Asian immigrants rather than European and South American immigrants in Australia (ABS, 2017). Demotivated students lamented the unavailability of exposure to L2s, in line with a bourgeoning number of studies on Australian monolingualism (e.g., Hajek, 2001; Hajek & Slaughter, 2014; Mascitelli & O'Mahony, 2014; Scarino, 2014), where English as the dominant language plays a detrimental role for L2 learners,

following other English-speaking countries' dynamics (cf. Lanvers & Chambers, 2020; Ushioda, 2017). These demotivators pertinent to Australian society were commonly shared in the first semester, but they became less of a problem in the second semester when students found more ways to practice their L2 and decided to invest more time and energy in the L2 learning experience.

To a much lesser extent, some students, especially in the first semester, were demotivated by the few career opportunities available to Australians who can speak one of the four European languages under analysis. Policies adopted by the Australian government are in line with current economic and strategic tendencies to prioritize Asian languages rather than European languages (see Baldwin, 2019; Commonwealth of Australia, 2012; Lo Bianco, 2016).

Different Trajectories of Demotivation

With respect to the second research question – how demotivation differs across continuing students, discontinuing students and quitters – most frequently recurring themes of demotivators experienced by the three categories of students did not differ. The main difference of demotivation lies in the intensity of demotivators encountered by students and on the number of students who lost their motivation across the three categories of research participants.

Nevertheless, quantitative data analysis reveals that discontinuing students were the most demotivated by the three factors considered in this analysis. Statistical tools confirm that the largest differences across the three categories were related to the PLL factor at the micro level. Indeed, qualitative data suggest that discontinuing students and quitters felt higher levels of frustration for their poor performances and more frequently experienced negative emotions, as identified by Martín et al. (2016). In the case of quitters, a loss of interest prevented them from enrolling in a further semester of L2 studies, which would be devoted to subjects "more important than their [L2] studies" (Martín et al., 2016, p. 136). Csizér (2020) refers to Lyon's (2014) work in which students created an Idyllic Self which, for the purposes of this study, became a Feared L2 Self and Anxious Self unable to succeed in the L2 learning process (cf. Fryer & Roger, 2018; Śimśek & Dörnyei, 2017). Continuing students were less scared by the idea of failing and "their expectations about the difficulty of learning a language [were] more realistic" than the other two categories of students (Martín et al., 2016, p. 135). Indeed, quantitative data analysis shows that the majority of continuing students were motivated by the PLL in both semesters, while discontinuing students shared problematic cognitive weaknesses in the first and more often in the second semester.

Important differences were also detected for the LE factor at the meso level. Discontinuing students were the most demotivated by this factor in both semesters, while quitters appeared to be less demotivated by the LE when quantitative data were analyzed. Qualitative data helped to expand on quantitative analysis results. Discontinuing students and quitters with weak aptitude and lack of exposure to the L2 received low grades. Hence, the risk of jeopardizing their university marks average deterred them from continuing to learn an L2.

Teachers, course materials, and topics demotivated students who expected more communicative activities. Nevertheless, Course-specific Demotivational Components were much stronger than Teacher-specific Demotivational Components, as found by Christophel and Gorham (1995) and Zhang (1997) in previous studies. Indeed, Nettelbeck et al. (2012) argue that students appreciate the generally high level of preparation of L2 teachers at Australian universities.

The main reason for both discontinuing students and quitters to withdraw from an L2 course was related to the lack of credit points to devote to L2 subjects. Discontinuing students and quitters also lost their motivation when they obtained the sufficient number of credit points required for their

university study plan. In particular, a large number of quitters and discontinuing students enrolled in an L2 subject only to satisfy optional/elective subject requirements rather than core subject requirements, in line with Martín et al.'s (2016) results. As a consequence, they were unable to include an L2 course in their degree structure, in line with Nettelbeck et al.'s (2007) findings where students experienced issues of timetable planning and "other structural problems" (p. 3) or "many students [took] up a language as an elective late in their courses, for fun, or to try it out, or because they want[ed] to use it for travel […]; even if they enjoy[ed] it and would like to continue, they [had] no room left in their programs" (p. 15).

To a lesser extent, the SCE factor at the macro level demotivated students of all three categories who did not have an L2-speaking heritage, exposure to the culture(s) attached to the L2, and specific instrumental goals. Discontinuing students and quitters had a great lack of exposure to opportunities to practice their L2, but continuing students were also widely affected by this demotivator, predominantly in the first semester. Using Martín et al.'s (2016) words, continuing students were "more likely to have a family background in the language they [were] studying, or to have studied the language previously" (p. 135), but such dynamics were not always observed when analyzing data elicited from continuing students. In the second semester, continuing students found more ways to immerse themselves in their L2 environment and consider their L2 an asset for their future career compared to discontinuing students, who continued to experience the same issues over time and were affected by (a) the low consideration of European languages in Australian society (cf. Baldwin, 2019; Lo Bianco, 2016) and (b) the role of English as a dominant language (cf. Ushioda, 2017). Indeed, continuing students imagined different ways "to use the target language in their work life" (Martín et al., 2016, p. 135) and in other different settings.

Conclusions

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected from beginner students of four European languages (French, German, Italian and Spanish) at the Go8 universities in Australia. Data analysis results suggest that all three factors affected student motivation to different degrees. Indeed, "students' decision to discontinue appeared to be characterised by a cumulative combination of reasons rather than one or two reasons alone" (Martín et al., 2016, p. 77). The PLL and the LE factors were the most interrelated factors. More discontinuing students and quitters experienced frustration for language proficiency due to the difficulty of the L2 itself and the class learning dynamics, which became more demotivating over time and triggered negative emotions. Continuing students, discontinuing students, and quitters were similarly demotivated by the SCE factor at the macro level, which did not generally support university students in their goal to learn an L2. As a result, "an underlying monolingualism" (Baldwin, 2019, p. 184) was observed, given the lack of exposure to L2s and support for learners of European languages from Australian society. Nevertheless, the SCE became less demotivating for continuing students in the second semester, because they found their own strategies to cope with the obstacles they faced in Australian society, where English is the dominant language (cf. Lanvers & Chambers, 2020). Motivated L2 students acknowledged the critical position of L2s in Australia "with respect to improvements in trade, career pathways, international mobility, research capacity" (Nettelbeck et al., 2009, p. 9).

Discontinuing students and quitters lamented the lack of credit points which were needed to include an L2 subject in their study plan. As a result, universities should inform their students on how to include L2 subjects in their study plan during their first year of university studies given the "late take-up of languages by students" noticed in the Australian context (Nettelbeck et al., 2007, p. 3). Thus, they would be able to continue learning an L2 in further years if they like the L2 learning process.

Quantitative data confirm that more quitters and discontinuing students than continuing students disliked their whole L2 learning experience. Hence, students should be more supported in understanding how to learn an L2 effectively, for instance, "encouraging students to write about negative experience may itself promote adaptive explanatory thinking in place of mere rumination" (Thorner & Kikuchi, 2020, p. 382).

Future research might investigate pedagogical implications based on the results of the empirical research in order to (a) support remotivation as advocated by Lamb (2020) and Song and Kim (2017); (b) guide teachers in their choice of the most appropriate teaching approaches to increase students' learning enjoyment (Dewaele et al., 2018); (c) apply communicative and task-based activities to increase students' oral skills and boost self-confidence (cf. Celce-Murcia, 1991; Ehrman et al., 2003; Lambert, 2010). Such forms of research might lead to "more extensive collaboration among institutions so that successful practice can be shared" (Nettelbeck et al., 2007, p. 3).

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Appendix One

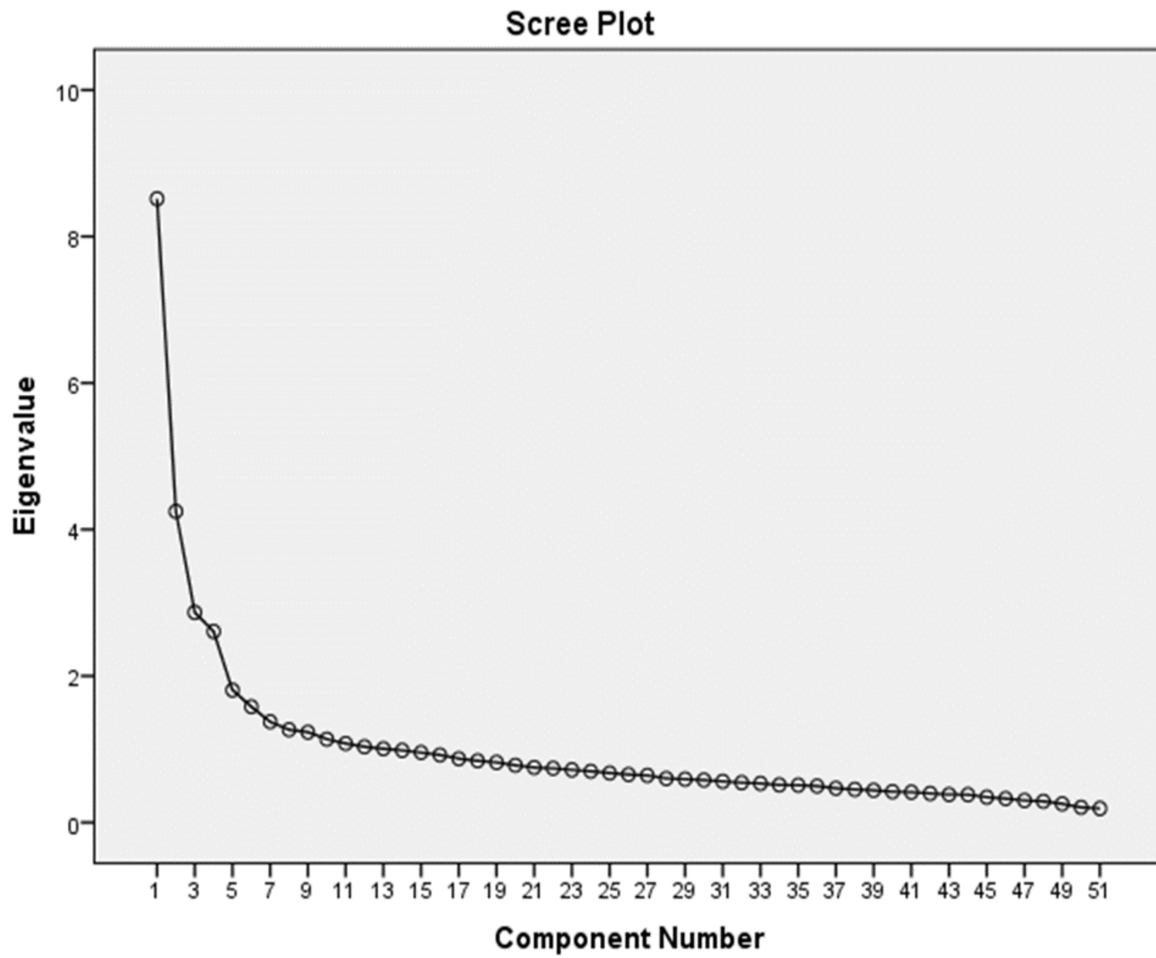
Eigenvalue coefficients and factor distribution of the 51 five-point Likert scale items of questionnaire one conducted with the statistical software *SPSS* as in Author (2020). Items with factor loadings lower than .40 are crossed out. One distinct questionnaire was created for each L2 cohort (French, German, Italian and Spanish) with the online survey software *Qualtrics*.

Structure Matrix	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
The facilities in class are perfect to stimulate my learning.	0.681			
My teacher makes me feel comfortable during lessons.	0.675			
My teacher's explanations are easy to understand.	0.665			
My teacher focuses on all main language abilities (speaking, reading, listening and writing).	0.615			
The material used in class is useful to learn (L2).	0.608			
I get along well with my teacher.	0.599			
The pace of lessons is appropriate for learning (L2).	0.596			
I often have the opportunity to communicate in (L2) in class.	0.585			
(L2) language content we study for the course is easy to interpret.	0.566			
The time spent in (L2) classes is enough to learn properly.	0.553			
The class size is appropriate to learn the language.	0.521			
My teacher focuses on translation.	0.453			
My university organizes many activities where I can learn more on the culture of (L2)-speaking countries and practice the language.	0.448			
I like my classmates.	0.447			
Visual and audio materials (such as videos and DVDs) are used during lessons.	0.447			
The amounts of hours I need to study for tests/ assessments and final exams satisfies my initial expectations.	0.443			
Cultural topics covered in lessons are interesting.	0.421			
I really enjoy learning (L2).	0.405	0.716		
I like the intellectual challenge of learning (L2).		0.684		
I find it exciting to be able to communicate in (L2).		0.661		
Being able to converse in (L2) is an important part of the person I want to become.		0.601		0.436
Learning (L2) is one of the most important aspects of my life.		0.577		
It would be great to be part of the (L2)-speaking community in my city.		0.545		
I like meeting people from (L2)-speaking countries.		0.542		
If my dreams come true, I will use (L2) effectively in the future.		0.54		0.476

I am studying (L2) because I want to improve my (L2).		0.527		
I find it easy to memorize words and expressions.		0.496		
I like to spend time in (L2)-speaking countries.		0.481		
I am getting high scores on tests and assessments, e.g. homework, class tests, mid-term assessments.		0.475		
I can imagine myself as someone who is able to use (L2) well.		0.451		
I feel comfortable when I have to speak (L2) during lessons.		0.417		
I consider learning (L2) important because the people I respect think that I should do so.			0.748	
People around me (e.g. family members, partner, friends...) believe that I ought to study (L2).			0.694	
I often have opportunities to practice (L2) with native speakers outside university.			0.562	
I learn (L2) because I want to communicate with my family members.			0.555	
If I fail to learn (L2), I will be letting other people down.			0.526	
I feel an affinity with people who live in (L2)-speaking countries.		0.451	0.522	
Speaking (L2) is very important in Australia.			0.415	
The (L2) subject was advertised during the orientation sessions before starting university.			0.409	
Knowing (L2) will help me to obtain a better job.				0.83
Studying (L2) to a high level of proficiency will allow me to earn more money.				0.802
I think (L2) will help in my future career.				0.767
The knowledge of (L2) would help me finding a job in the public service.				0.656
I think knowing (L2) will help me to become a more knowledgeable person.				0.421
I would like to become more like people from (L2)-speaking countries.				0.419
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis				
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization				

Appendix Two

Screen plot extracted by the principal component analysis



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An Examination of Translingual Practices on a Mobile Application: Implications for Pronunciation Instruction and Raising Learners' Translingual Awareness

Yoo Young Ahn

Abstract

This article reports Korean speakers' experiences with naturally occurring translingual transliterations in a noneducational online contact zone to support improvement of English pronunciation. Use of the Korean and English alphabets in pronunciation transliterations and application users' meaning-making are analyzed using Canagarajah's (2013) macrotranslingual strategies for negotiation. Findings show that the nonstandard transliterations could easily deliver pronunciations to a broad audience and stimulate the participation of users, who draw on diverse resources to strategically negotiate their footings to make meaning, often referring to their linguistic knowledge or experiences in certain countries. Patterns around transliteration and negotiation suggest two major implications for classroom pronunciation instruction: using students' existing resources to address crucial features of intelligibility such as vowel quality and suprasegmental features in transliterations, in addition to segmentals, and eliciting students' active involvement in meaning construction. Furthermore, English teachers might challenge their students' acceptance of prevalent monolingual standards in pronunciation and establish their translingual sensitivity to cultural/linguistic diversity.

Key words: translingual practices; translingual transliterations; translingual awareness in EFL; English pronunciation instruction; teaching suprasegmentals

Introduction

During recent decades, the focus of language education has broadened to include developing learners' sensitivity to other cultures and languages in addition to their linguistic competence. In contrast to the monolingual and structural approaches prevalent in language classrooms around the world (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Müller, 2013), the new learning paradigm encourages students' natural use of di-

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verse semiotic resources for communication in their language learning in school (Canagarajah, 2013; MLA Ad Hoc Committee, 2007). As Kramsch (2012) elaborates, the goal of language learning is "to train educated multilingual speakers who do not strive to become like monolingual speakers but rather who can draw profit from shuttling from one to the other of their languages" (p. 17).

To augment multilingual language learners' instinctual practices of juggling various resources for communication, Creese and Blackledge (2010) call for more research on developing "teachable pedagogic resources" (p. 113). Classroom research on translingual practices is very limited, however, and has been conducted mostly in bilingual classrooms (Hornberger, 2003) and in higher education writing classes (Canagarajah, 2011, 2013) in the US or in Europe (Blommaert et al., 2012). One of the less discussed though challenging areas, teaching pronunciation has been largely omitted from studies addressing today's goal of developing learners' holistic translingual and transcultural competencies (Müller, 2013). Furthermore, the introduction of intelligibility in the field of pronunciation questioned ESL, EFL, and foreign language classrooms that have changed little from the ideal of attaining native-like proficiency for decades (Levis, 2005; Munro & Derwing, 1995; Murphy, 2014). Therefore, the concept of translingual competencies aligns with recent movements to set more realistic goals in pronunciation teaching, and enhancing L2 learners' intelligibility through meaningful communicative activities (e.g., Celce-Murcia et al., 2010; Derwing & Munro, 1997, 2005; Munro & Derwing, 1995). At the same time, the role of suprasegmentals in intelligibility has recently received more instructional attention than the teaching of segmentals, although not taught as expected in class (Baker, 2011; Jenkins, 2005, 2007). Regarding the gap between the perceived need of teaching suprasegmentals and teachers' practices, researchers reported that teachers often received phonology-focused training (Breitkreutz et al., 2001; Derwing, 2010; Saito & van Poeteren, 2012), lacked confidence, or considered teaching diverse accents not practical (Jenkins, 2007).

In discussing the need for integrating translingualism and intelligibility into the teaching of pronunciation in EFL contexts, this article first examines how naturally occurring translingual practices of using both target and first languages in sentence-level transliteration can facilitate learning both segmentals and suprasegmentals from observed active meaning-making in a noneducational online environment. The article then discusses possible translingual practices for teaching pronunciation in classroom settings, in which the major local language is a resource shared by both teachers and students. Strategies are offered for teachers to reflect on active shuttling between resources and other knowledge assets to make meaning and to communicate, and to initiate students' translingual awareness of their own perceptions of diversities in pronunciation.

Background

Before discussing translingual practices, I describe *Pikicast*, an entertainment application where the translingual practices for English learning occurs[1] naturally and the Korean language is a primary language. Knowledge of the Korean writing and sound systems assists in understanding how transliteration appeals to a Korean audience, delivering richer linguistic information than traditional notation using Korean or the pronunciation symbols that many learners may find unfamiliar.

[1] It is important to note that Pikicast was not developed to teach English, but to provide varied entertaining content to its users.

Pikicast and the Editor

The mobile version of Pikicast Inc. is an entertainment application with which, according to the Apple application store, "Just by swiping a finger, you will be presented with the world's most exciting stories and experiences ranging from texts and images to animated memes and videos." Unlike other social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter, only authorized editors present content to their 15 million users. Editors either create original content or select content from existing databases on various topics such as counseling, news, food, movies, and more (Yoo, 2015). Depending on popularity, editors often start or stop their series. Talk-Talk-Hae-Young [똑똑해영][2] was one of those editors who published 73 original posts about English learning from August 18, 2015 and discontinued after the last posting on January 15, 2017. Thus, this editor's posts about English were one possible content that Pikicast provides. As an online space, all information remains anonymous in Pikicast, including the actual identity of the editors, their backgrounds in English language or English teaching, reasons for initiating posts for English learning, and how they choose certain topics and phrases. In fact, Talk-Talk-Hae-Young may represent a group of editors, but the editor in this article is referred to in the singular, so there is no way of determining whether this is the case.

Korean, Hangeul, and Their Impact on English Learning

Three aspects of Korean that affect English pronunciation are related to the editor Talk-Talk-Hae-Young's (henceforth the editor) translingual practices. First, because Korean prosody is based on tonal patterns in phrases while English places stress on syllables (Guion, 2005; Sohn, 1992), Korean learners of English must pay particular attention to intonation to produce intelligible speech. Second, there are a number of English sounds for which exact equivalents do not exist in Korean or are not distinguished from one another (e.g., /b/ & /p/, /f/ & /v/, /r/ & /l/, /z/ & /j/, /iy/ & /I/, /ɛ/ & /æ/, /ɑ/ & /ɔ/, /ʊ/ & /uw/), and these pairs may be transliterated interchangeably depending on speakers' decision about the similarity in sounds (National Institute of Korean Language, http://kornorms.korean.go.kr). Moreover, the written form of syllabic blocks in Korean, which consists of an initial consonant, a medial vowel, and a final consonant, is distinctively different from alphabets, in which letters are written vertically in a line (Koehler, 2010). For example, there are two types of Korean vowels that could be written next to (vertical) or below (horizontal) the initial consonants. When a final consonant follows, it is positioned below the combination of consonant and vowel, not on the right side. According to the rule, the word hangeul consists of two syllables in Korean: 한글, not 하ㄴㄱㅡㄹ. Third, this rule for syllabic structure—that every syllable has a vowel—often generates extra syllable(s) when foreign words are pronounced or transliterated in Korean. For example, a one-syllable English word *strike* becomes a five-syllable word *su-tu-la-i-ku* (Sohn, 1999, p. 14), putting stress evenly on the reduced sounds. This rule could make intelligible production of familiar loanwords with L1 prosody more challenging than pronouncing new words. More importantly, the wrong stress on weak vowels and shift of lexical stress or rhythm in English speech negatively affect speakers' intelligibility (Cutler & Clifton, 1984; Field, 2005), which could result in communication breakdowns.

[2] The editor's username could mean "(I'm) smart" or "Let's talk" in Korean.

Translingualism

Translingualism explains how diverse language modes function in natural communicative settings, both spoken and written, and how freedom to draw on multiple modes encourages language users to negotiate and construct meaning within their particular contexts (Canagarajah, 2013). Thus, communicative texts and talk naturally feature the diverse resources of members who engage in "mobile, fluid, and hybrid" ways to communicate (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 15). This practice challenges beliefs about language learning rooted in monolingual, modernist, and structural orientations. Within traditional frameworks, newcomers to a language community are never legitimized as having mastery of the language and mind of the community, no matter how much they aspire to be like native speakers. From this perspective, students' first language(s) are not resources but impediments as sources of interference. As an alternative, translingualism draws upon the perspective of *postmodern globalization* (Hall, 1991) to support integration of various available resources—not limited to linguistic ones—to achieve the goal of communication, blurring perceived linguistic boundaries. Within the translingual framework, communication entails naturally occurring mutual exchanges and collaborative negotiation among individuals, who use various semiotic resources to make meaning (Li, 2018). Their choices of resources could vary depending on each user's understanding of communication norms from previous experiences in various contexts with different interlocutors.

Accordingly, many European and US scholars now perceive the development of translingual and transcultural competence as a primary goal of language education and foster use of diverse resources in language teaching (e.g., Douglas Fir Group, 2016; Kramsch, 2012; MLA Ad Hoc Committee, 2007). To communicate with culturally and linguistically diverse interlocutors in global contexts, language learners need to practice how to co-construct acceptable meanings and negotiate language norms depending on context, acknowledging that there is no universal standard for speaking and writing (Canagarajah, 2013; Horner et al., 2011; Kramsch, 2014). This new approach is becoming increasingly accepted in composition and literacy classrooms (Canagarajah, 2011; Horner et al., 2011; Lee, 2016) as part of students' trajectory toward mastery of the discourse norms of their fields while retaining the flexibility of shuttling between languages in literacy practices inside and outside classrooms (Garcia, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012). However, there is still a need to examine strategies that translinguals adopt for communication to suggest pedagogic resources for teachers (Creese & Blackledge, 2010) to make the classroom "a potent site where students may develop a critical attitude toward existing norms" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 12). It implies possibilities of adopting translingual frameworks beyond writing classes—for example in pronunciation teaching—drawing learners' attention to evaluating their own resources to develop communication strategies, while questioning accepted norms of English in their contexts, particularly standard English accents.

Teaching Pronunciation and Translingualism

One area that has been less influenced by translingualism is pronunciation instruction, although use of various semiotic resources in speaking instantiations demonstrates translingual practices. For example, the well-known foreign language teaching guideline from ACTFL (2006), accepted worldwide as a reference, provides only limited information on how to teach pronunciation to multilingual learners, regardless of their explicit emphasis on speaking, multilingualism, and intercultural competence (Müller, 2013). With little guidance, pedagogic approaches to teaching pronunciation tend to vary by programs or by teachers. In some cases, pronunciation is not included in the curriculum because of the difficulty of teaching it, or it is taught quickly when it appears in the teaching materials, not in respective pronunciation classrooms (Foote et al., 2011; MacDonald, 2002). More recently, Baker (2011) pointed out teachers' lack of confidence with teaching pronunciation.

Analyses of English language textbooks also have shown that many pronunciation activities are decontextualized drills, focusing on practicing isolated sounds often without explanation of prosodic features (Breitkreutz et al., 2001; Derwing et al., 2012). Teachers who valued lingua franca accents did not teach it in the classroom, as it seemed impractical (Jenkins, 2005, 2007), or they did not feel confident (Baker, 2011). Little training for pronunciation pedagogy was mentioned as another reason why teachers are reluctant to teach pronunciation in North American contexts (e.g., Breitkreutz et al., 2001; Derwing, 2010; Saito & van Poeteren, 2012). Not much information is available about pronunciation instruction in the Korean context (teachers' beliefs, teaching materials, and teaching practices), but researchers have reported a prevalent expectation about English teachers' nativelike proficiency to teach English communicatively (e.g., Butler, 2004). Teachers' lack of confidence in their oral proficiency was often blamed for not teaching English communicatively. The assumption about nativelikeness has resulted in adding more language-related courses and study abroad programs through teacher (re)training in South Korea. These findings indicate the need to situate pronunciation within translingual competence, and to investigate ways of teaching effective communication strategies.

An emphasis on diversity in translingualism is also related to a current discussion about intelligibility as an alternative to standard pronunciation norms (e.g., Derwing & Munro, 2005). While investigating factors affecting intelligibility, researchers have begun to pay attention to suprasegmental as well as segmental features (Anderson-Hsieh et al., 1992; Cutler & Clifton, 1984), particularly lexical stress and vowel quality (Field, 2005). For sentence level prosody, Hahn (2004) showed how nuclear stress on content words influenced the extent to which native-English-speaking listeners understood L2 speech. Given the significance of prosodic features in communication, Chun (1988, 2002) stated that intonation should be taught from the earliest stage of foreign language instruction using authentic materials to enhance students' competence in discourse or lexical stress (Field, 2005). More recently, Müller (2013) recommended holistic competence in pronunciation as a means for communication, calling for educators' understanding of the shift in instructional goals and suggesting raising students' awareness in their assumptions about pronunciation, especially in contexts where students have limited exposure to the target language.

Methods

Responding to the need for integrating translingual practices into pronunciation teaching, this study first reports why the editor Talk-Talk-Hae-Young's transliterating practices were translingual, utilizing Korean, English, and other visual cues as resources. The following section examines thematic patterns in the practices to represent linguistic features more accessibly to a novice audience, focusing on mistakes that the editor made. Application users' responses to the editor's practices in the comments were analyzed as well, to understand both how segmental and suprasegmental information was delivered and users' strategies for negotiating meanings of given English phrases. These findings suggest implications for enhancing translingual pronunciation teaching with areas where teachers could pay attention for teaching and raising students' awareness of translingual/transcultural competence in monolingual contexts.

Data: The Editor's Posts and Users' Responses

In light of the literature, the editor's posts for English learning were micro contact zones within the application of which both the editor and application users were members. The number of users could not be specified, as only users who left their comments were included. The scope of the data in Pikicast was limited to Talk-Talk-Hae-Young's 73 posts published between 2015 and 2017. The 28 posts about vocabulary and weekly reviews were excluded, as they did not introduce any new transliterations. Out of 45, the 9 most recent posts were also exempted, as the editor changed the format and only provided phrases without transliterations. Therefore 36 posts with five idiomatic phrases each (for a total of 180 phrases) were counted as eligible intact data for this study. Data were first collected in 2016 and were revisited in 2017 after the editor stopped posting.

Data consisted of translingual practices by two parties: the editor who introduced the idiomatic English phrases with transliterations, and the users who responded to the posts through comments. With a focus on translingual practices, the two criteria for selecting the editor's phrases were the following: (a) the transliterations used various resources, more than one language and other visual cues, and (b) the phrases triggered active interaction among users, defined as more than 10 comments for each. Prioritized transliterations included those in which the editor had managed to put English into Korean syllable blocks that no standard word processing software (e.g., MS Word and Hangeul) allows. Comments that received more than 30 "likes" by other users were prioritized to understand users' reactions. Unlike the editor, users were unable to add foreign letters in Korean syllabic blocks, or to use any other visual features (e.g., underline or bold) in their comments. According to these criteria, below I report 13 phrases by the editor and 27 comments from users. All posts and comments can be located on the Pikicast website (www.pikicast.com) or its mobile version.

Analytic Framework and Data Analysis

Translingualism as a theory provided the analytic guidelines to examine the editor's and users' strategies that were used for communication. The open-coded translingual practices were analyzed for recurring patterns, using English primarily for segmental features (particularly for consonants), exaggerating and repeating transliterations that affected users' readability, or a lack of consistent criteria for transliteration, until no new ones appeared (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Linguistic information in transliterations was examined. This procedure examined the use of Korean and English, their functions, and linguistic mistakes in the editor's posts. Including users' responses to the editor's transliterations and mistakes not only supported the efficacy of the translingual practices for novice learners, but also informed some aspects that teachers need to take into consideration to prevent learners' confusion. Lastly, analyzing users' abilities and inabilities to point out linguistic errors not only provided pedagogical insights (e.g., avoiding errors and setting agreed-upon criteria) but also showed users' lack of translingual attitudes toward diversity in speech.

Interpreting functions of the data supported understanding of the findings. The four categories for meaning-making are *envoicing, interaction*, *recontextualization,* and *entextualization*, which respectively represent personal, contextual, social, and textual acts of translingual interaction (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 79). The first strategy, envoicing, is the act of speaking or writing in particular ways (language register, word choices, semantic distinctions, etc.). Writing their posts and comments, translinguals consciously or unconsciously disclose their strategic decisions about what resources to use, and when and how to use them effectively. Negotiation and meaning co-construction often occurred among users through comments, as the editor did not interact with users. Without assigned standardized positions, such as knowledge provider and knowledge recipients, users were constantly framing or recontextualizing their footings to make their claims, sometimes against the given

information from the editor. The lack of established norms in an anonymous online space also made users' interaction unconventional, as contextual cues were restricted to texts without the gestures or facial expressions of interlocutors. Many of the users' comments also actively recontextualized to clarify, negotiate, or rebut provided information about a foreign language and culture. Recontextualization was related to entextualization, a metastrategy monitoring "the spatiotemporal production processes of text and talk for voice and intelligibility" (p. 84) that users disclosed in their comments, referring to their own norms for communication. However, users' intentions in using entextualization strategies and decision-making processes had to be inferred from their word choices or ways of talking, due to the anonymity and instantaneity of interactions in the online space.

Findings

Thematic analysis found that the editor tended to (a) use English characters for consonants and pay less attention to vowels, (b) misrepresent pronunciation of particular consonants and vowels when s/he tried to imitate the sounds accurately, (c) occasionally, but not consistently, deliver prosodic features, and (d) not respond to the comments. The editor's practices elicited users' comments in four aspects: (a) responses to the translingual transliterations, both positive and negative; (b) responses to wrong information, such as misrepresentations of pronunciation in transliteration, context, or expression; (c) requests for further linguistic information, for example, prosodic information; and (d) sharing of personal experiences related to the given phrases and contexts.

The Editor's Translingual Practices

Table 1. An Overview of Selected Phrases with Transliterations

Selected phrases	Transliterations in Korean[3]	Transliterated back to English[4]
None of your excuses.	넌 옾뷰얼 익스큐싯스	nʌn ob-byu-eol ik-su-kyu-sis-su
Of all days to be late!	옾f얼 데이s 투비 래잍!	ʌp-**f**-eol de-i-s to-bi læ-it
Even you can't blow it!	이vㄴ 유 캐앤ㅌ 블로 잇!	i-**v**un yu kænt bul-lo it
Well, honey. I've seen worse.	웨엘, 호ㅓ어니. 압 v씬 워얼s	We-ɛl, hɔ-ʌ-ʌ-ni. ɑb-**v**-ssin wo-ɔl-s
Shouldn't we do something?	슈든 위 두우 썸th잉?	ʃu-dun wɥ du sʌm-**th**-iŋ
Thanks for everything.	th 앵 ss f올에 V R ㅣ th 잉	θ æ- æŋ-**s** **f**ɔl ɛ-**v**u-**r**i-**th**-iŋ
Is the restroom vacant?	이 s 더 뤠스트룸 V웨 이컨ㅌ	i-**s** dɔ rwe-su-tu-rum **v**we-i-keon-t
Could I get a receipt?	쿠다아이 게더 리쉽ㅌ?	ku-da-a-i gɛ-dʌ ri-ʃip-t
Please accept my apology.	플리이ㅈ 엌쎕ㅍㅌ 마 a풜로쥐	pul-li-i-z ʌk-ssep-p-t mʌ **a**-pʌl-lɔ-ʒi

[3] English letters were inserted into Korean syllabic blocks using a character editor.

[4] This table consulted NIKL's table comparing Korean and IPA symbols [국제 음성 기호와 한글 대조표] for transliterating Korean into English. Korean diphthongs that are not included in the table were transliterated following rules for writing Korean in the Roman alphabet [국어의 로마자 표기법]. Dashes were used to show Korean syllabic blocks in transliterations. English letters used in the editor's transliterations were bolded, and suprasegmentals (e.g., assimilations, linking, and reduced sounds) were underlined.

Features of Transliterations

First of all, the data established that application users shared one primary language, Korean. Although Pikicast was open to anyone who had access to the Internet, most of the content in the application was produced in Korean, and the editor Talk-Talk-Hae-Young's posts relied heavily on Korean to introduce the context and explain the phrases (visit HERE to see editor's posts). In the posts, the editor made limited use of English other than the target English phrases, adding only a few English letters in pronunciation transliterations. The subordination of English to Korean in a Korean application limited the audience to Korean speakers, but made the content broadly available within that group, including those with little knowledge of English. A noticeable *envoicing* strategy observed from the editor's posts was inserting a few English characters into Korean syllabic blocks in transliterations. Furthermore, from the level of sophistication in manipulating the language in posts, users could speculate that the editor was a Korean speaker rather than a speaker for whom Korean was an additional language. Later users' comments showing how users started questioning the authenticity of information supported this observation.

Crucial features that made transliterations translingual included breaking rules of grammar and transliteration of foreign words by the NIKL. Prioritizing the imitation of authentic sounds, the editor inserted English consonants that were nondistinguishable or nonexistent in Korean—*f, s, v, th*, and *r*—in Korean syllabic blocks. Typically, English consonants and stressed vowels were emphasized with an extra syllable as in *well* (웨엘), worse (워얼s), and *thanks* (th앵_ss). In contrast, the editor dropped reduced sounds such as final *t* in *can't, vacant, receipt*, *shouldn't* in transliteration, representing stressed and reduced sounds. These practices were not only appreciated by users for creativity, but also complimented for providing more authentic pronunciations, "native-like" in users' words, than general transliterations using unfamiliar symbols (see users' comments for *The grape touched the ground* in Table 2).

Inconsistency and Mistakes in Transliterations: A Need for Criteria

However, without consistency in transliteration criteria, the same translingual strategies undermined some users' trust in the information that the editor provided. For example, 익스큐싓스 (*excuses*) showed how the /s/ (or /ㅅ/) was unnecessarily repeated to emphasize the suffix *ses*. Likewise, in the two given phrases containing *of*, the *f* in *of all days to be late* and *None of your excuses* were both transliterated as /ㅍ/ in /윺/, one of the consonant equivalents for *f*: /ㅍ/ or /ㅂ/. If the editor had been following NIKL's suggestions, /ㅂ/ or /v/ would have been used for *f* as linguistically closer to /v/ in these phrases. The editor's use of two different consonants, /ㅂ/ and /ㅍ/ for /f/ in *윺f얼* as *of all,* and *윺뷰얼* as *of your,* also supported the inconsistencies in transliterations. Furthermore, users expressed that an extra consonant for *f* in *excuses, of all,* and *of your* complicated pronouncing transliterations (Table 3).

The editor's lack of precise linguistic knowledge resulted in making the same mistakes across the transliterations. The most common error was incorrect use of English letters for pairs of consonants that Korean does not differentiate or transliterate differently in relation to nearby sounds. Two examples were found in *Of all days to be late!* The *f* in *of* would have been better be transcribed as /v/, not as /f/, and the use of /s/ not /z/ for *s* in *days,* which also appeared in common words like *is*, *does*, and *was*. Impacts of mispronouncing these sounds might not be significant to intelligibility;

however, instructors have to assure that linguistic information in their materials is accurate, although they could discuss these sounds within intelligibility and translingual attitudes. Importantly, analysis of users' comments showed that these mistakes in transliterations signified the editor's lack of expertise in linguistics and altered their initial footing as an information provider. In some cases, repeated mistakes caused questioning of the efficacy of translingual practice.

The lack of consistency was observed in vowel transliterations, which could significantly affect users' intelligibility. The two different vowels in *all* /ɔːl/ and /ər/ in *your* were transliterated as the same /얼/ (/eol/), probably because Korean vowels did not accommodate accurately distinguishing the target sounds. In addition, two occasions when the editor used English for vowels, *아e 하틀리 th앵큐* (*I heartily thank you*) and *마e 플레셔r* (*My pleasure*) showed wrong use of *e* to indicate /ɪ/ in /aɪ/. This mistake was not only linguistically problematic because it was wrong, but also pointless, as both pronunciation of *I* and *my* were less likely to confuse English students or cause communication breakdowns. In this case, use of English letters did not contribute to learning new sounds. For the same reason, using *a* for the initial position in *apology* was problematic, as it misrepresented the reduced vowel /ə/. Mistakes could mislead users to think that /e/ was a correct symbol for the sound, given that they were not pointed out by users and repeated in comments in which they corrected a wrong representation of the sound /ʒ/ in pleasure as /ㅅ/ (an equivalent of /s/). On the other hand, the same examples suggested the possibilities of delivering suprasegmental features, noted earlier as a critical area of pronunciation. For example, reduced sounds and natural linkages were observed in transliterating the two words in the phrases *of all, of your, could I,* and *get a* as one word. Other textual enhancements, such as the editor's use of smaller and bigger fonts for stress and content words also supported this possibility.

A Lack of Interaction with Users

Some users with linguistic knowledge pointed out some mistakes and supported the characterization of the editor as an amateur, which weakened the trustworthiness of the translingual practices and information from the posts. Disappointingly, without any communication with users, the editor missed opportunities to provide accurate information and to co-construct meaning with users. The low-stakes setting that enabled users' active participation was not fully utilized. Below, analysis of users' comments suggests how in educational settings, bringing learners' related experiences of using provided phrases or similar contexts into the classroom could initiate discussion about translingual awareness. Moreover, despite the benefits of providing translingual transliterations, the following section shows how providing incorrect information could devalue the editor's translingual practices. In consequence, the lack of the editor's interaction failed to resolve users' concerns about incorrect information, to elicit meaningful negotiation with users regarding using the phrases, and to discuss diverse and appropriate contexts as well as alternative expressions.

Users' Responses and Negotiation Strategies

This section reports two types of users' comments: responses to translingual practices, and meaning negotiation. Users' various negotiation strategies were observed across their responses to the editor's transliteration. Some users placed requests for incorporating more prosodic information in transliterations. Users also responded to mistakes, not limited to linguistic information. Active negotiation occurred when users questioned the editor's practices or the given information.

Perceived Benefits of Translingual Practices

Table 2. Positive Comments to the Translingual Practices[5]

Phrases [Transliteration]	Comments
It’s all my fault. [잇ㅊ 어얼 마e f얼 ㅌ]	1. Oh my… I love how the pronunciation is transcribed… (laugh) it’s so easy [to read] (121 Likes) 2. Simply reading from the transliteration makes me feel like a native speaker. (46 Likes)
Please accept my apology.	3. … The letters are so strange to my eyes, yet I can read all of them. (103 Likes) 4. Hangeul is amazing… it can be combined with English and still perfectly pronounced (35 Likes) 5. Reading from the pronunciation is fun
Thanks for everything.	6. Hangeul and the editor are amazing. I can read this alien language (550 Likes) 7. I found myself reading it aloud (147 Likes) 8. Pronunciation transliteration is so cool!!!! (83 Likes)
The grape touched the ground. [더 구뤠잎 텃췰 더 구롸아운]	9. 텃췰 더 구롸우운hahaha Hangeul is awesome hahahaha (270 Likes)
Of all days to be late!	10. Wow it’s a phrase that I wouldn’t have thought of based on literal translation (132 Likes)

Users’ positive comments consisted of three themes, mainly responding to the nonstandard pronunciation transliterations. Table 2 represented that many users repeatedly expressed how unique the approach was and how much more readily these transliterations helped their pronunciation (1, 2, 4, 5) than did traditional transliterations. The user who wrote comment 2 mentioned that the way the editor utilized English letters helped him/her to sound like a native speaker. Inserting English letters into transliterations seemed to be effective when there were no exact equivalents of the sounds in Korean, and the users with only foundational knowledge in English pronunciation were able to read transliterations successfully. Along with expressing the pleasure of reading the novel transliterations, some users disclosed strong attachment to their alphabet, Hangeul (4, 6, 9). They praised both the language and the editor’s translingual practice by saying, for example, “Hangeul is a great writing system” for transliterating foreign sounds effectively. These comments implied that the users perceived the transliterations as a Korean literacy practice, and the English alphabet as a supplementary resource. An implication from these comments is to use Korean with instructors’

[5] Translations were discussed with a bilingual speaker of Korean and English.

control over the number of target sounds in transliterations. It could be particularly beneficial for beginners who are new to the English sound system and the majority of learners who are not familiar with the phonetic symbols.

Responses to the Editor's Mistakes: Requests

Table 3. Negative Comments

Phrases	Comments
One-way, or round trip? [원웨 e O R와 아운 ㅌ립?]	11. Reading the English [phrase] is easier than reading the pronunciation transliteration. Why?
The grape touched the ground	12. Wonder whether it would make sense if I read from Korean…
Could I get a receipt?	13. I don't want to blame the editor, but… Why don't you double check before publishing? Using the phonetic alphabet might be better than using Korean for pronunciation (7 Likes) 14. Agreed, agreed (with comment 13). This is not the first time [I saw a mistake]… Please just use the phonetic alphabet, dear editor.
Please throw in a few more [플리이즈 th뤄 이너 fㅠ 모어 r]	15. Who says this in the States... Don't say it, your server will give you a weird look (8 Likes) 16. Is this [phrase] really practical? It is nice [of you] to introduce good phrases, but [I] would like to learn useful idiomatic expressions for daily life. (29 Likes)

Table 2 showed how the joy of reading creative transliteration and feeling proud of their own writing system were shared among some users. However, these positive comments disappeared as users got accustomed to the practice and pointed out mistakes. Table 3 shows comments of a few users who were disturbed by a lack of fluency and the editor's mistakes, which invoked their requests for clarification or correction. Some suggested alternatives. Among the comments that disapproved of exaggerating sounds or mixing two alphabets, the author of comment 11 questioned the efficacy of the transliteration, saying that it was harder to read than the English phrase. Comment 12 showed how the lack of reading fluency in the transliterations made users question translingual practices or, more significantly, distrust the editor's information (13, 16, 18 below). Even more directly, comments 13 and 14 called for adherence to traditional transcription symbols, demonstrating their knowledge of linguistics, which was *recontextualizing* to claim an advantageous footing for their claim. Some users (13, 14, 16), following their general understanding of communication and rhetorical norms, mitigated their challenges with such courteous comments as *I don't want to blame you, please, might be better* and the use of ellipses. Many comments were not mitigated to the same extent, which was not uncommon in online contexts, less concerned about a risk of losing or threatening face. A user's persuasive intent for improvement was shown in comment 14, *It is not the first time,* implying that the editor repeatedly made mistakes across posts. Instead of letting the mistakes go or reprimanding the editor, the user asked for accurate information (also comments 13, 16, 17). These comments suggested that there were users who were returning to the posts, acknowledging the value of the information but bothered by

inconsistent translingual practices and linguistic errors. They further suggest implications for adopting translingual practices in the classroom—a need to develop criteria for transliteration and for mistakes, for example.

Correcting the Mistakes and a Lack of Users' Translingual Attitudes

Table 4. Comments to Negotiate

Phrases	Comments
Could I get a receipt?	17. I used to pronounce it 뤼십ㅌ (/rɪˈsi:pt/), but my speaking teacher corrected me yesterday: it's뤼시-트 (/rɪˈsi:t/). The *p* seems not pronounced (110 Likes) 18. [You] would have easily found that the *p* is silent here, if you had googled it. You should have checked (44 Likes)
I've had it!	19. *I've had enough* sounds better… (81 Likes) 20. It should be *I've had enough*. *I've had it* only means *I've done it*. ☺ (50 Likes)
My mind is a blank.	21. *My mind went blank* sounds better here. *My mind is a blank* sounds like an international student who learned it from a textbook. (70 Likes) 22. *My mind is blank, my mind went blank, I've gone blank* are correct. *My mind is a blank* sounds awkward. (2 Likes)
Please throw in a few more.	23. I recommend not saying this… [They] will ask for a larger tip… or not give you your change back for giving *a few more.* I've experienced it… (67 Likes) 24. [We] don't say this in the US… [Americans] don't give you extras. (48 Likes) 25. [We] don't say this in Australia, either…
You're boring.	26. This is rude. It may hurt your friend's feelings. Speakers of the UK and the US are surprisingly delicate too. (62 Likes) 27. Um… well… some of the previous expressions might be okay based on the relationship and context, but this one can hurt feelings for sure. It is a country where people respect each other even if they're close… Even friends don't say something as blunt as *You look so fat. You should go on a diet*. (49 Likes)

Table 4 shows less common comments that corrected the editor's mistakes. Three types of errors that users addressed were (a) pronunciation errors (17, 18); (b) faulty expressions (19–22); and (c) culturally inappropriate expressions (23–27). In these comments, users employed various interactional and recontextualization strategies to support their corrections, involving active negotiation of their footings from the initial one-directional knowledge flow. Such active attempts at negotiation were possible due to the lack of hierarchy in the online space. The most common strategy was to express intimate knowledge of the target culture(s), and less frequently to refer to knowledge of English linguistics (phonetics and grammar) or familiarity with accepted transcribing methods. Strategies used to negotiate showed users' lack of translingual attitudes toward diversity, based on the

prevalent monolingual framework. The users' responses reflected how a nontraditional approach could provoke strong resistance. It has to be carefully implemented in formal educational settings.

First, the most frequently cited mistakes were the wrong usage of consonants, /s/ and /ㅅ/ for the /z/, /ㅈ/, or /ʒ/ sounds in *It's my pleasure* and *It was nothing*. Likewise, comments 17 and 18 pointed out that *p* in *receipt* should not be pronounced. One strategy was to borrow the voice of an authority, the speaking teacher of the author of 17, who made the same mistake until recently. These direct corrections from users appeared least frequently among comments as they required linguistic knowledge. The same reason could explain users' inability to address mispronunciation of vowels. Second, a few grammatically flawless phrases were nevertheless criticized for being contextually inappropriate: *I've had it!* and *My mind is a blank*.[6] The authors of 19 and 20, claiming that the first did not make sense as an expression of impatience, revealed their lack of knowledge that *I've had it* is a widely used phrase to express exasperation. Users' negation also reflected their lack of a translingual attitude, refusing phrases they had not encountered or used before. The way of rejecting the given phrases as not used in some countries indicated users' monolingual attitudes toward spoken English. In relation to a desire to sound like a native speaker (from Table 2), not like an international student, these comments supported a need to raise English learners' translingual sensitivity. Comments 21 and 22 were similar examples of negotiating the one given, by offering alternative phrases.

The third pattern, negating the entire expression when they deemed it inappropriate to say, also disclosed users' monolingual perspectives. Users pointed out the inappropriateness of saying *Please throw in a few more*, displaying their knowledge about sales practices and the tip culture (23, 24), which is foreign to many Koreans. This occasion suggested a need to contextualize the phrase for learning idiomatic phrases, discussing contexts in which price negotiation might or might not be acceptable. Here, sharing personal experiences of using the phrase abroad (23) was one way to convince other users not to use it. Comments 24 and 25 also referred to their observations of what was typical in the US and Australia, implying their residence in the countries to take the advantage in footing and to prove validity of what the users said at the same time. To support their claims, users mentioned the US most frequently, followed by the UK, Australia, Canada, or specific cities (e.g., New York). The pattern might reflect an assumption about English, not limited to pronunciation, accepting those from certain countries as standards. The users disclosed a rigid standpoint towards phrases that did not sound correct but which could be still understandable.

Comments 26 and 27 also referenced their familiarity with English-speaking culture in their responses to the most controversial phrase, *You're boring*, derived from the *Tell your boring friend to shut up* posting. Claiming that this phrase was inappropriate in any context, users negotiated misuses of the phrase by sharing their understanding of communicative norms and conventions among English speakers, so other users who learned the phrase from the posts could avoid possible conflicts. Although what "speakers of the UK and the US [영미권 사람들] are surprisingly delicate" meant (26) needed clarification, this example showed how users negotiated meaning and learned from each other without relying on the editor. This vague phrase, by limited-English speakers from two contexts, was another example showing the users' biased understanding of legitimate English-speaking contexts, although such communicative norms could be applicable to broader contexts. Likewise, comment 27 brought up two general elements for communication across cultures, relationships, and context, but

[6] Use of these phrases was controversial among the four readers of this manuscript, who had different opinions on contextual correctness.

still implicitly referred to "a country" without explanation. Even in these short comments, users showed limited understanding of English-speaking contexts, which they tried to overgeneralize. This strategy that users employed to elicit other users' agreements, referring to personal experiences in countries or cities that they considered legitimate representatives of English-speaking contexts, indicated monolingual standards accepted by users.

Discussion

The findings showed the potential of adopting translingual transliterations using learners' first and target languages, and other visual enhancements for teaching intelligibility and varieties of English. Analysis of users' responses supported the efficacy of the translingual approach to deliver segmental and suprasegmental aspects, and informed areas that teachers can enhance and avoid. Importantly, users' preferences for the varieties of English spoken in particular countries suggested a need to renegotiate existing conceptions about standard English and its speakers as global citizens, and raise awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity. It is important to note that the primary purpose of this paper is not to invent other rules or symbols for sounds that already exist, but to encourage instructors' translingual attitudes regarding flexibility with using available resources and acknowledging their learners' unique resources to facilitate language learning. Informed by translingual and multilingual frameworks, this investigation suggests a way to teach pronunciation easily for teachers and students based on the observations of informal learning in the online space.

Translingual Approach to Teaching Intelligibility

To Deliver Segmental Features for Beginners

This study illustrates how using first and target alphabets in transliterating pronunciation of sentences could be a pedagogically effective alternative to the traditionally used word-level pronunciation in teaching materials. Using students' first language as primary and the target language as supplementary, this practice may be particularly advantageous for beginners, as it does not require advanced linguistic knowledge or specialized symbols, nor an extra pronunciation class, which many current curricula cannot accommodate (e.g., Munro & Derwing, 2006). A strength of using both languages in transliteration is the immediate representation of accurate pronunciation, which is important in learning English, in which few letters are always pronounced the same. In elementary school, teachers can start with adding a few English letters strategically in transliterations written in the students' first alphabet, to highlight target sounds, for example, *th*, *r* and *l*, English-specific phonemes of which many L2 speakers are aware but find difficult to pronounce. To decide sounds, teachers have to consult with their curriculum or teachers' guidebook. As students get used to English letters and multiple corresponding sounds, teachers can draw students' attention to the patterns of how the same English letters are pronounced differently in different environments, as s pronounced as /ʒ/ in pleasure, f as /v/ and s as /z/ in *of all days*. Using sound symbols in transliterations could be a good way to draw students' attention to pronunciation rules.

To Deliver Suprasegmental Features

This practice suggests presenting suprasegmental features, which are often overlooked in general English classrooms and teaching materials (e.g., Baker, 2011; Breitkreutz et al., 2001) despite their impact on intelligibility. The editor's ways of showing stressed/reduced vowels in words, blends, linking, and assimilation as linkages *of your*, *of all,* and *could I* into one word (Table 1) exemplify this potential. Flexible transliterations allowing multiple alphabets and visual cues could assist learners to be aware of prosodic features that could improve their intelligibility and enable them to communicate

with diverse interlocutors effectively. Thus, languages, sound symbols, and visual cues can be used strategically to address how sounds are pronounced depending on other letters in a word. What the editor did, incorporating simple typographical cues such as different font sizes and bold facing to represent stress, intonation blends, and linking can draw attention to stressed or reduced sounds. Likewise, teachers may discuss vowels explicitly for stress patterns for multisyllabic words (Cutler & Clifton, 1984; Field, 2005; Levis & Barriuso, 2012). Additionally, teachers can make students transliterate familiar loanwords that are pronounced differently in English and Korean (body, lobster, battery, coyote, etc.) as a classroom activity. The practice can address prosodic errors that Korean English speakers commonly make with multisyllabic words or phrases, pointing out how their L1 habits affect L2 pronunciation.

To Provide Accurate Information and to Negotiate Criteria with Students

The editor's mistakes observed in this study can be sample materials to discuss common pronunciation mistakes, but also suggest a need to ensure that all the information is accurate to avoid the challenges reported. Users' criticisms of incorrect information highlight the importance of accuracy, not only to save teachers from being accused of lacking knowledge, but also to prevent students' resistance to translingual practices. Some users' negative responses to their inability to read the transliterations fluently lead to another suggestion to make transliterations legible without the need to look at the given English sentences, which is to remove reiterations of the same sounds and exaggeration of stressed vowels. Teachers might bring up the mistakes of the editor to negotiate transliteration rules with students, which can serve as training in navigating resources and developing their own strategies for language learning (for example, consulting guidelines for transliterating foreign languages from a national institute like the NIKL). Instead of prescribing the rules from the NIKL or teachers, teachers can talk about similar sounds that are transliterated the same in Korean (e.g., /ㄹ/ for l & r, and /ㅈ/ for z, ʒ, ʣ, & ʤ) and discuss possible impacts of wrong pronunciation on communication. By explaining their decisions, students can evaluate the effectiveness of their own and others' reasoning and rules while developing strategies for intelligible pronunciation.

Other expected learning outcomes of the negotiation activity include encouraging students' interactions in class. However, inviting students to participate in translingual practices may require teachers' significant efforts to model and scaffold (see Canagarajah, 2001, 2011; Michael-Luna & Canagarajah, 2007). There is still a need for empirical research on translingual practices, yet modeling and scaffolding have been suggested as effective, especially for students who are accustomed to a monolingual perspective in a linguistically homogeneous context like Korea. For example, asking dialogic questions (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 415) about students' choices can be ways to scaffold. Teachers also need to frame their classrooms as safe spaces, in which students feel free to converse and collaborate (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010) in settings where students are normally assigned defined roles as knowledge-recipients. Reflecting on the editors' creativity and inaccuracies as opportunities to elicit users' interaction, teachers may try similar patterns to invite students to begin meaning negotiation, for example, cultural understanding for *You're boring* and *Please throw in a few more*. Discussing such idiomatic expressions as communicative tasks (Canagarajah, 2011) with diverse interlocutors, students understand why the same expressions can be culturally appropriate in some contexts and inappropriate in others.

Translingual Approach to Raise Students' Translingual Attitudes

Users' comments that reflect monolingual orientations further suggest the need to discuss the nature and purpose of conversational situations that are not limited to some countries. From a monolingual perspective, the main objective of teaching speaking is to instill (what is perceived as) standard pronunciation, assuming their interlocutors carry particular pronunciations. By implication, it makes people judge their and others' speech according to its proximity to that standard. This approach, reinforced and consumed worldwide through the pervasiveness of particular cultural aspects of the US in the public media (Lippi-Green, 2012), was observed during analysis. The impact of what Pratt (1991) dubbed "the transnationalized metropolis of the United States" (p. 37) was evident in the editor's intention of creating the posts for learning idiomatic English phrases and users' satisfaction with speaking like native speakers. It raised the question of why knowing those expressions in English so as to emulate nativelike accents was of value to users of this entertainment application. Some users' tendencies also supported their lack of translingual attitudes, referring to particular English-speaking countries as the trustworthy source of linguistic and cultural knowledge. These claims of knowledgeability revealed not only users' strong preferences for American and Anglocentric accents but also the presupposed privilege attached to such English.

Informed by the perspective of translingual competence and intelligibility, this observation suggests that pronunciation teaching needs to address how Korean English learners evaluate authenticity in English pronunciation and perceive legitimate English-speaking contexts. Deconstructing learning goals aligning with the reality of global English language diversity (Chan, 2016; Creese et al., 2014; Doerr, 2009) could initiate discussions about intelligible pronunciation in class. In this way, translingual practices also accommodate recent emphases in English education in many countries on promoting critical thinking and preparing students to communicate with diverse speakers in the world (e.g., ACTFL, 2006; Korean Ministry of Education, 2015; MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007). Policymakers, teachers, and students themselves need to develop their own translingual lenses, reflecting on existing standards for pronunciation and how well their materials and pedagogical approaches represent the realities of the global communicative contexts (Kramsch, 2012). With such attitudes, learners could respond to various versions of English differently, rather than judging them as wrong.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

I would like to acknowledge methodological limitations of this report. With an inability to intervene in posting production and interactions in the application, the data represented authentic informal practices of English learning, yet missed "participants' perspectives." Listening to Korean English learners' perspectives on these kinds of practices and mistakes could have provided meaningful data to discuss the potential of translingual practices for learning. In the same sense, collecting users' or learners' oral production of transliterations could provide evidence for the effectiveness of the translingual practice, measuring how their pronunciation and intelligibility have improved. Furthermore, the informal context of this paper requires careful planning by teachers, to offer accurate information and to elicit active participation in the classroom. Therefore, future research is expected to include various data types from English learners, both in-depth responses to transliterations and spoken production of transliterations, as well as investigating classroom practices about how adopting this co-constructive translingual approach influences students' intelligibility and their translingual attitudes.

Conclusion

This study analyzed practices of informal English learning and made suggestions for pronunciation instruction in educational settings. It addressed the less studied area of teaching pronunciation in relation to developing students' general competence for interactions in various English contact zones. The findings suggested the need for teaching practices that emphasize key features of intelligibility in specific contexts rather than their approximation to native speaker standards. Using students' first language as a primary resource for pronunciation instruction could be one way to make rich linguistic information accessible to novices, an area of teaching which is often marginalized due to teachers' reluctance and lack of confidence, and residual attitudes toward the prestige of native-speaking standards. Instead of relying on traditional approaches such as chanting in response to audio materials and drills focusing on producing individual sounds and words, co-constructed translingual activities could bring students' attention to both segmental and suprasegmental features of speech, which are necessary for their intelligibility. Negotiation and interaction around the practices are expected to develop students' ability to utilize resources for learning. Lastly, given the current status of English as a major means of communication globally, this paper revealed a need to raise students' translingual awareness of the broad diversity of English speakers.

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Multimodality in Early Childhood Education

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the uses of multimodality within early childhood education classrooms for the purposes of literacy education. Wohlwend (2008) urges educators to keep age-appropriate practices in place, even amid a shift in educational requirements and expectations. In this paper, the use of age-appropriate, multimodal practices for young learners is explored. Though there is not necessarily research specific to multimodality in early childhood, the literature shows that multimodality is present in forms of play; the use of toys, devices, and technology; drama; and social interactions. Through these modality-rich avenues, literacy development can still be achieved through engaging structures for children. Multimodality creates opportunities to position the student as the expert in their own learning and create collaborative learning environments. Potential issues with these uses of multimodality include conflicts around devices in the classroom and negative social interactions. Additional research is needed to connect the fields of multimodality and early childhood education.

Keywords: Multimodality, Early Childhood Education, Literacy Education, Play, Developmentally Appropriate Practices

Introduction

In an age of high-stakes testing, we are finding that students are being given fewer opportunities for play within educational settings, and even losing recess time to allow for more structured academic time (Blatchford et al., 2016; Bassok et al., 2016; Christakis, 2016). As technology evolves, there are more opportunities for creative engagement in material and instructional techniques. With an understanding of how children learn and grow, there is also an interest in re-engaging students in instructional techniques and educational practices that are exciting and developmentally appropriate and push for students' growth and understanding. In education,

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we have the opportunity to readjust our thinking towards a more student-structured curriculum and instructional practices. This includes more opportunities for play, and participation in playful learning to enhance students' engagement and interest. This gives time that allows for students' creativity to thrive and build upon the playful skills they already possess.

The research here is focused on what teachers can do to enhance student learning through developmentally appropriate means, while continuing to push for depth of understanding in early childhood education classrooms. Though early childhood is generally defined as up to the age of 8 (NAEYC, n.d.), for the purposes of this paper, I limit my research to the formal education years within early childhood of prekindergarten through approximately 2nd grade. How can multimodality be implemented at this age in ways that can increase literacy development and achievement for these young learners while attending to equitable and engaging educational practices? Multimodality will be explored as additional modes of literacy education that draw on students' current literacy expertise and interests. Literacy includes all modes that hold meaning, even beyond reading, writing and speaking. Recognizing the rich modes through which literacy can take place expands our lens of what qualifies as literacy skills and developmental practices.

My experience as an educator and a researcher is within 2nd-grade classrooms and younger. Early childhood education classrooms often require a different approach from classrooms working with older students, that is, approaches that focus on practices that are developmentally appropriate for young learners. Wohlwend (2008) urges educators to keep these age-appropriate practices in place, even amid a shift in educational requirements and expectations. She states that "standardized testing and uniform teaching leave little time for the messy wonder that regularly occurs during child-directed play and exploration" (p. 127).

Additionally, from a critical literacy lens, Vasquez (2017) teaches that literacy education should attend to the diversity of learners, supported through social justice and equity practices that allow for effective and equitable education. "Critical literacy [is] a perspective and way of being that should be constructed organically, using the inquiry questions of learners, beginning on the first day of school with the youngest learners" (p. 3). Play allows for this organic exploration and questioning to take place. It allows for students to explore relevant skills or challenges, based on their personal interests or experiences. Developmentally appropriate practices, therefore, not only attend to and allow for those "messy wonders" (Wohlwend, 2008) to occur in the classroom, but they also allow for an organic construction of inquiry based on the interests and knowledge of students, enabling critical literacy development.

Multimodality also recognizes that meaning-making is not limited to traditional linguistic outputs (Luke, 1992; Kress, 2009; Mills, 2016). Multimodality allows for an array of modes to represent literacy achievement and understanding. This versatility of linguistic understanding draws on critical literacy by allowing expression to be meaningful to students and their experiences. Therefore, in looking to explore developmentally appropriate practices that may allow for relevant and critical literacy instruction of young students, I turn to multimodality. My guiding questions here are:

1. How can multimodality be effectively implemented in an early childhood literacy classroom?
2. What modes of literacy are beneficial to literacy learning in early childhood education?
3. Can incorporation of multimodality also engage critical literacy practices within the early childhood classroom?

The research here focuses on ways that literacy achievement can be driven through multimodality specific to early childhood education. To do this, it is important to first understand

multimodality in literacy in general. I will also explore critical literacy research and how this may be used in conjunction with multimodality in early childhood education. Once I have reviewed multimodality and critical literacy, I will focus on research that incorporates multimodality into early childhood education classrooms. Multimodality in early childhood education is split into several common modalities of incorporation, through play, toys, technology and devices, drama, and social interaction. I will look at each mode and research associated with them in early childhood. I will then discuss the findings on how multimodality is used with younger students, the influence this may have on students' learning, outcomes, and benefits, and any potential issues this may raise. I will finish by looking at possible gaps in the literature and the direction that future research may take to fill in these gaps.

Research on Multimodality

Literacy and language are holistic in nature (Luke, 1992; Kress, 2009; Mills, 2016). Literacy includes all modes that hold meaning, even far beyond reading, writing and speaking. They include the things we see, hear, and do, and they vary between cultures, social interactions, and structures. Modes may include insights into important aspects of cultures or groups of people (Kress, 2009). "Socially, a mode is what a community takes to be a mode and demonstrates that in its practices; it is a matter for a community and its representational needs" (pp. 58-59). Mode, then, is influenced by these cultural and social structures that help to create and interpret meaning. "Mode is broadly understood to be the effects of the work of culture in shaping material into representation" (Kress & Jewitt, 2003, p. 1).

Multimodality then is understood to be "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event" (Kress et al., 2001, p. 20). Reading and writing are naturally multimodal processes because of their nature of both encoding and decoding words while also giving attention to the spatial layout of all elements, including text, images, and other literary representations on a page (Mills, 2016). Some tasks seen as one mode in process, like talking, in fact access multiple modes, like interpretation, processing of conversation, and inclusion of sensory or cultural processes present in the moment (Wohlwend, 2011). Therefore, many processes traditionally interpreted as a single mode are in fact multimodal.

Multimodality recognizes that meaning-making is not limited to only linguistic modes, but accounts for all aspects of meaning-making and understanding. Multimodality also recognizes that meaning does not exist outside of its context (New London Group, 1996). Meaning is made in increasingly multimodal, digital, and social ways. It is important to recognize the social and cultural uses in multimodality to create and understand meaning.

In an early childhood context, this means recognizing the social and cultural implications of literacy practices being acted out or upon. Therefore, multimodality analyzed throughout this paper allows for an even more diverse immersion into multiple modes of literacy. For instance, instead of referring to the simultaneous decoding and encoding of words while reading, the multiple modes of literacy refers to combinations of literacy engagement that may be less recognizable or less accepted as literacy, such as play with others or with toys. Through a diverse recognition of acceptable literacy practices, educators can also appeal to the learning styles and understanding of diverse students. In this way, multimodality can be used in conjunction with critical literacies to appeal to students from diverse backgrounds, even as early as prekindergarten through 2nd grade.

Research on Critical Literacy

Within the lens of critical literacy, Vasquez (2017) noted that the evolution of variability of linguistic repertoires, new technologies, and other factors makes it difficult to define what it means to be literate, not to mention how to teach literacy. Luke and Freebody (1999) state that "we agreed that there was no single definitive, truthful, scientific, universally effective, or culturally appropriate way of teaching or even defining literacy" (p. 2). In this sense, literacy and being literate are difficult to define, especially in terms of young students. The open-ended definition of literacy works well with the multimodalities mentioned above. Literacy does not have to mean pen and paper, but exploration of the world through more senses, and engaging in one's knowledge and background. This open-ended participation in literacy allows for acknowledging differences in cultural understanding while attending to literacy development.

Norton (1999) notes that language and identity are "complex, contradictory, and multifaceted and reject any simplistic notions of identity" (p. 419). She links identity theory with classroom practices. In analyzing work in language and identity, she notes that both "point out that identity constructs and is constructed by language" (p. 419), and that linguistic identity should be supported in the classroom, where a student's identity should thrive, not be diminished. By incorporating a multimodal classroom, full of developmentally appropriate modes of literacy exploration—play, toys, social interactions—students' literacy practices also construct their identity and their identity constructs the literacy practices.

These articles delve into literacy and language practices in the classroom, the ways that we include, construct, deconstruct, restore, and critically engage in language. This engagement is especially important here because of the connection that language (including literacy) has to a student's identity. A student's background, identity, and culture need to be taken into account and be used in the classroom (Ladson-Billings, 1995). In this way we are allowing a student their own identity instead of pushing our cultural identity and ways of knowing onto the student (Freire, 2000).

What we often see with literacy and literacy education is a binary ideal of what it means to use literacy, teach literacy, and be literate. The articles above articulate ways in which literacy is used in different communities, cultures, and even families. The exclusion of different ways of knowing only adds to an ideal of what it means to be literate and who possesses that skill, while diminishing the understanding and knowledge of a wide range of literate individuals. Friere (2000) is particularly concerned with the ways in which traditional pedagogy not only ignores the knowledge of particular cultures, but continues to oppress those individuals based on their background and understanding. By silencing the literacy skills which others possess, we in turn oppress those individuals and force them to conform to a societal paradigm perpetuated by power relations.

When speaking about a student who scored poorly on standardized testing, Delpit (1992), who came from a difficult background, but was still powerfully successful and influential in her field, said, "people, given the proper support can 'make it' in culturally alien environments. [Success stories like this] makes clear that standardized test scores have little to say about someone's actual ability. And it demonstrates that supporting students' transformation demands an extraordinary amount of time and commitment, but that teachers can make a difference if they are willing to make that commitment" (pp. 296-297). This is achievable by teaching outside the bounds of "normal" literacy education, and providing students with opportunities to delve into critical literacies, which can be infused with multimodalities. Traditional educational practices did not reveal this student's actual abilities (Delpit, 1992). By attending to critical involvement in culture and multimodal literacy practices, teachers can better attend to the needs of their students.

Critical literacy recognizes the many ways in which an individual, family, or community is literate or uses literacy. The pedagogy then recognizes and adapts to these broad literacies. This adaptation may be done through the inclusion of alternative or additional modalities in the classroom. There is no correct or universal model of critical literacy. Instead, "how educators deploy the tools, attitudes, and philosophies is utterly contingent ... upon students' and teachers' everyday relations of power, their lived problems and struggles and the ways in which teachers are able to navigate the (P)politics of the places and spaces in which their work unfolds" (Vasquez, 2017, p. 9).

Through critical literacy, there is the potential to speak not only the dominant language and culture in the classroom, but also to speak out for marginalized students. Multimodality allows for multiple avenues of learning and engagement in literacy. It allows students to find a path that works for them, their culture, language, background, and understanding. Within the context of early childhood education, multimodality offers developmentally appropriate modes of engagement in literacy education. These modes have the potential to expound on critical literacy practices and ways of learning and teaching. Multimodality can then work in conjunction with critical literacy in an early childhood education classroom. Literacy modes can connect these young students not only with developmentally appropriate practices, but critically engage students in learning as well. It can draw upon their culture and uses of literacy to expand on literacy learning.

Research on Multimodality in Early Childhood Education

Research on multimodality is thin in the area of early childhood education. However, many examples of its use and impact in the classroom can be found in the literature. In the early childhood education classrooms of prekindergarten through approximately 2nd grade, research has been conducted on literacy education through means other than traditional reading and writing, or direct instruction. Researchers have explored literacy development through avenues like play, drama or acting, incorporation of digital literacies, and even through social interaction among other children and adults (see, for example Flint, 2018; Lysaker, Wheat & Benson, 2010; Roskos et al., 2003; Wohlwend, 2008, 2011; Yoon, 2014).

Wohlwend (2011) looked at modes of literacy within early childhood education and outlined the literacy practices that are developed through the use of particular modes. She notes how speech, music, and sound effects lead to talking and singing in later development. "Visual modes, including print, image, gaze and mediated action with books, writing tools, or art materials" (p. 82) lend themselves to the development of reading, writing, and design. Play leads to understanding and use of actions like gestures, body language, and movement, as well as action involving toys, dolls, props, and so on.

Multimodality, then, makes sense when applied to early childhood education, as the students don't typically have reading and writing skills at a level where they can engage in them in traditional academic settings. Therefore, multiple avenues for literacy should be available to them, avenues which foreground the development of these sought-after literacy skills. This is where multimodality becomes an important tool in early childhood. Wohlwend (2008) argues this further by saying that "children's flexible orientation to designing and interpreting meaning affords multiple paths into literacy" (p. 126). Play, for instance, as outlined below, can be used as a stepping stone to reading and writing (Roskos et al., 2003; Wohlwend, 2008; Yoon, 2014). It may be a means of expression, communication, and storytelling, therefore making play a possible mode of literacy and an avenue through which multimodal literacy may be achieved.

Here I highlight some of the directions of literacy education shown in research. These avenues explore and incorporate multiple modes of literacy learning within early childhood education, allowing children to develop literacy through multimodality. This review of the literature is separated into modes that are seen in literature in regards to literacy education in early childhood.

Play

The most prevalent and arguably the most developmentally appropriate avenue of literacy education found in early childhood education research is play. Play incorporates many modes of literacy, including any combination of visual modes such as pictures, toys, body gestures, and body language, and auditory modes such as speech, singing, and listening. Play with other students also creates a need for the modes of interpretation and response (Wohlwend, 2011). In some cases, play may also include modes relevant to reading and writing (Roskos et al., 2003; Wohlwend, 2008; Yoon, 2014). Play lends itself to many modes of understanding and meaning-making.

Flint (2018) argued that the field of early childhood education should be reconceptualized to include play as a valid form of reader response, as play is an important source for children's academic learning. During her study in a 1st-grade classroom, she focused on play as a form of reader response, or "responsive play" (Flint, 2018). Her findings suggest that children can learn responses to literature through play and that the children's experiences and funds of knowledge (González et al., 2005) should add to the learning environment instead of being discouraged. In this research, play directly led to skills necessary for reading and writing development through inclusion of additional modes with play. Lysaker et al. (2010) researched the use and quality of play in an early childhood education classroom during times when children were working on reading and writing. The study found play was used in three ways, "through the use of singing and chanting, the expression of intense emotion, and the use of pretend and fantasy" (p. 209). Through play, children create a "third space" (Gutiérrez, 2008) where they combined academic learning and their social, playful lives that played more into their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) for academic growth. Engagement in this third space allows children to insert importance in school interactions by also combining home values and ways of knowing into academic interactions (González et al., 2005). Literacy practices could be viewed with relevance to students' lived experiences. Through the infusion of academic learning and social lives, students engaged critically in multimodal literacies.

Popular media may also be used as a background literacy for the children to call upon in literacy learning through play. Play allows background knowledge to develop storylines and language. Popular media may provide a foundation on which these skills may be further expanded and used (Wohlwend, 2017). Giving students opportunities to play rather than just reading and writing allows more children to participate in literacies through stories and modes that are familiar and comfortable. They hold expertise in familiar stories and therefore enact deeper literacy skills (Medina and Wohlwend, 2014; Hobbs & Jensen, 2009). Play within the classroom allows children to draw upon their background knowledge to engage in meaningful storylines. With the use of popular media, the storylines were furthered, creating opportunities for deep engagement in literacy modes such as recall, storying, and modes associated with play, as mentioned previously.

Toys

Along the same lines as play, toys are tools for play, and in turn, through which literacy can be achieved. Larson et al. (in press) outline ways that toys can be incorporated into the classroom as a means of literacy development for young learners. In one example, the authors share the ways that toys can be used as a tool for literature comprehension and story retelling by using toys that connect

to the story, and having children bring the story to life through their play with toys. By using toys for retell, teachers are engaging modes of literacy through play that might not otherwise be present in the classroom.

The authors here also argue for allowing children to bring toys from home to be used in the classroom. This use goes beyond the traditional "show and tell." Instead, they assert that the use of toys from home will allow educators to glimpse items, stories, and literacies that are important and familiar to the children at home. These toys allow for a connection with home literacy practices and give educators an opportunity to build upon the knowledge and interests of the child (Larson et al., in press).

Similarly, Buchholz and Coggin (2013) describe young students making their own toys with paper, crayons, and scissors available in the classroom to be used as part of the students' academic literacy time. The students proceeded to recreate or reimagine familiar stories, expanding on familiar literacies, and remaking literacies through their play with these paper toys. The creation of toys was itself a process of development and literacy production. Children used visual and gestural modes of literacy, like drawing and design. With the finished product, children are able to engage in story creation, adaptations, or retelling, either solely or collaboratively with other students. The use of toys in this case was multimodal in terms of production, as well as the literacy practices that were produced with the use of the finished toy.

In the examples above, toys were used in conjunction with play in the classroom. Students brought toys from home to use in school, used toys provided for them in the classroom, or made toys. In each case, toys served as a tool by which modes of literacy were enacted as they surfaced through play.

Digital Literacy

Digital literacy in the form of devices and applications is incorporated as a mode to develop literacy skills in the early childhood education classroom. Oftentimes, digital literacies are also used together with play, utilizing a combination of modes of literacy that both play and digital literacy are able to draw upon. Wohlwend (2015) observed as children in a preschool-aged classroom interacted with technology, play, and literacy, using skill sets specific to technological, literary use. Toddlers understood that there are new modes and ways to interact with digital literacies (swipe, pinch, etc.). Through classroom observations, Wohlwend saw digital literacies emerge as young students played together to create meaning through applications on tablets. Children collaborated to create complex stories using digital puppets, and often required additional children so they could manipulate more than one character at a time. Children engaged in modes of literacy necessary for digital interactions as well as play and collaboration with other students.

Digital apps offer children a place to produce their own stories, work, and digital animations in ways that encourage collaboration, support their literacy development in the classroom and their digital literacies, and engage students through play interests. The research here shows that children collaborating to use these apps support one another in this development in practices that are engaging and fun to them (Wohlwend, 2015).

In addition to device-based apps, Wohlwend (2013) observed the incorporation of both digital recording devices and toys in the classroom. Students were given the opportunity to play and create stories, using provided toys as characters in their telling. Students were then afforded the opportunity to record and act out their stories on cameras and other devices as they created their own stories. In this "Literacy Playshop" (Wohlwend, 2013), teachers used technology in the classroom with video

production of storytelling. They started by allowing children to create toys, then to play with toys, and later with production equipment, then begin using all materials to create stories and videos as a form of literacy production. This literacy structure was captured with the use of recording devices after children practiced the skill of incorporating these devices into their literacy time.

The process of literacy playshop is a multimodal literacy incorporating technology into early childhood education classrooms with recording devices and toys. This can be used to incorporate technology in engaging ways for literacy production. Play is used to guide children's needs and development of literacy skills like writing, story production, cooperation, and story pieces like characters, setting, plot, etc. These modes of literacy, plus those associated with play, toys, and even technology were ever-present in this multimodal curriculum. Critical literacy was present in the ways that students drew on familiar stories, created new stories of importance to them, or reimagined stories to fit with personal interests or experiences. Through literacy playshop, children participated in multimodal storytelling that had the possibility of critically imaging or reimaging stories.

Drama

In the example of Literacy Playshop above (Wohlwend, 2013), students created, re-envisioned, altered, and eventually acted out their stories, both on camera, and in some cases, live for classmates or teachers. In addition to acting for the camera, they then edited, viewed, and used the recorded stories to further engage with their stories through the recorded dramatizations. In this way, drama was intertwined as a mode with play and technology to engage students in literacy.

Therefore, drama is again a mode found in conjunction with play within literature. Through other examples such as thematic play centers, students act out real-life scenarios such as farms, shopping, or childcare. Children act and play upon life moments that are familiar or enact their background knowledge of the world and lived experiences (Larson et al., in press). In this way, play, together with drama, draws on students' funds of knowledge (Gonzáles et al., 2005) to act out scenarios that are familiar from their lives. Because of this, students simultaneously create stories, draw from background knowledge, act out these scenarios, and collaborate in the storytelling with other students.

In their ethnographic study, Medina and Campano (2006) found that drama is a prime example of an alternative literacy practice that seems to be marginalized in modern classrooms to make way for test driven practices. This is especially true in low-income schools where resources are more strained. However, drama can serve as a meaningful way to perform literacies that engage students' lives. Though their research was in elementary grades older than 2nd grade, the implications can be easily applied to younger students. Students used drama to critically reenact social or cultural situations that were meaningful to them. They then used drama as they reimagined the actions or structures of the stories to be more meaningful or make compromises with outcomes. This taught students to interact with or negotiate diverse perspectives while generating knowledge. Through dramatizations of real-life situations, students were able to engage in auditory, visual, and gestural modes of literacy. They also drew upon background knowledge and modes of cooperation and collaboration with other students as they acted out these scenarios. Students also engaged in critical literacy practices by connecting to their personal lives, questioning, reworking, or restructuring their interactions through drama. In this way, drama becomes a complex, multimodal literacy to critically engage the lives of students in early childhood education. Teachers can guide these young students to direct their play or literacy engagement through dramatization. This allows the students to express their experiences, reimagine their worlds, and think critically about their lives and futures while engaging collaboratively in multimodal literacies.

Social Interactions

Additional research found that social interactions, either in the classroom or on the playground, served as a multimodal means of literacy development in education. In a case study performed by Yoon (2014, the author highlights a group of kindergarten students that engage in play during their writing tasks in the classroom. The writing tasks were made meaningful by their social interactions that took place outside of the classroom. This generally took place during unstructured play time, usually recess, and added to structured literacy time. These interactions drove the ways they thought about and acted out writing tasks and were an important aspect of their literacy uses. When informal play time was allowed into the classroom during formal literacy time, students engaged in their writing tasks in meaningful ways. This incentivized children to also deepen their literacy tasks during unstructured play time. In this study, children took writing basics from classroom lessons and applied their writing knowledge to "extend and expand their play enactments" (p. 114) to further their play in meaningful, academic ways. The classroom lessons were incorporated into social interactions through play and vice versa. Students began to use the social, playful reciprocity in their writing in the classroom setting.

They also took academic learning into their social interactions. Writing was used as an extension of play and social negotiations. Academic, cultural, and social lives were interconnected in ways that transformed learning and made literacy meaningful to the social and cultural lives of the students. In this case, modes of reading, writing, playing, and social interaction all connected to make the writing in the classroom significant for the individual students.

Wohlwend (2017) also observed the social interaction of a classroom of 5-year-old students engaged in literacy playshop practices. In the classroom, students used popular media toys to play, recreate, and reimagine familiar stories. Students wrote scripts, acted out stories, and even filmed their recreated or reimagined stories based on familiar media. She found that children drew upon popular media and storylines that they knew well to improvise dialogue and storylines into their play. This developed themes of literature and friendships found in the classroom. This process revealed that literacy can take place through alternative modes, expanding what qualified as developmental literacy practice. This play created opportunities for social interactions that continued to build upon the literacy development taking place. It also gave more children access to play groups, allowing for more social connectivity, because of the connection the students made through popular media. Bringing a media-influenced curriculum into the classroom transformed students from onlookers into participants and made a difference in participation and desire within literacy education. It allowed for a means of connection between students, ones who might not otherwise play together, as they connected through play infused with familiar stories. These familiar stories inspired social interactions that were infused with play, once again demonstrating the ways that modes of literacy were engaged through social and playful means.

Findings

Student as Expert

Multimodality in early childhood education often utilizes developmentally appropriate modes of literacy (Wohlwend, 2013) like play, acting, and so on. Through modes such as these, students are positioned as the experts in their own learning (Larson et al., in press). It allows children to develop literacy skills through avenues that stem from their funds of knowledge, backgrounds, and current understanding of literacy to allow for scaffolding of learning to develop deeper skill sets (Ertmer & Glazewski, 2019).

Multimodality does not tend toward just one cultural interpretation or aspect of literacy development. It also does not view one stage of life as the most important or meaningful. It allows for different ways of approaching literacy, as well as meaning-making. It sets up children of all cultures and backgrounds as capable learners, engaged in the literacy process through modes that are exciting to them (Wohlwend, 2011). Aspects of multimodality in early childhood education, as outlined above, allow children to explore their worlds and lived experiences. They position children as designers of their learning experiences.

Collaboration

Research has found that collaboration was often a byproduct of some forms of multimodal literacy education in the pre-K through 2nd-grade classroom (Larson et al., in press; Wohlwend, 2013, 2015; Yoon, 2014; see also Medina & Campano, 2006). Within the context of all literacy modes—play, use of toys, drama, technology, and social interaction—research showed students engaged with one another in their learning processes.

"Collaborative learning has been shown to not only develop higher-level thinking skills in students, but boost their confidence and self-esteem as well" (Gates, 2018, para. 8). Collaboration is an opportunity for teachers and students to maximize educational growth while also working to improve social and interpersonal skills with support in an academic setting. In these cases, students are afforded the opportunity to develop and study with various types of learners while also deepening leadership and collaboration skills that will continue to prove important throughout their lives (Gates, 2018).

Literacy Achievement

Multimodality in the context of play, drama, technology, and the other modes outlined in this paper, clearly enabled students to develop literacy skills through pedagogical routes other than direct instruction. Though achievement was not measured against those of direct instruction or single modal practices, in each case of multimodality used in early childhood education, students were actively engaged in learning. The curriculum was relevant, meaningful, and at levels that were developmentally appropriate for this age of students. Students were also able to participate in critical literacy as they explored multimodal literacy practices that were relevant and meaningful to their personal lives and experiences.

Multimodality is shown to be a tool by which literacy achievement can be reached. Through multiple modes like the ones outlined above, students were engaged in the curriculum because of the modes' connection to their lives and backgrounds, the connection to other students and teachers, the engaging nature of the modes used, and the attention to the students' interests. In these ways, multimodality allows for academic achievement because of its attention to and allowance for student growth within their zone of proximal development.

Potential Issues

Although the research reviewed here did not specifically mention many issues with multimodality in early childhood classrooms, one potential issue I find is within social interactions themselves. Social interaction will exist regardless of the instructional practices taking place in the classroom. However, multimodality may bring those social practices into the academic work of the students. Yoon (2014) described students using writing or drawing as a social tool to share information about their relationships with other students. This social writing and collaboration was present in the classroom because of the way multimodality tied the social lives of the students into their academic

work. How this can become an issue, however, is that the social writing at times could exclude other students by bringing recess disputes into academic work, passing notes, drawing pictures of friend groups, creating handouts for other students and leaving someone out. The writing was at times exclusionary towards other children, used as a "weapon" to promote conflict (p. 115). Though the inclusion of social lives within the classroom may not be a bad thing, it may also require additional mediation on the part of the teacher. It may bring up issues between or among students that perhaps would not otherwise exist within the academic walls of the classroom. However, it may also offer an insight into the children's social worlds, to allow teachers a space to offer mediation that they might not otherwise encounter. This can help teachers to know what interactions are critical and important to students, and that may need additional structured support as children work through them.

Digital Literacies

When it comes to the incorporation of devices in particular, there are several concerns voiced by other researchers. Neiterman and Zaza (2019) interviewed teachers and found they had the issue of time that students spend off task with devices. Results showed that teachers found the use of devices to be more of a distraction than a support. They felt there was a need for constant regulation to try to keep students on task. However, they felt when done correctly, that devices could be used for innovative instructional purposes within the classroom.

Other research shows that screen time is linked to lower brain development in children (Hutton et al., 2019), and therefore should not be used in school in general. Students should be learning through avenues that do not require screen time. Though this is certainly a concern, devices, when used appropriately, with applications that are effective and beneficial, can also result in successful skill development (Rowsell & Wohlwend, 2016). Device use, purpose, and time should be factors when considering possible technology implementations with young students.

Because of the need for relevant and well-thought-out applications in the classroom, Rowsell and Wohlwend (2016) present a framework for which digital applications can be analyzed for their effectiveness in literacy education uses. Their rubric, which includes multimodality, also analyzes applications on five additional dimensions: multiplayer, productive, open-ended, pleasurable, and connection. Criticisms of devices in the classroom include the use of ineffective applications. This rubric enables a more knowledgeable understanding of applications, to either introduce or continue their use into the classroom. "More dimensions lead to more complex learning so that robust and engaging apps ... allow learners to produce their own multimodal content and follow their passions through open-ended journeying in collaboration with multiple players and shared across networks" (p. 204). Research on specific apps could give additional information on the ways in which devices and applications can be incorporated as play into literacy education.

A final drawback is that devices are not readily available for all students. The cost for schools can be too high, especially in lower-income areas. Outside of school, devices again may be restricted based on socioeconomic status or cultural uses. Funding may also be an issue for upkeep of the devices themselves. For instance, outdated software or technology may result in crashes, slow response times, and frustration for students and teachers (Wohlwend, 2015). Funding is an issue that may only affect lower-income areas or students. Because of this, however, there is a need for inclusion to eliminate any possible gaps in achievement this may cause because of socioeconomic status alone.

Further Research Directions

Many of the researchers investigating the implication of play in the classroom are also invested in incorporating play into academic practices. All authors I reviewed here have a positive mindset regarding the use of play in the classroom. Most are even outwardly biased towards the incorporation of play. Though play may be eminently beneficial, there is no research looking at the negative aspects of incorporating play in the classroom. It is possible that researchers would come away with only positive, or mostly positive aspects, but research with the mindset of finding negative aspects could greatly impact the argument for or against play in education. Either this research could be inconclusive and support current arguments in the field, or there could be findings that would influence further research and a more rounded argument for or against play-inclusive classrooms.

There is also a need for more research specific to multimodality in early childhood classrooms. Though multimodality is inevitably included in research that inherently includes additional modes of learning like those mentioned above, there are not many researchers in the field of multimodality that are specifically studying early childhood education classrooms. This research has the potential to also include aspects of critical literacy, adding elements of culture and identity to its purposes. Multimodality in combination with critical literacy has the potential to add another layer of important research within the field of early childhood education.

Finally, because of the research and criticisms around devices in the classroom, additional research should be done to identify applications or uses for technology that will be beneficial for student development. Research on classroom implementation, how often, what is used, how it is used, and by whom would also be beneficial. Further analysis, like that done by Rowsell and Wohlwend (2016) to develop rubrics and analyze applications, could support decisions to include particular apps within the context of classroom literacy development in early childhood education. Teachers and researchers alike could also benefit from using the rubric outlined in their article to determine if an application should be used within a classroom.

Conclusion

This article explores how multimodality can be effectively implemented in an early childhood literacy classroom. Research shows an array of modalities implemented for young learners, mainly aimed at engaging the students in practices that are exciting and developmentally appropriate for their age. These modes can also approach literacy from directions that make sense to young learners who may not yet be able to read and write.

The research showed literacy education taking place through modalities that included, but were not limited to, play, toys, devices and applications, social aspects of learning, and drama. Through these multimodalities, students were engaged in other modes of literacy learning, including multiple aspects of visual, auditory, gestural, and other modalities necessary for communication and forms of interaction. These modalities within early childhood education can result in successes such as drawing on students' funds of knowledge to set the children up as the expert in their own learning, building on their strengths, achieving desirable literacy outcomes, and allowing for collaborative learning.

Research on critical literacy also shows the possibility of multimodality to incorporate aspects of critical literacy into education for young learners. These aspects provide the potential for engaging critically through multimodality, even as young as preschool. Critical literacy outlines an important pedagogy to help students develop and shape both identity and learning, and include aspects of culture and background knowledge in literacy development, steps that can be taken in conjunction with multimodality.

Possible issues that were discussed include the possibility of negative social interactions, devices including technical issues, quality, or overuse issues that arise due to technological incorporation. Possible rubrics for finding quality applications were discussed and outlined based on literature set to review classroom technology use.

Finally, further research needs were discussed. There is a great deal of research in the fields of multimodality and early childhood education that are independent of one another. Connections can be made by looking at the modalities used within early childhood literature, or analyzing multimodal literature for its possible uses within early childhood education classrooms. However, additional work that is both multimodal in nature and set within the prekindergarten through 2nd grade classrooms would be helpful to further the research in these two fields. Inclusion of critical literacy within multimodal research in these ages would add an element of culturally relevant research. The possibilities discussed in this review outline ways that this research could be impactful within all three fields of study.

Multimodality, critical literacy, and the implementation of strategies to support literacy development are so important in an age of high-stakes testing. Multimodalities offer developmentally appropriate modes of literacy engagement in early childhood education classrooms.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Book Review

Ideology and Hegemony of English Foreign Language Textbooks. Globally and Locally Written Practices by Ömer Gökhan Ulum and Dinçay Köksal. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019. 269 pp. €103,99 (hardcover), ISBN: 9783030358082.

Summary

The collaborative work of two scholars, Ömer Gökhan Ulum from Mersin University and Dinçay Köksal from Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, brings a stimulating and refreshing addition to the field of Applied Linguistics of a critical analysis of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks. The book is a dissertation project turned into a monograph by the authors. Accordingly, it follows the structure of a dissertation, divided into seven chapters including Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Data Analysis, Findings and Interpretations, Discussion and Conclusions, and Implications. I would highly recommend the book to anyone interested in the growing field of textbook evaluation as well as to all EFL pre- and in-service teachers, university students, Ministries of Education and publishing houses who must know the impact of ideological and hegemonic practices exercised in and through textbooks.

Chapter 1, Introduction, summarizes the information by stating the major aim and significance of the study. By emphasizing the practical role of textbooks in EFL contexts, the authors raise the issue of "hidden agendas" in textbooks that impose certain ideologies and hegemonic beliefs on language learners. The authors identify the absence of involvement of students and teachers in their analysis of ideologies and hegemonies practiced in EFL textbooks. Accordingly, the study attempts to unravel not only the ideologies and hegemonies implicit in the textbooks, but also neglected and undermined ideologies uncovered in the content by interviewing the teachers and the students who use those textbooks. The study aims to investigate the ideologies, value orientations, and hegemonic practices prevailing in globally and locally produced EFL textbooks. The thrust of the study also stems from the research gap the researchers found while reviewing the related literature. The adopted theoretical framework is critical theory, drawn from poststructuralism. The rationale behind their choice, as they state, is "post-structuralism underlines the heterogeneity of the text as well as its political and ideological aspects" (p. 7). Therefore, in the following Literature Review chapter, they review the concepts, elucidating the notions of ideology and hegemony from many perspectives, including politics.

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The second chapter of the book, Literature Review, defines the key concepts that influence and form textbook content and stance. The reviewed concepts are also related to the two major notions of ideology and hegemony. The authors' review includes various topics ranging from globalization, the role of English in the globalization process, and the diversity of Englishes or the development of World Englishes, to the concept of ideology, including some political, linguistic, economic, and cultural ideologies. All these defined and reviewed concepts are tied to the textbook evaluation process, which is also explained in this chapter. As they assert, "Textbooks [are] representations of political, cultural, economic negotiations and conflicts. In that sense, textbooks cannot be innocent and pure" (pp. 42-43).

The third and fourth chapters describe the Methodology and Data Analysis processes respectively. The chapters comprise the description of research design, employed methods, settings, instruments, and involved participants. The mixed-methods approach was chosen for this study, in which both qualitative (semistructured interviews and textbook or documentary analysis) and quantitative (questionnaire using Likert scale) data were involved. The study focuses on both descriptive and interpretive phenomenology to examine the ingrained ideology and hegemony of EFL textbooks. In total, 18 EFL textbooks (6 globally written and 12 locally written in Turkey and Iran), 1,176 participants (1,014 students and 162 teachers were involved. The participants were students and teachers affiliated with two preparatory schools of two universities and five high schools located in the city of Adana, Turkey. All instruments used for the analysis, including questionnaires for textbook analysis and the semistructured interview, were piloted and examined using statistical tools for reliability and validity purposes.

The fifth chapter includes information on the findings of the data analysis. The results pertaining to ideological elements, and hegemonic elements identified from the students' and teachers' interview transcripts are described thoroughly. The interview analysis and salient coded data are presented respectively. The findings also include documentary analysis of locally and globally written EFL textbooks, in which Ulum and Köksal analyzed the textbooks for the presence of compounds of culture, economy, religion, history, education, language, sports, politics, law, gender, partialism, multiculturalism, and affirmative action.

The sixth chapter, Discussion, is devoted to discussion of the findings concerning the research questions imposed at the beginning of the study. The researchers systematically investigated the compounds of ideology and hegemony in both globally and locally written textbooks used in Turkey and compared and contrasted their findings with other similar scholarly works. It is worth noting that the book is very comprehensive in determining the elements of ideology and hegemony embedded overtly and covertly in the textbooks. The major finding of the study is that the inner-circle countries' cultural ideologies and hegemonies in globally written textbooks was prevalent, while expanding-circle countries were mainly present in locally written textbooks, along with the hegemony and ideology of host/local countries (Turkey and Iran). While discussing the research questions about participants' perceptions of underlying ideological and hegemonic practices existing in the EFL textbooks, the chief finding showed a discrepancy in views of student and teacher populations. The high school and university students' perceptions and teachers' perceptions did not match on many aspects of ideology and hegemony of the textbooks, thus demonstrating varied pedagogical values and educational demands and needs.

The last chapter, Conclusions, reiterates the focus, objectives, research questions, and evaluations of major findings by giving detailed implications and recommendations to EFL in-service teachers in high school and university contexts, EFL learners, language policymakers, and the textbook authors/publishers.

Evaluation

This book exhibits many strong points. To begin with, the organization of the book is excellent; all sections are very distinctly signposted and subdivided, clearly organized, and very readable. The literature review encompassing definitions of key terms associated with a variety of ideological and hegemonic compounds is well-defined and very concise. The review section effectively brings different economic, political, theoretical, and pedagogical concepts together to clarify the subject matter and its significance for the status quo. Apparently, the authors intend to make the book accessible to all kinds of populations, so they take careful consideration of the reading populations' schematic knowledge, which is another laudable aspect of the book. Yet they hold a subtle epistemic stance until the end of the section, missing many opportunities to indicate the research gap or their particular niche in the field of textbook evaluation while examining and defining ideological and hegemonic components in general. Also, while introducing the notion of World Englishes (WE) and the countries described in Kachru's three circles, the authors remain elusive in terms of describing their stance in regard to WE ideology in textbooks. Additionally, at the end of the chapter, they provide a definition of two approaches, a process-based and an application-based approach of ideological meaning analysis, yet it is unclear how these approaches are related to their study and how they could be implemented in general. It is confusing for the reader to finish up the chapter with these definitions but leave them without discussion and without indicating the relationship to the study.

The methodology section is also well organized and coherently expressed for the reader to clearly picture the study with the possibility of replicating it, if so desired. However, it was not clear who the principal investigator (PI) or the person who conducted the interviews and collected and analyzed the data is. By looking at the cover of the book, many assume that it is a collaborative work of two scholars, yet it is not reflected in the methodology when they describe the PI and they refer to the person as "He" or the "Researcher": for example, "the researcher had worked as an English teacher at state schools for several years" (p. 49). This ambiguity distances the reader from the writer(s) and does not allow the writer to interact with the reader. In this chapter, the authors also explain the process of documentary analysis, i.e., the textbook evaluation process, in which they analyzed ideological and hegemonic elements through the checklist suggested by them. The checklist is neither included in appendices nor described in the Methodology section and the contents of the checklist remain problematic for the reader. It is also unclear if the analysis included only a language/textual component, or if a multimodal semiotic approach was applied to the analysis. The uncertainty deepens when Ulum and Köksal discuss both images and textual representation of ideologies and hegemonies in the textbooks when they mention the findings in the subsequent chapters. Hence, how the checklist functions in this case is problematic for not only understanding the process of documentary analysis, but also to implement it for replication purposes.

The chapter I found particularly enlightening was the Discussion section in which they review their findings and juxtapose with other similar works conducted in the area. Thus, they were able to accomplish the goal they pursued, which is to determine "what is contained in the textbook as ideology, (and) what is not contained as well" (p. 3). Accordingly, they found the topics which were excluded or ignored in the textbooks, such as "racism, critical thinking, sex education, gender-related issues including LGTBQ+ population, feminism, poverty and some political issues." Indeed, elucidating the exclusion of these topics from the textbooks is an exceptional discovery for the study. However, their importance with regard to the general scope of the study remains unclear, at least to this reader, as connections to ideology and hegemony were not made smoothly, but merely mentioned as topics which were not included in the content of the textbooks.

Last but not least, the last section comprising conclusive remarks and implications for a variety of populations engaged in education is done very thoroughly, enumerating recommendations to avoid "ideological and hegemonic" biases. The implications, in particular, exclusively highlight and exemplify the role that English and EFL textbooks can play not only in the educational life of language instructors and learners, but also for their identity construction and future endeavors. Yet the researchers failed to mention the limitations of their work, as well as recommendations for future work.

To sum up, despite some shortcomings, I would like to reiterate the excellence of the book. It is very comprehensive and well developed, and I highly recommend it to read, reflect upon, and apply to language teaching and learning.

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International Journal of Literacy, Culture and Language Education
Volume 1, December 2020

Contents

Introduction
Serafín M. Coronel-Molina……………………………......................1

The Sacredness of Remembering and Re-storying
Christina Romero-Ivanova………………………………….........4

University Students' Demotivation in Learning Second Languages: The Case of Australian Universities
Giuseppe D'Orazzi..28

An Examination of Translingual Practices on a Mobile Application: Implications for Pronunciation Instruction and Raising Learners' Translingual Awareness
Yoo Young Ahn..54

Multimodality in Early Childhood Education
Kelsey C. Deklerk..73

Book Review
Ideology and Hegemony of English Foreign Language Textbooks. Globally and Locally Written Practices by Ömer Gökhan Ulum and Dinçay Köksal
Reviewed by *Nasiba Noroba*...88

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