

From Deficit to Diversity: Inviting Learners to use their Linguistic and Cultural Repertoires for Literacy Learning

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

This study explores how teaching strategies that constructively employ learners' linguistic and cultural resources can enhance their learning and participation in literacy lessons. In South Africa, as elsewhere in the world, language policies tend to favour English as the sole medium of instruction and oppose multilingual teaching (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; McKinney, 2017). However, these linguistic restrictions on teaching are hugely problematic for the majority of South African learners who do not have access to dominant language and cultural practices. This study draws on sociocultural theory in that it views language use in the classroom to have a social context, where language regimes at play in greater society determine the language ideologies of teaching and learning in the classroom (Makoe and McKinney, 2014). In addition, this study draws on recent research that advocates multilingual teaching strategies such as translanguaging and translation (García and Sylvan, 2011; McKinney, 2017; Probyn, 2006), as well as drawing on learners' cultural repertoires and the use of multimodal activities (Newfield, 2011; Stein and Newfield, 2006). The data discussed in this study is drawn from a teaching intervention with Grade 1 and 2 learners that was implemented in a South African primary school. This intervention primarily focused on inviting learners to use their linguistic and cultural repertoires during after-school literacy lessons. Using a linguistic ethnographic approach (Copland and Creese, 2015), this qualitative study describes and analyses the benefits of using such teaching methodologies. This study shows how using learners' full linguistic and cultural repertoires and multimodal interactions is beneficial to their learning.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Rationale and Research Aim

Despite language being the fundamental tool for interaction between teachers and learners, and despite multilingualism and cultural diversity becoming increasingly common phenomena in 21st century society, there is much debate as to whether the use of different languages should be allowed as a teaching methodology in schools. Because of the language ideologies at play in greater society and the language regimes that impose them, education systems worldwide, including that of South Africa, tend to favour monolingual teaching and in many places, the use of English in particular as the sole medium of instruction. However, these linguistic restrictions on teaching are hugely problematic for the majority of South African learners who do not have access to dominant language and cultural practices. The challenge then for South African teachers is to develop teaching strategies that constructively employ learners' linguistic and cultural resources in order to enhance their participation and learning, and provide all learners with better access to education.

As a teacher of emergent bilingual learners at an English-medium school, and as a researcher, I began to wonder about how my learners could be repositioned as having other resources for literacy learning, besides their limited English. My desire to get my learners interested in literacy learning motivated me to reposition my learners and find ways of getting them to participate more in literacy lessons, in order to enhance their learning. Thus the aim of my study became:

to investigate how different teaching methodologies that embrace multilingualism and cultural diversity could reposition learners and benefit their literacy learning, and thereby challenge teaching restrictions such as monolingual teaching and the use of English as the sole language of communication in the classroom.

The South African Context

The hegemony of English as a medium of instruction and the opposition to multilingual teaching are both common practice in education systems globally (Creese and Blackledge, 2010), including that of South Africa. The South African education system views

multilingualism to be the learning of several, separate languages, where learners learn different languages as subjects in different classes, in the different school phases. This encourages the separation of languages into silos and teachers' treating learners as monolinguals (McKinney, 2017). Furthermore, there is a notable lack of official acknowledgement or encouragement of multilingual teaching practices that draw on more than one language at the same time in the South African Language in Education policy (Department of Education, 1997) and in some cases there has been an active discrediting of it by provincial education departments' advisors and officials (Guzula, McKinney and Tyler, 2016; McKinney et al., 2015).

The use of English as the sole medium of instruction in South African classrooms poses major problems as English is not the home language of the majority of South African learners. Furthermore, the focus on only certain types of communication modes such as writing, together with the exclusive use of English, has led to cultural exclusion and alienation of students (Stein and Newfield, 2006). Thus policies of English monolingualism and exclusive privileging of written modes severely limit learners' participation in lessons and their access to education, as they "...den[y] learners both the capacity to be heard and the opportunity to engage meaningfully" (McKinney et al., 2015: 116).

In recent years there has been a great deal of research on multilingualism in education (García and Sylvan, 2011; McKinney, 2017; Probyn, 2006) but less on actual multilingual teaching methodologies. In addition, as Blackledge and Creese (2017) and Kusters et al. (2017) have recently argued, there is little research that combines a focus on multilingualism and multimodality (though see Stein and Newfield (2006), for an exception). This study seeks to develop a better understanding of multilingual teaching methodologies to support the development of early literacy, and to contribute to our understanding of how multilingualism and multimodality work in combination in an early literacy educational setting.

Participants, Site and Research Design

The participants in this study were the learners in my multi-grade Learning Support class, which consisted of 15 grade 1 and 2 learners and the research site was after-school literacy

lessons with these learners. These lessons took place during a 5 week period from the end of April 2017 to the end of May 2017, where learners participated in two after-school lessons of 45 minutes per week, during their normal extra mural slot.

This site contained the teaching and learning circumstances that I wished to investigate. The learners in my class were exposed to the education limitations discussed above. They spoke either isiXhosa or Afrikaans as a home language yet they were required to learn in English, as per the language policy of this Western Cape Education Department (WCED) school. As such they were all emergent bilinguals or bilinguals with varying degrees of competence in the different languages. Prior to the extramural lessons, I had observed learners in my class to be self-conscious and insecure about their English language competency, and they were not eager to participate in class activities. Furthermore, they were required to learn a Eurocentric curriculum, despite having diverse cultural repertoires.

I was inspired by the study of Australian researchers Comber and Kamler (2004) which discourages deficit views of learners and instead encourages the redesigning of literacy teaching and connecting with learners' interests. I was also inspired by the *Funds of Knowledge* project by Moll and colleagues (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005) in the USA which advocates teachers using learners' background knowledge and experiences constructively during learning activities. I subsequently designed an intervention for my learners that primarily focused on inviting learners to use their linguistic repertoires, that is, all of their language resources, as well as, to use their cultural repertoires, that is, their experiences, skills and knowledge during literacy learning. I then conducted a qualitative study of my after-school literacy lessons using a linguistic ethnographic approach, in which I described and analysed the effects of using these teaching methodologies.

Research questions

Having outlined the context and design of this study, I now present my research questions as follows:

- 1. How does the use of learners' linguistic repertoires and the incorporation of learners' cultural repertoires mediate and enhance language learning?**

2. What do multimodal interactions contribute to such pedagogic moments?

The 'teaching methodologies' that I referred to in my research aims have been further defined as the use of linguistic and cultural repertoires, as well as multimodal interactions. These concepts and how they potentially respond to teaching challenges in South Africa are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

I discuss the key theoretical concepts of my study, including language as social practice, linguistic repertoires, translanguaging, cultural repertoires and multimodality, and I review relevant literature with regards to these concepts.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

I explain my research design, the selection of research participants and site, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4: Inviting learners to use their full linguistic repertoires

I describe and analyse this study's strategy of inviting learners to use their linguistic repertoires and learners' subsequent response to this strategy.

Chapter 5: Drawing on learners cultural repertoires in literacy learning

I describe and analyse this study's strategy of encouraging learners to draw on their diverse cultural backgrounds and experiences during literacy learning, as well as, how this worked to position learners as possessing knowledge that was useful for learning.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

I discuss the findings of this study, the implications for classroom pedagogy and recommendations for further research on literacy learning.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

Language education, that is the teaching of languages and the use of language in education, is not a neutral phenomenon and thus any research that attempts to describe or analyse teaching methodologies of language education needs to first set out its theoretical approach. To this end, I present the key concepts of my theoretical approach in this chapter. These include: language as social practice; the monoglossic treatment of languages by the South African education department; the concepts of linguistic repertoires and cultural repertoires, and multimodal classroom interaction. Based on the literature reviewed I will argue that the use of linguistic and cultural repertoires and multimodal interactions can be beneficial to learning.

Language as social practice

The predominant theoretical framework of this research is that of sociocultural theory, in that it views language, and therefore language education not as a neutral entity, but rather as social practice, in that it always involves a social context. In the context of education, McKinney and Norton (2008) draw on philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, and view the teaching and learning of language to have a social context involving different factors, where all dialogue in the classroom is influenced by the words of other individuals (McKinney and Norton, 2008).

An important aspect of the social context of language is the different valuations of languages and the issue of power. As Bourdieu (1991) points out, there is “unequal distribution of linguistic capital” (57), in that “[d]iscourse is a symbolic asset which can receive different values depending on the market on which it is offered” (Bourdieu, 1977: 651), adding that “the dominant usage is the usage of the dominant class” (Bourdieu, 1977: 659). In other words, language resources are not equally valued. Furthermore, school “imposes the legitimate discourse and the idea that a discourse should be recognised if and only if it conforms to the legitimate norms” (Bourdieu, 1977: 650). Thus, in order to be heard or acknowledged, learners need to speak a “legitimate” language. The valuing of

language in society can be seen to be shaped by language ideologies, which have been defined as:

the sets of beliefs, values and cultural frames that continually circulate in society, informing the ways in which language is conceptualised and represented as well as how it is used (Makoe and McKinney, 2014: 659).

However, language ideologies do not operate in isolation but rather they are imposed on society by language regimes, that is, societal institutions such as education departments and schools ensure that language ideologies are taken up by individuals (Makoe and McKinney, 2014). Thus, seemingly innocent and typical classroom practices are actually imbued with the language ideologies imposed by education departments and schools. These classroom practices are by no means limited to but include, the chosen language of instruction, the languages that learners are permitted or prohibited to use in class and whether learners are allowed and enabled to express themselves using different forms of communication. In terms of the South African education system, power is wielded through the provincial implementation of a policy that in effect pressures schools to use English as the sole medium of instruction. These issues will be expanded upon later in the chapter.

The issue of control of languages in schools is important because it is in direct contrast to how people naturally use languages in broader social life. Globally, most people in the 21st century are not monolingual but are in fact multilingual, in the sense that they know and use more than one language to varying degrees, and they use these different languages and their associated skills such as gesture, body language, tone etc. simultaneously. They may even mix language codes within utterances, commonly referred to as code-switching or translanguaging. Globally, this can be seen as a consequence of modern migration patterns and the structure of postmodern societies, as García (2011) points out, “...bilingual people shuttle between communities that are hybrids themselves, a product of postmodern societies” (35). However, it has been argued that in the context of South Africa, people have historically been multilingual and that it is therefore not a new phenomenon in South Africa (Makalela, 2005, 2015).

Linguistic repertoires

In light of this perspective of multilingualism being a natural part of everyday life, this research sought to shift the language regime within the classroom, and describe and analyse how learners' language learning was enhanced when they were encouraged and allowed to use their full range of language resources. In other words, learners were encouraged to utilise their full linguistic repertoires in a setting that was typically only accommodating of the dominant language of English. Busch (2015) draws on Gumperz's concept of a linguistic repertoire to mean the "languages, dialects, styles, registers, codes and routines that characterize interaction in everyday life" (Busch, 2015: 344). Thus, linguistic repertoire refers not only to separate named languages but also to different language varieties and registers (Busch, 2015). In this research, language resources such as certain named languages, varieties and registers that learners use at home are referred to with the umbrella term of 'home language.' The term home languages is used, as opposed to 'mother tongue' or 'first language' as the former is problematic because it implies only one language being spoken at home and that it is learnt only from mothers, and the latter assumes that only one language is learnt at home.

Gumperz's concept of linguistic repertoires has been criticized for linking linguistic repertoires to stable speech communities, which is problematic because people are unlikely now to belong to a single, stable speech community but rather move across different communities, as mentioned in the previous section. Thus, Busch adds that a linguistic repertoire "...is not a stable category, but is constantly being reconstructed (and co-constructed) in interaction with and in relation to others" (Busch, 2015: 345). For example, if a learner speaks predominantly urban isiXhosa at home and English at school he/she is part of two different speech communities but he/she might use these languages interchangeably or together in utterances and his/her isiXhosa and English language resources are likely to change and expand as he/she interacts in these communities. Furthermore, Busch (2015) refers to Rymes' (2014) conceptualization of linguistic repertoire that not only includes linguistic resources but also the non-verbal modes of communication such as gesture, tone and body language. Rymes (2014) thus prefers the term "communicative repertoire".

In addition to these aspects of a linguistic repertoire, Busch (2015) maintains that there is an emotional aspect to individuals' linguistic repertoires, referred to as the "lived experience of language" (Busch, 2015: 350). I would argue that the affective dimension is crucial to understand when teaching learners of any age, but particularly young learners, such as the participants in this study, who are only just starting their schooling careers. Busch (2015) upholds that when individuals speak a particular language they can either feel comfortable or uncomfortable and that this discomfort arises in situations of "linguistic inequality" (Busch, 2015: 352). Such situations are associated with factors such as self-perception, perception by others, inclusion, exclusion, power and powerlessness (Busch, 2015). Moreover, discomfort can present as feelings of shame and can cause individuals to stop speaking languages that are not valued or it can cause them to stop speaking freely (Busch, 2015). Lastly, Busch (2015) posits that individuals need to have positive experiences when learning a language and that they must be able to see themselves as speakers of a target language. She asserts that the manner in which an individual approaches a language is determined by how that language is valued in a social space.

My research certainly is in agreement with the need for learners to have positive language experiences of a target language such as English but in my research I argue for a broader perspective that entails learners' having positive language experiences when they use both their full linguistic repertoires, that is their English language resources *and* their home language resources. As McKinney et al. (2015) point out, acknowledging the linguistic repertoires of learners positions them as meaning-makers, as opposed to deficient language users, which encourages learners to participate in learning activities and gives them better access to education. This emphasis on making meaning is an important perspective because it shifts the goal from education in English to education using the resources or strengths that learners currently have. As such, this research uses the term 'emergent bilingual learners' (as opposed to 'second language learners' or 'English language learners') to refer to learners who speak and can use more than one language when learning but who are not yet fluent in English. As García and Sylvan (2011: 388) explain this term is helpful for, "...recognizing their complex abilities and strengths and focusing on their social, emotional, and academic development beyond that of just learning English". Other terms, such as 'second language learners' or 'English language learners,' tend to negatively portray learners

and focus only on their English competency. Busch (2011: 293) points out, that the danger of this is that, “[i]nternalizing ascriptions that draw attention to what learners lack inevitably has negative implications for students’ self-concept” and therefore for their learning.

The monoglossic treatment of languages by school systems worldwide

Despite how people naturally draw on different language resources in their linguistic repertoires outside of schools, the discouraging of multilingual teaching and enforced hegemony of English by education systems is prevalent worldwide (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Garcia and Sylvan, 2011). Education systems throughout the world have promoted a limited sense of multilingualism, formally termed as additive multilingualism, where different languages are taught separately (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). Moreover, these education systems promote a strict adherence by teachers and learners to only using the specified medium of instruction to communicate (Creese and Blackledge, 2010) and uphold Anglonormative ideologies, which is the “...expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English, and are deficient even deviant, if they are not” (McKinney, 2017: 37).

The South African context

This discouraging of multilingual teaching and enforced hegemony of English is prevalent in South Africa. The majority of learners in South Africa are multilingual (Busch, 2010) but do not speak English as a home language, yet in spite of this English is predominantly used as the official medium of instruction in many schools. This hegemony of English and monoglossic conceptualization of languages in South African schools severely limits how children are positioned in class, their participation and their access to education, as it “...denies learners both the capacity to be heard and the opportunity to engage meaningfully” (McKinney et al., 2015: 116). Furthermore, this not only negatively affects learners but also teachers. Teachers who speak African languages are disempowered in their ability to teach when they are required to teach exclusively in a language such as English or Afrikaans, because they are not enabled to use their multilingual resources. The reverse of this is also true, that English and Afrikaans speakers are also disadvantaged in their ability to teach learners who speak African languages.

Closely connected to the issue of English as a medium of instruction, is the limited manner in which the South African education policy views multilingualism, as is prevalent worldwide. It views multilingualism to be the learning of several, separate languages, where learners learn different languages in different classes, in the different school phases (McKinney, 2017), thus encouraging teachers to treat learners as monolinguals.

Furthermore, there is a notable lack of official acknowledgement or encouragement of multilingual teaching practices such as translation in the South African Language in Education policy (Department of Education, 1997) and in some cases there has been an active discrediting of it by provincial education departments advisors and officials (Guzula, McKinney and Tyler, 2016; McKinney et al., 2015).

This policy is problematic for a variety of reasons but most pertinent to this thesis is that it influences teachers to teach using only English as opposed to the variety of languages that learners can understand and it influences teachers to refuse or ignore communication from learners in any language other than English (McKinney, 2017). Consequently, learners' multilingual linguistic repertoires are viewed as problematic, as interfering in their learning, and not as a resource. Treating them as a resource would allow learners to use their existing linguistic repertoires, rather than their limited or non-existent language resources in English (McKinney, 2017). Thus, focusing on learners' limited or non-existent language resources seriously restricts teachers' abilities to teach, hinders learners from meaning-making (McKinney, 2017) and ultimately influences teachers to position learners as deficient English monolinguals (Makoe, 2007; McKinney et al., 2015).

Policies of such education systems can be seen to be based on the Separate Underlying Proficiency Model of Bilingualism, which posits that named languages function separately in the brain, that there is no transfer between them and that there is limited space in the brain for different languages (Baker, 2006). However, Li Wei (2017) argues that named languages are social constructs rather than biological entities, making the argument of limited space in the brain nonsensical. He points out that, "...we think beyond the artificial boundaries of named languages in the language-of-thought." (Li Wei, 2017). In other words, learners use language for cognition and communication but they do not necessarily think within the boundaries of named languages. Moreover, in recent years there has been a growing body of research (e.g. Creese and Blackledge, 2010; García and Sylvan, 2011; McKinney, 2017;

Probyn, 2006) to show that the broad range of multilingual teaching methodologies are valid and beneficial. This thesis focuses on a small, specific sample of these teaching methodologies, namely translanguaging and translation in language and literacy learning.

Multilingual teaching using translanguaging and translation

The main aim of multilingual teaching can be understood as to enable and to enhance learning for emergent bilingual learners as much as possible. As Hornberger (in García and Lin, 2016) asserts:

“Bi/multilinguals’ learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two+ languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices.” (7)

Furthermore, it has been argued that emergent bilingual learners do not learn language in a linear manner and as such teachers should allow learners to communicate in such a way that matches this process, rather than forcing them to switch between certain languages at set times (García and Sylvan, 2011). However, it has also been strongly recommended that teachers using bilingual or multilingual teaching should not use a standard, one-size-fits-all approach so to speak but should rather respond to the needs of the individual learners in their classes, what García and Sylvan (2011) term “*singularities in pluralities*” (386).

Furthermore, García and Sylvan’s (2011) paper on the International Network for Public Schools in the US outlines the teaching methodologies that have made this multilingual teaching programme successful. They include allowing each learner to speak his/her home language using collaboration activities which enables learners to achieve more together as they pool their language resources and frees up the teacher to help weaker learners, and lastly but most importantly, focussing on the learners’ linguistic repertoires, rather than the teacher’s linguistic repertoires. Thus the focus is not what languages the teacher is able to speak but rather the focus is on getting learners to use the languages they know to enhance their learning.

In addition to maximizing learning and allowing learners to learn language in a more natural manner, multilingual teaching has other potential advantages. Colin Baker (quoted in García and Lin, 2016: 3) upholds that it could allow learners to develop their home languages,

improve learners' co-operation and strengthen home-school partnerships, and it could help with the integration of fluent speakers and emergent bilingual learners. In terms of the range of multilingual teaching strategies, this study draws specifically on translanguaging, which involves the "flexible use of named languages and language varieties as well as other semiotic resources" (Li Wei, 2017) such as registers and voices. As it has been pointed out, translanguaging:

"considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (Garcia and Wei in McKinney, 2017: 24).

Furthermore, translanguaging takes into account the 'language as a resource' paradigm and acknowledges multi-dialects and multimodality (Li Wei, 2017).

In addition to translanguaging, this study draws on the complementary teaching strategy of translation. When using translanguaging, allowing emergent bilingual learners to use their home languages means that at times the teacher or other learners may not understand them and thus the need for translation by more fluent speakers arises. In such cases, a teacher might translate his/her own speech or the speech of a learner, or learners may translate for the teacher or for the benefit of the rest of the class. Learners who participate in translation activities can be seen to be "language brokers" (Hall and Sham in Makoe and McKinney, 2009) or linguistic mediators, as they interpret what others have said, rephrase it in another language and thereby help individuals understand each other. In the environment of the classroom, subsequently a learner who acts as a language broker is able to encourage learner participation and thereby help build a classroom community (Makoe and McKinney, 2009). Translation can be seen to develop what Toohey (1998, drawing on Lave and Wenger) refers to as a community of practice, "whereby newcomers to a community participate in attenuated ways with old-timers" (Toohey, 1998: 61). In other words learners who are more fluent in the target language help emergent bilingual learners participate in classroom activities. Translation can therefore be viewed as a cognitively demanding, sophisticated skill that has the power to reposition learners as having skills necessary for literacy learning. In addition, working with Spanish/English bilingual teachers and children in California, Manyak (2008:456) upholds that translation "has the potential to bolster the participation of students with limited English skills, validate students'

competence in their primary languages, and create a rich occasion for language acquisition”. Furthermore, translation helps create a safe environment for learners to participate in and try out their English skills, which in turn encourages learners to participate more fully in English lessons (Manyak, 2008). Translation is also important for participation in the sense that it, “...plays a role in activating children’s prior knowledge which would be hard to elicit if only one language was required” (Guzula, McKinney and Tyler, 2016: 9). Furthermore, translation has the potential to promote acceptance and integration in diverse classrooms because it can influence learners to become interested in the languages of their peers and it can increase their motivation to speak the languages of others (Manyak, 2004). This is particularly important in post-Apartheid South African classrooms, where learners still experience racial prejudice.

Cultural repertoires

In addition to examining how inviting learners to use their full linguistic repertoires enhanced their language learning, this study also examined how the incorporation of learners’ cultural repertoires enhanced their literacy learning. Before examining reasons for this approach, the concept of “culture” and its variants such as “cultural knowledge” will be discussed as they are potentially problematic for various reasons. The predominant issue is that of essentialising cultures, where the use of these terms often leads to the stereotyping of and generalizing about learners perceived to belong to a particular ethnic group.

Assuming that learners who belong to a group have all of the characteristics of the culture of this group with no difference between individuals subsequently negates the existence of choice amongst learners and change, as well as diversity amongst cultural practices (Gutiérrez and Rogoff, 2003). The term “knowledge” is also problematic because what counts as knowledge is contingent with power. For individuals who are part of the dominant culture, their experiences seem to count as knowledge, while the knowledge of minority cultures is often reduced to experiences (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005). In the past, the deficit model blamed minority learners, or as Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003: 19) call them, “students from nondominant groups”, for their lack of success in schooling. These learners and their families and cultural backgrounds were seen as the cause of the problem, rather

than the schooling system and the curriculum. The subsequent counter approach of ignoring cultural difference between learners or between learners and curricula tends to assume that mainstream or dominant culture is the norm. However, culture and knowledge in teaching need not be used negatively nor ignored.

Thus, central to the concept of culture in teaching is the matter of how to acknowledge and use learners' background knowledge and experiences constructively. A seminal study in this field was the *Funds of Knowledge* project by Moll and colleagues (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005), who interviewed Mexican-American families in Tucson, Arizona about their family history, work history, household activities and their perspectives about their role as parents. This study developed the concept of *Funds of Knowledge* and defined it as, "...the historically developed and accumulated strategies (skills, abilities, ideas, practices) or bodies of knowledge that are essential to a household's functioning and well-being" (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005: 91-92). *Funds of Knowledge* is a useful concept to draw on because it is broad, referring to learners' experiences, interests, skills, hobbies, cultural practices, knowledge that families possess etc. and encourages teachers to constructively incorporate them into learning activities. This study acknowledges these strengths of *Funds of Knowledge* however it does not draw on the term directly as it denotes certain aspects that are inappropriate for the context of this study. The *Funds of Knowledge* research was conducted in a relatively homogenous Mexican-American community of large extended families. Thus, the culture of the families in Moll's study and the community around them was fairly similar. By contrast, the participants in my research live in a heterogeneous community of different cultures and their family structures vary greatly from nuclear families to single-parent families to foster families, and include intercultural marriages. As such these learners gain experiences, knowledge, interests, skills, hobbies etc. from a variety of sociocultural structures, not just from one culture within their family or community. In addition to this, *Funds of Knowledge* does not seem to refer to children's popular culture as avenues of gaining experiences and knowledge such as music, talk shows, fashion, dance or children's programmes that are broadcast on radio and television or on devices such as mobile phones and tablets, as well as games played on these devices - all of which the participants in this research draw on.

Another important study on the disruption of deficit views of learners and the subsequent redesigning of literacy teaching is that of Comber and Kamler (2004). In their partnership with in-service teachers and subsequent research, Australian scholars Comber and Kamler (2004) argue that teachers need to find new ways to reconnect with their students and to find new ways to connect their learners with literacy learning. In their research, teachers redesigned teaching activities to include learners' interests and skills. One redesign unit included a class radio station project on sport that was broadcast on the school intercom, and involved a broader range of learners' interests and skills such as technology and script writing. Another project was a collaborative writing project where learners wrote in pairs, rather than alone and performed their writing, to recreate literacy activities as more of a social event in order to help learners' who struggled to write in isolation. Their research showed that when teachers drew on their learners' interests and enabled them to work collaboratively, they were in essence repositioning their learners in profound ways. They were particularly profound because the teachers changed their perspectives about their learners after investigating their backgrounds further and repositioned learners as having interests and skills that were necessary for literacy learning. By redesigning their teaching, these teachers were able to increase their learner's sense of self-worth and help them improve their literacy skills (Comber and Kamler, 2004).

In line with this research, Wells (2009), in his longitudinal study on the connection between language development and school success, urges teachers not to make generalized assumptions about the backgrounds of certain learners, but instead to investigate their individual backgrounds by listening to learners, and by paying attention to their interests and how they understand the world. This is an important strategy as young primary school children are not always explicit about their interests, especially if they are on the periphery of dominant classroom culture. Such pedagogical perspectives are not suggesting that literacy skills no longer be taught but rather that they be taught through learners' interests (Wells, 2009), in order to design teaching and learning that actively engages all learners and that has relevance to the language and literacy practices of the world at large.

Thus following Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003), my research uses the term 'cultural repertoires' to refer to any experiences, interests, skills, hobbies, cultural practices, family practices or

knowledge that learners have accumulated from social and cultural structures such as family, community or media. In addition, it refers to teachers learning or finding out about how individual learners participate in different sociocultural structures, the resources they have from participating in them, and allowing or encouraging learners to use these resources in class (Gutiérrez and Rogoff, 2003).

This teaching methodology of incorporating learners' cultural repertoires to enhance literacy learning is important for a variety of reasons. It is strongly advocated by South African researchers Pippa Stein and Denise Newfield, who ran the Wits Multiliteracies Research group based in South Africa, which brought together academics and teachers from a variety of schools to research literacy learning using the New London Group's (NLG) *Pedagogy of Multiliteracies* (1996). Stein and Newfield define *Multiliteracies* as a pedagogic framework for literacy teaching and learning that promotes recognizing cultural diversity in education in order to shift pedagogical perspective away from cultural homogeneity (Stein and Newfield, 2006: 1-5). They argue that the New London Group's pedagogic framework for literacy teaching is much needed as the use of English as the sole medium of instruction is problematic, particularly in an African context with its linguistic and cultural diversity amongst learners, and where the exclusive use of English has led to cultural exclusion and alienation of students (Stein and Newfield, 2006). They explain that this is partly due to the "narrowness of what counts in learning and communication" (Stein and Newfield, 2006: 10) because teachers impose boundaries on what is encouraged and acceptable, and what is not. Moreover, they maintain that this has serious implications for the success of learners who do not have access to dominant language and cultural practices (Stein and Newfield, 2006: 11). In other words, it is very difficult for learners to participate in lessons if they cannot make connections between learning activities and their personal experiences (Botelho et al., 2010). Instead, teachers are urged to be "more culturally responsive to the worlds that their students experience outside of the classroom" (Stein and Newfield, 2006: 10). Thus, referring to learners' cultural repertoires and incorporating them into teaching activities encourages teachers to perceive their learners as having valuable resources for learning (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005) and it encourages learners to see themselves as such. Thus, drawing on learners' cultural repertoires is critical to bridging the gap between

learners' experiences at home and school, in order to create a more conducive learning environment.

Multimodality

An important element of the inaccessible language and cultural practices used in schools, referred to in the previous section, are the limited modes of communication that are used in literacy learning, namely reading and writing. If learners struggle to access learning using these modes, they are likely to be labelled as deficient, as lacking the necessary skills for literacy learning (Comber and Kamler, 2004). In order to avoid this deficit model, learners need to be repositioned as having the necessary skills by allowing them to use different modes of communication that enable them to participate in literacy lessons. In other words, teaching and learning activities need to involve multimodal interactions. Multimodal interactions or multimodality refers to the use of different modes, or “semiotic resources” (Jewitt, 2008) for communication such as speech, writing, image, gesture and sound, and was included in the New London Group’s *Multiliteracies* framework to account for the changes in communication practices in society at large, as well as to account for the renewed emphasis on the body and our senses in the meaning-making process (Newfield, 2011). As Luke (1994) points out there are increasingly different forms of communication being used in society and the job market that teachers are supposed to be preparing learners for and that the modes of communication in language teaching need to be adapted to reflect these changes in greater society.

Accordingly, this study sought to examine how multimodal interactions work in combination with multilingualism to enhance early literacy learning, specifically when learners were encouraged to use their linguistic and cultural repertoires. Notably, South African *Multiliteracies* research often pays attention to working multilingually while *Multiliteracies* research in Australia and USA often does not. Blackledge and Creese (2017) and Kusters et al. (2017) have recently argued that there is little research that combines a focus on multilingualism and multimodality. The work of South African academics Pippa Stein and

Denise Newfield, discussed in the previous section, is one of the only examples in the world where these foci have been combined in educational research.

In terms of teaching benefits, Newfield (2011) argues that multimodality plays an important role in increasing learners' participation. She highlights the perspective that participation can be understood in various ways, but that it primarily refers to learners' "engagement and interaction" (Newfield, 2011: 28) in learning activities, and is dependent on the manner in which teachers design learning activities. Newfield (2011) upholds that when teachers use multimodality the effect on participation can be positive and profound. Not only can it increase engagement in lessons, it can also encourage cultural diversity and reduce reservations and opposition to using English in class. It can also reposition learners in a more active and creative role as "sign-makers" (Newfield, 2011: 33) who are able to design their own communications instead of passively receiving and making sense of other people's communications. As it has been pointed out, there is much to be gained by doing so as "working purposefully with students' creativity and diverse semiotic resources can lead to productive and enjoyable learning, as well as increased access to the English language" (Stein and Newfield, 2006: 17). Thus, multimodal interactions have the potential to increase learners' confidence, motivation and agency, to make them feel validated and has the potential to cultivate "...excitement in relation to learning where there had often previously been disinterest, disengagement and alienation" (Newfield, 2011: 27).

Conclusion

To conclude, this study is primarily based on sociocultural theory in recognizing that language is never a neutral entity and that language use always arises from and makes sense within a social context. Social contexts often involve relations of power. The social context of language also relates to how people use language. In broader 21st century society many people naturally draw on the different language resources of their linguistic repertoires to make meaning. Despite this, education systems worldwide, including that of South Africa, discourage multilingualism and promote the hegemony of English. This limits many South African learners in their ability to participate and communicate and hinders teachers in their efforts to increase learners' understanding and develop conceptual

knowledge. Thus this study seeks to examine how drawing on learners' full linguistic repertoires, with the pedagogic strategies of multilingual teaching can enhance their language learning. However, this study is not just concerned with linguistic diversity but also cultural diversity. Thus it seeks to examine how the incorporation of learners' cultural repertoires can enhance their learning. In order to do this, this study focuses on multimodal interactions as a teaching strategy which potentially increases learner participation. In so doing, it aims to combine the foci of multilingual-based research and multimodal research. Ultimately, this study is concerned with increasing learners' participation in order to enhance learners' language learning and access to education.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Introduction

Having outlined my research aim and research questions and discussed the theoretical framework for investigating these questions, I will now explain my research design, selection of research participants and research site and I will describe in detail the processes of data collection and data analysis that this study involved, as well as the ethical considerations.

Research Design

This qualitative study took a linguistic ethnographic approach, which can be defined as:

“an interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures.” (Copland and Creese, 2015: 13)

As such, in this study the ‘actors’ were myself in my role as teacher and my learners. By describing and analysing our interactions during literacy lessons, I considered how incorporating learners’ linguistic and cultural repertoires mediated and enhanced literacy learning for my emergent bilingual learners, in the context of a multicultural classroom and the South African education system. This approach was deemed appropriate for answering the research questions put forth in chapter 1 because it is concerned with the social and linguistic aspects of human interaction (Copland and Creese, 2015), that is, children’s language learning in this study. In order to investigate these aspects, linguistic ethnography uses discourse analysis as a primary research tool, where verbal language and non-verbal actions such as gaze, gesture and posture are analysed during social interactions (Copland and Creese, 2015). To this end, audio-visual recordings of after-school literacy lessons and samples of learners’ written work were collected as evidence of the social practice of literacy teaching and learning in its immediate context of a South African classroom. The aim of linguistic ethnography is not only to analyse social interaction on the micro level of the classroom but to connect these interactions to the macro level of social and linguistic issues in greater society. Thus this thesis sought to connect the data analysis on the micro level to the bigger theme of how to shift language regimes and the challenges in doing so.

This study also draws on practitioner-research where I performed the dual roles of teacher and researcher during these after-school literacy lessons. Practitioner-research can be defined as research conducted by a researcher who is simultaneously practising or teaching and researching their teaching in order to develop their own teaching (Menter et al., 2011). It often involves an element of reflexivity where the teacher/researcher is concerned with the macro issues implicit in their teaching and the consequences of them (Menter et al., 2011), which this research endeavours to achieve. With regards to reflexivity and the linguistic ethnographic approach of this research, it is important to note that these literacy lessons were not absolutely naturally occurring classroom events but rather in my role of researcher I intentionally designed an intervention to create a space where learners' full linguistic and cultural repertoires were meaningfully incorporated into literacy lessons, to address issues that I was aware of in my role as teacher.

Selection of Research Participants and Site

The participants in this study were the learners in my multi-grade Learning Support class, which consisted of 15 grade 1 and 2 learners and the research site was after-school literacy lessons with these learners. My class is part of a government school, which serves an informal settlement and a low income fishing community. As such, many learners at this school are exposed to a variety of social problems such as poor housing infrastructure, substance abuse and domestic violence, to name but a few. The school follows the English Home Language CAPs curriculum as is required by the education department in schools where English is the Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) from Grade 1. Learners are treated as monolinguals as they are taught in English and are expected to communicate in English, with isiXhosa and Afrikaans being taught as additional languages in separate classes.

All of the learners in my class were invited to participate in this study. Participation in the after-school lessons was voluntary and both learners and parents were free to withdraw from the study at any point. These learners spoke either isiXhosa or Afrikaans as a home language and as such they were all emergent bilinguals or bilinguals with varying degrees of competence in the different languages.

The participants in this study were a mix of learners who were either new to my class or had already been with me for a year or two. Each year, learners from the mainstream Foundation Phase classes who have been identified the previous year to have significant academic or behavioural difficulties are placed fulltime in my class. Learners follow the same curriculum as their mainstream peers and participate in all school activities but have the benefit of being in a much smaller class, with a lower teacher-learner ratio. Learners remain in my class for grade 1 and 2, often repeating one of these grades and then they return to a mainstream class from grade 3 onwards. On average a learner remains in the Learning Support class for 2 years.

The 15 learners in this study consisted of eight grade 1 learners and seven grade 2 learners. They were between the ages of 7-9 years old. Eight of these learners reported speaking isiXhosa at home and seven of them reported speaking Afrikaans at home. While all of the learners participated in the after-school lessons and thus in the study, I chose to focus on certain learners, based on my subjective perception of learners who demonstrated the most observable changes in their use of linguistic and cultural repertoires, and who responded well to multimodal meaning-making.

This site contained the teaching and learning dynamics that I wished to examine as my class consisted of emergent bilingual learners who were required to learn a Eurocentric curriculum through the medium of English, despite having diverse linguistic and cultural repertoires. Thus, the types of social interactions that I engage my learners in to a greater or lesser degree either prevents or allows for their language learning to occur and it is these interactions that I was interested in examining with my research.

Data Collection

After ethical clearance was granted, data was collected over a 5 week period from the end of April 2017 to the end of May 2017. Learners participated in two after-school lessons of 45 minutes per week during their normal extra mural slot. Below is an overview of the themes of the lessons and the activities that learners participated in:

Week	Theme	Session no.	Date	Activities
1	Telling stories	1	25 April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners shared stories in Afrikaans and isiXhosa • Learners acted the isiXhosa story out
		2	26 April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whole class brain storming about what interesting things each group could include in their part of the story. • Each group wrote a part of the story
2	Games	3	2 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners asked to talk to a partner and then share the games they play with the class • Learners practised playing game with a partner • Pairs demonstrated games and taught rest of class how to play them.
		4	3 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners acted out a narrative that involved a game they play
3	Favourite sweets	5	9 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners drew a picture of their favourite sweets • Class discussion about vocabulary related to sweets
		6	10 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Played guessing game - learners had to verbally describe their sweet without saying what it was, rest of learners had to guess what it was • Discussion about vocabulary relating to describing sweets - certain words were translated into isiXhosa and Afrikaans • Learners then wrote about their sweet in order to participate in the guessing game • They then participated in the game by reading out their writing to the rest of the class, who had to guess what they were talking about
4	Telephone conversations	7	16 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion about who has used a phone and what they have used a telephones for • Explanation of how to write a dialogue (for children able to write) • Explanation of how to draw a dialogue (for children not yet able to write) • Learners write/draw their dialogues. Those drawing work alone, those that write do so in pairs
		8	17 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners practise and act out their dialogues
5	TV programmes	9	30 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners write a script for an episode of one of their favourite TV programmes
		10	31 May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners practise acting out their scripts • They then act it out for the class

Table 3.1 Overview of Themes and Activities of After-School Literacy Lessons

The main source of the data was approximately 280 minutes of audio-visual recording of my learners and I interacting during the various activities listed above. These lessons were video-recorded so that the discourse could be analysed and re-analysed in great detail. This footage was then carefully transcribed by myself and an English-speaking research assistant. For the translation of isiXhosa words, I enrolled the help of two isiXhosa-speaking colleagues. In the transcript, isiXhosa words are written in bold and next to them an English translation of these words is provided in brackets. The following transcription conventions were used:

TR:	Name of speaker, e.g. Talia Runciman, teacher/researcher. When several learners speak together, this is indicated with the phrases, "Various learners" or "Several learners"
(1)	Number given to a speaking turn in a long extract
bold	Speech in isiXhosa or Afrikaans
(Oh, no)	Translation of isiXhosa or Afrikaans given in brackets after the speech
<i>(Zintle shakes her head)</i>	Movement, gesture or who the speaker is addressing given in italics and brackets
...	A pause
↑	A rise in intonation (often used by teachers to indicate to learners that they should complete the teacher's clause or answer them)
<i>Bold and italics</i>	Emphasis in pronunciation, e.g. makadentsula

Table 3.2 Transcription Conventions

In addition to the video-recording using a static camera, I made field notes, took photographs during lessons and collected samples of the learners' writing and drawings. During data collection, I performed a dual role of teacher and researcher. In my teacher role, I facilitated class discussions, assisted individuals or groups with activities and at times, participated as a learner. In my researcher role, I observed peer interactions, asked learners about their work, jotted down field notes and moved the video camera to more optimal positions. These roles were in conflict with each other to some extent as the goal of my research was to value all languages equally in these lessons but this message to the learners was confounded by my personal monolingual English orientation¹ and teaching responsibilities that were entrenched in my in-school class time teaching. The after-school lessons thus required me to shift to a bi/multilingual translanguaging orientation which was

¹ As a teacher, I teach mostly as an English monolingual in the sense that I am only able to teach in English but my linguistic repertoire is not monolingual. I have a basic understanding of Afrikaans from my schooling background and I have learnt a number of isiXhosa words whilst teaching at this school.

difficult at times to do. This shift is problematized in more detail in chapter 4. Despite this conflict, this study serves as an exploration of how multilingual teaching strategies such as translanguaging and translation were used by a largely monolingual teacher of emergent bilingual learners.

In terms of the limitations in this study, my monolingual English orientation was certainly a limiting factor, in that although I knew a few words or phrases for teaching directives, I was by no means fluent enough to speak spontaneously about topics in isiXhosa or Afrikaans. In addition, this meant that when learners spoke their home language, I was reliant on other learners for translation and their interpretation of what a speaker intended to communicate. Furthermore, the sound quality of the audio-visual footage was in a few instances poor due to very loud renovations that took place at the school during data collection. For these few sessions I was forced to rely on my field notes. Furthermore, learners did not wear microphones and only one video camera was used with only myself to move it so footage is largely of the class discussions and performances. During individual work and group work the video camera was left on but only captured snippets of conversations that I had with learners about their work and that learners had in their groups. On one occasion, I asked a learner to retell a story the following day that they had told during the after-school class so that I could better capture it in my field notes. Learners seemed generally unconcerned about having a video-camera in class and behaved naturally during the after-school literacy lessons.

Data Analysis

As is typical of a linguistic ethnographic approach, I began the data analysis process by becoming familiar with the data – reading and re-reading the transcripts and field notes. Informed by my theoretical framework, I then identified three recurrent themes in relation to my research questions: linguistic repertoires, cultural repertoires and multimodality. Transcript extracts and samples of learners' writing were then selected for further analysis. In terms of this research's theoretical framework of the importance of inviting learners to use their full linguistic and cultural repertoires, the selected data was analysed for the manner in which learners were invited to use their linguistic and cultural repertoires, the

manner in which learners responded to this, both emotionally and academically, and the manner in which multimodality contributed to these teaching moments. Discourse analysis was used to describe and analyse the dialogue, gestures and actions in the selected video footage and transcripts, and textual analysis was used to analyse the selected learner's writing and drawings. In terms of discourse analysis, most of the extracts used in the data analysis were moments in the lessons where I was not controlling the talk and activity through the typical classroom Initiation-Response-Evaluation/Feedback (IRE/F) interaction pattern, which so often minimises opportunities for learners to speak and participate more fully (Wells, 2009). Instead in these extracts, learners were often in control of the exchanges, which differ from the strict IRE/F pattern in that it is the learners themselves that 'initiate' communication and I, as the teacher, 'respond' from the side lines to encourage 'response' from other learners and further 'initiation'. This enabled learners to take up a more active role in the learning activities.

Lastly, it is important to note that the themes of this research were not necessarily evident in the data in individual lessons but instead the data was analysed for "the long conversation" (Maybin, 2006: 312). In other words, lessons did not happen in isolation but were connected to those that went before and those that came later. Thus, the data was analysed for this ongoing classroom talk which drew on topics from a few lessons or even weeks before and on the manner in which this was picked up in later lessons.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance was obtained from the UCT School of Education, as this study involved human subjects. Permission was also obtained from the WCED to conduct research in the school and informed consent was obtained from the school principal. Parents/guardians of the learners were invited to an information session, where they were informed about the purpose of the research, the nature of learner participation, anonymity of learners and the school, and the fact that participation was voluntary and could be terminated at any point without repercussions. Written consent was obtained from the parents and both verbal and written consent was obtained from the learners involved in the study. In order to ensure confidentiality, learners' names have been changed using a coded system. In addition, the

school and the area that it is situated in, has not been named and audio-visual recordings and transcriptions are not publically available.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explained my research design, the selection of research participants and site, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations. In the next chapter, this study's strategy of inviting learners to use their linguistic repertoires and learners' subsequent response to this strategy will be discussed and analysed.

Chapter 4: Inviting learners to use their full linguistic repertoires

Introduction

The emergent bilingual learners who participated in this study had diverse linguistic repertoires but as a consequence of the language policy at this school, they were not encouraged to draw on their full linguistic repertoires. They were required to use their limited English language resources instead of being encouraged to use all of their language resources. Consequently they did not participate much in lessons. In this chapter, I will outline the monolingual language ideology present in this class prior to this study and the subsequent behaviour of these learners. I will then describe the setting up of the multilingual space of the after-school lessons. I will show that by actively inviting the learners to use their home languages, these lessons aimed to shift the language regime in this class setting and reposition these learners as having language resources necessary for literacy learning. Furthermore, I will analyse the strategies of inviting learners to use their home languages and the positioning of learners as language experts, as well as their responses to such strategies. I will argue that inviting learners to use their full linguistic repertoires has positive benefits such as increased learner confidence and participation. Lastly, the use of these strategies will be problematized.

Behaviour of emergent bilingual learners in this class prior to this study

Before I conducted this research, I noticed that several learners in my class appeared to be self-conscious about contributing to class discussions and insecure about their English language competency. They did not raise their hands to provide answers or to be chosen for class activities, and seldom approached myself or my assistant to speak to us. However, in social situations, I observed these learners chatting freely to their peers, particularly to those who spoke the same language as them. This behaviour can be explained by what Busch (2015) refers to as the emotional aspect of linguistic repertoires. Busch (2015) offers a range of factors to explain why learners may have negative feelings when they speak a particular language such as English, which my learners were possibly experiencing. These include poor self-perception of their language skills, fear of how they would be perceived by their peers or teacher, feelings of exclusion from learning activities or from the class

generally and feelings of powerlessness. Busch (2015) points out that these feelings may cause learners to be reluctant to speak their home languages and to not speak freely during lessons, which I observed to be evident amongst my learners. The emergent bilingual learners in my class quite possibly felt uncomfortable talking to me due to the “linguistic inequality” (Busch, 2015: 352) in my class. This inequality was due to the language regime of the South African education department that promotes the language ideologies of English as the sole medium of instruction and the monoglossic conceptualization of languages in the South African education policy. These language ideologies prevented my learners from expressing themselves and engaging fully in lessons (McKinney et al., 2015). Even when I invited these learners to answer in isiXhosa or Afrikaans, when it was clear they were unable to communicate in English, they were reluctant to do so. They were very aware, due to the direct and indirect social conditioning they received at home and at school, that English was the only legitimate language (Bourdieu, 1977) to be used at school. Makoe (2007) analysed a similar instance of an emergent bilingual learner persisting with telling her news in English, despite her teacher instructing her to, “Speak in your language” (Makoe, 2007: 64). Makoe (2007) argues that the learner ignored the teacher’s instruction because she was aware from the broader language regime that she needed to speak English in order to be acknowledged and praised. Like the teacher in Makoe’s research, by encouraging learners to speak in their home language when they were struggling in English, I was reinforcing the message that English was the language of school and languages other than this could only be used as a repair strategy.

Setting up a multilingual space

In order to avoid the linguistic exclusion and alienation that the exclusive use of English leads to, as pointed out by Stein and Newfield (2006), and instead enable my learners to use their full linguistic repertoires, as suggested by García & Sylvan (2011), it was important that I did not impose boundaries on what languages my learners could or could not use. Thus, I actively invited learners to use whatever linguistic resources they felt comfortable using during the after-school literacy lessons. I aimed to create an environment where multilingualism was treated as a valuable resource and where all languages were equal,

valid and accepted. The extract below is from the first after-school lesson and is an example of my introducing such aims:

Extract 4.1 25 April 2017, session 1:

TR: We're going to learn each other's languages because in these classes after school, doesn't matter what we speak, whether we speak English or Xhosa or Afrikaans, okay↑, we all want to learn, okay, because every language that we speak is important, we're not going to laugh at each other, we're going to learn from each other.

Here, I positioned the learning of all languages, not just English, as important, in order to shift the language ideology away from a monolingual orientation. I also used the inclusive pronoun "we" when referring to who would be learning the different languages. This in effect positioned both the learners and I as language learners. This was important because it positioned the learners as needing to learn from each other and it also positioned me, in my role as the teacher and the authority figure in the class, as needing and wanting to learn languages other than English. I also asserted that "we all want to learn" because I wanted to set a tone of acceptance and interest in one another's linguistic repertoires for the learners and I wanted to set a focus of learning from one another, rather than ridiculing each other. I avoided saying "we all want to learn *English*" because I wanted to convey to the learners a sense of linguistic equality in these lessons, in order to encourage them to use their full linguistic repertoires.

Thus, the predominant strategies that I used throughout the course of the various lessons were translanguaging and translation. I regularly invited learners to speak in whatever language they felt comfortable and conveyed that translation would be used to understand learners who chose to speak in another language. The extract below is from a lesson where learners had to describe their favourite sweet without naming it and the rest of the class had to guess what it was. It provides an example of how I would invite learners to speak in their home languages:

Extract 4.2 10 May 2017, session 6:

TR: You're going to come stand in front here. The rest of us are quiet and we're listening nicely. If you want to do it in a different language, you can do it in Afrikaans or Xhosa, doesn't matter, and somebody will translate for us. Okay↑!

Here I used the words, "If you want to" to indicate to my learners that they were free to use whatever language they wanted to when they described their sweet to the class. I also used the words "doesn't matter" to help them feel comfortable using their home languages instead of English, in order to shift the language ideology away from a monolingual orientation. Throughout the different activities over the weeks I repeatedly drew learners' attention to this change in the language ideology in this space compared to what they were used to doing during in-school class time. As evidenced in the extract above, I repeated the invitation of using any of the three home languages because I was aware how strongly the monolingual orientation had become for my learners. Thus I wanted to make it very clear to them that I wanted them to break this 'rule'. In addition, I clarified should someone decide to speak in a language other than English that "somebody will translate for us" so that learners knew how we would understand them. As Manyak (2008) points out, an important strategy in multilingual teaching is translation, which I used so that everyone could understand each other.

At times, my invitation to learners to use their home languages was not directed to the whole class but rather addressed to individual learners. In the extract below I have chosen a learner to have a turn describing his sweet during the game mentioned above:

Extract 4.3 10 May 2017, session 6:

- (1) TR: Okay, um...Andile you going to say it in English or in Xhosa?
- (2) Andile: English
- (3) TR: English, you want to say it in English, okay. Well, you got to speak nice and loud so that we can hear.

In turn 1, my question as to which language Andile would like to speak, "in English or in Xhosa?" was genuinely an open one. Even though I was aware that Andile was able to speak English fairly fluently, I did not assume that he wanted to but rather I allowed him to choose

which language resource he would like to use. I responded neutrally in turn 3, with a routine reply of “okay.”

The positive effects of inviting learners to use their home languages

I observed a range of positive effects on my learners’ behaviour and interactions during these lessons. These include increased emotional comfort, confidence and participation, as well as enhanced learning, and the development of their writing skills and multimodal skills. I will discuss evidence of each of these positive effects below.

In terms of emotional comfort and confidence, I observed that when learners chose to speak in their home languages during the different lessons, they were comfortable doing so and it seemed to produce in them a sense of confidence and enjoyment of the activities. In the extract below, Zintle has already described her sweet in isiXhosa during the sweet guessing game and the rest of the learners are now guessing what it is:

Extract 4.4 10 May 2017, session 6:

- (1) TR: David, what do you think it is?
- (2) David: Apple
- (3) Zintle: Nope
- (4) TR: Apple still? A black and brown apple? Ahhh, Odwa?
- (5) Odwa: **Amanzekeyiki** (directly translated as water of the cake, unclear what he meant)
- (6) Zintle: Uh-uh
- (7) TR: Not cake. Nadim?
- (8) Nadim: Um, um, chocolate coins
- (9) TR: Chocolate coins. (*Zintle shakes her finger to indicate ‘no’.*) No, not chocolate coins. Sesethu?
- (10) Sesethu: I think m’am it’s a biscuit, ma’am.
- (11) Zintle: Uh-uh.
- (12) TR: A skip? What’s a skip?

(13) Sesethu: Biscuit, Ma'am.

(14) TR: A biscuit? Not a biscuit?

(15) Zintle: Uh-uh

(16) TR: Okay, Naomi?

(17) Naomi: A snake? (*Zintle shakes her head to indicate 'no'. She points at Vuyo to answer.*)

(18) Vuyo: Cupcake.

(19) Zintle: **Yoh, hayi!** (Oh no!) (*Zintle claps her hands together as she speaks.*)

In the extract above, Zintle uses playful language and gesture to answer the learners' guesses, using words such as "nope" in turn 3 and "uh-uh" in turns 6, 11 and 15, and shaking her finger in turn 9 and her head in turn 17. At the end of the extract in turn 19, she says expressively, "Yoh, hayi!" and claps her hands after a learner makes a silly guess. The playful language that she uses indicates her emotional comfort and confidence in playing the game. Furthermore, in the video footage it is also evident that her behaviour is vastly different from how I have observed her to normally behave in class. In the video, she is smiling, a clear sign that she is enjoying herself and her body language exudes enjoyment and confidence, as she dances and claps while she waits for learners to answer, wags her finger at learners' incorrect answers and at the end of the extract chooses a learner herself to answer. Her behaviour in this activity is confident, relaxed and engaged.

As Busch (2015) argues learners need to feel emotionally comfortable when speaking a language. It seems that this argument is valid as by allowing learners such as Zintle to use their full linguistic repertoires, a space of linguistic equality is created that causes emergent bilingual learners such as Zintle to feel comfortable to speak their home languages and to interact freely with others. In addition, the multimodality of the sweet guessing game seems to have contributed to this positive emotional aspect. While the activity foregrounded the mode of speech, the format was a guessing game where learners used gesture, facial expression and tone to describe their sweets. The argument by Newfield (2011) that multimodality positions learners as successful meaning-makers is reinforced in this activity. Newfield (2011) also points out that multimodal activities, together with allowing learners to use their home languages can reduce emergent bilingual learners' reservations and

opposition to using English and this certainly seems to be the case in this activity, as learners were noticeably less reserved in these lessons than in normal classroom lessons.

Furthermore, it seems that the arguments that Kusters et al. (2017) and Blackledge and Creese (2017) make that educational research needs to consider how multilingualism and multimodality interact is reinforced here.

Encouraging my learners to use their full linguistic repertoires also seemed to increase their participation and enhance their learning. During the sweet guessing game, Yonela was eager to participate in this activity and was chosen to have a turn. I have observed her to be a soft-spoken, shy learner who prefers to nod her head or give one-word answers when speaking to me or my assistant, and who seldom puts up her hand to participate in lessons. Thus I was surprised by Yonela's volunteering which seemed out-of-character and bold. In the extract below, she describes her sweet in isiXhosa, pausing at times to allow other learners to translate her words and then the rest of the learners guess what she is describing:

Extract 4.5 10 May 2017, session 6:

- (1) Yonela: **Ifavourite food yam...ibomvu** (My favourite food...is red)
- (2) TR: **Ibomvu** (It's red), okay. So, we're going to go one sentence at a time, and then we're going to translate because not everybody speaks Xhosa. Okay↑? So, go one at a time. And then if you want to translate, put your hand up (*addressing the rest of the learners*). Okay, so her favourite food is↑?
- (3) Several learners: **Ibomvu** (It's red)
- (4) TR: Which is what colour?
- (5) Several learners: red
- (6) TR: Red, lovely. Okay, keep going (*speaking to Yonela*)
- (7) Yonela: **Ibomvu** and **iqinile** (It's red and it's hard)
- (8) Andile: And it's hard
- (9) TR: And it's hard. It's red and it's hard.
- (10) Yonela: **Xa utiya ayaphuma amazinyo** (When you eat it, teeth come out your mouth) (*Learners laugh*)
- (11) TR: Okay, wait, who's translating? What's she saying, Zintle?

- (12) Zintle: She's saying if you eating, your teeth are breaking
- (13) TR: If you eat it your teeth are going to be red?
- (14) Oyama: Break
- (15) TR: Break. Your teeth are going to break. So, it's very, very hard. Okay, David?
- (16) David: Apple
- (17) TR: He wants to know is it an apple? (*speaking to Yonela, Yonela nods*) Was it apple?
- (18) Yonela: Uh-uh (*Yonela shakes her head*)
- (19) TR: No, it's not apple, we're doing a sweet, sweet food. Yasmeen?
- (20) Yasmeen: Chocolate.
- (21) TR: Chocolate? (*Yonela nods*) A red chocolate? (*Learners laugh, Yonela shakes her head*) Is it chocolate?
- (22) Yonela: The...It's brown **ne** (slang word meaning 'Do you know what I mean?') and the picture of...is red.
- (23) TR: The paper is red?
- (24) Yonela: Yes
- (25) TR: So what is the name of it? ...Is it the one you break into pieces?
- (26) Yonela: Yes.
- (27) TR: Kitkat? Kit –
- (28) Yonela: Yes.
- (29) TR: Ahhhh, so Yonela's favourite is ↑...
- (30) Several learners: Kitkat.
- (31) TR: Kitkat. Lovely!

Yonela's speech is indicative of an emergent bilingual learner as she moves between the different resources in her repertoire (García & Sylvan, 2011), using both isiXhosa and English to communicate meaning. She describes her sweet using mostly isiXhosa words such as "ibomvu" (red) in turn 1 and "iqinile" (hard) in turn 7. However when I ask her questions in English such as in turn 23, "The paper is red?" she replies in English such as in turn 24 with

“yes”. She was comfortable speaking in isiXhosa, possibly because she was encouraged by having so many willing translators, and she was also comfortable speaking in English.

What is striking in this unfolding of events is that if Yonela was positioned as a deficient English monolingual and not invited to speak in isiXhosa she probably would not have been motivated to participate in the game. But instead by inviting learners to speak in isiXhosa, I positioned them as having skills and interests that were valuable for literacy learning. This allowed Yonela to express her ideas and subsequently also to produce some English. In other words, by inviting emergent bilingual learners, such as Yonela, to use their home languages, we allow them to interact using their existing linguistic repertoires and therefore maximize their learning, as Hornberger (in García and Lin, 2016) points out.

Moreover, in addition to enhancing Yonela’s participation and learning by performing in isiXhosa, allowing Yonela to use her full linguistic repertoire also increased the participation of the rest of the class, that is, the audience in this activity. Learners were quite possibly motivated by Yonela speaking a language that they understood and were encouraged to participate by the need for translation for the teacher and for other learners who did not understand isiXhosa. Learners were eager to translate Yonela’s words, such as in turn 8 when Andile translates Yonela, saying “And its hard” without me prompting him to translate. In turn 12, Zintle, who I have observed to be a quiet, shy learner who seldom speaks English, eagerly translates Yonela’s words using a loud voice. Despite being generally shy about speaking English, the task of translation provided her with a safe environment to try out English (Manyak, 2008) and motivated her to translate for Yonela, in an extended speaking turn, “She’s saying if you eating, your teeth are breaking.” Compared to Yonela’s phrase in isiXhosa of “teeth come out your mouth” in turn 10, Zintle interprets Yonela’s meaning and rephrases Yonela’s words by saying “your teeth are breaking” so that others may understand better. In this instance, the skill of translation has repositioned Zintle as possessing complex skills that are necessary for literacy learning. As Makoe and McKinney (2009) argue, learners such as Zintle and Andile act as “language brokers”, who increase participation and help build a classroom community because they have enabled everyone to understand what Yonela has said. Furthermore, it seems that Zintle and Andile as relatively fluent English speakers, have contributed to what Toohey (1998) refers to as a community of practice, as their skills of translation have allowed emergent bilingual learners such as

Yonela to participate in a classroom activity and other learners to understand her. In addition, translation as a group activity involves collaboration, which is important for emergent bilingual learners as it allows them to pool their language resources and therefore achieve or learn more, than they might be able to on their own (García and Sylvan, 2011). Individually learners such as Zintle and Andile might not have been able to translate all of Yonela's speech but collaboratively they are able to. By allowing learners to translate, it develops a community of learners who collaborate to establish meaning, which in turn develops learners' confidence and sense of belonging, which are all crucial to learning.

In addition, as Guzula, McKinney and Tyler (2016) point out, allowing learners to use a home language and have their words translated, helps learners to activate their prior knowledge more easily than if they were restricted to using only one language, namely English. For example, in the extract above Yonela easily uses descriptive isiXhosa words such as "ibomvu" and "iqinile." This then helps "create a rich occasion for language acquisition" (Manyak, 2008: 456) as these words are then translated from isiXhosa to English, potentially consolidating the learners' English language skills. Lastly, translation promotes integration of emergent bilingual learners with more fluent learners (García & Sylvan, 2011) as well as social integration in diverse classrooms (Manyak, 2004). In the extract above, translation allows the learners such as Yonela who is an emergent bilingual learner, to be integrated with more fluent English speakers such as Zintle and Andile. Similarly, translation allows for the linguistically diverse learners in this classroom to understand each other and integrate socially as they are all involved in the sweet guessing games, as demonstrated in the extract above.

A further positive effect of allowing learners to use their home language is that it seems to help develop their writing skills. As Barnes (1990) points out, exploratory talk, loosely defined as informal talking develops understanding, and critically prepares learners for writing. After playing the sweet guessing game, the next activity was writing about sweets, in order to play the game again by reading written clues. Those who had already had a chance to play, such as Yonela, also wrote down their clues. By allowing Yonela to speak freely in her home language first she was provided with an opportunity to develop her ideas, which critically enabled her to communicate her ideas in writing. In the extract above, in turn 1 Yonela says her sweet food is "red" and I question this in turn 21, with "A red

chocolate?” She clarifies this in turn 22 by saying that the sweet food is brown and the paper is red. The fact that she has the opportunity to improve on the expression of her meaning *before* writing increases the chances of the meaning in her writing being clearer. Exploratory talk in the learners’ home languages together with the translation process that many learners participated in also seemed to encourage learners to write. Despite inviting learners to speak in their home languages, I admittedly did not actively encourage learners to write in their home languages but I also did not dissuade them if they did so. Vuyo, who I have observed to write very little English in class and who seemed generally unmotivated during normal lessons, was very engaged during the writing activity after the sweet guessing game (10 May 2017, session 6). In the video footage, Vuyo can be seen writing with his head bowed in concentration for the entire 23 minutes. He wrote using a mix of English, urban isiXhosa and standard isiXhosa (see figure 4.1 below), feeling comfortable enough to do so without seeking permission:

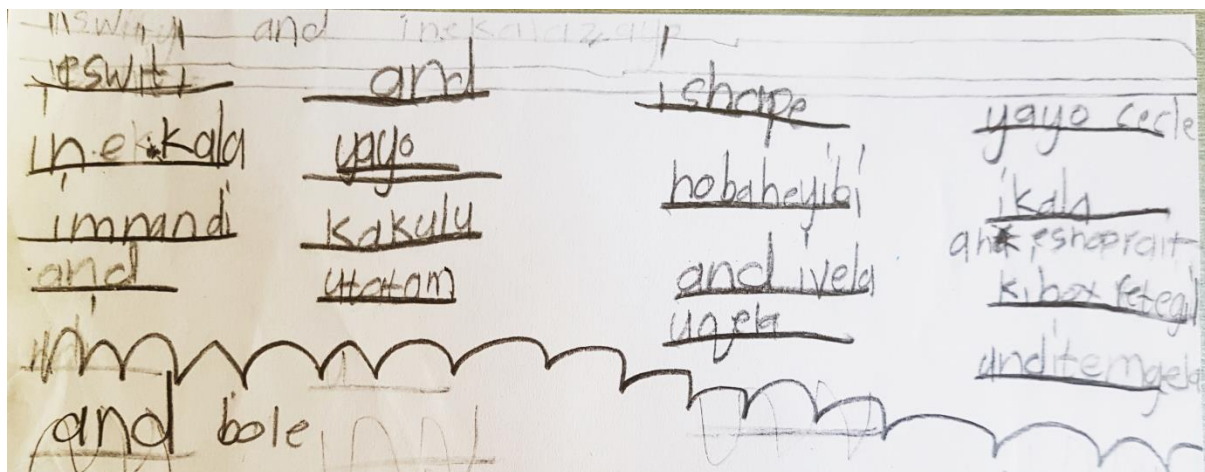


Figure 4.1 Vuyo’s Sweet Description

In figure 4.2 below, Vuyo’s writing has been translated into English below the isiXhosa words. The heteroglossia in his writing is very interesting as Vuyo Xhosalizes (Paxton and Tyam, 2010) English words for words that he does not know in isiXhosa. For example, in line 1 he uses the word “ishape”, adding the isiXhosa noun prefix “i” to the English word “shape.” In line 2, he makes the word inekala (any colour), by putting together the English words “ine” (any) and “kala” (colour) and writing them according to isiXhosa spelling conventions. In addition, he uses urban isiXhosa words such as “utatam” (utata wam/my father) in line 4 and “ikala” (colour) in line 2. He employs standard isiXhosa words such as “imnandi kak[h]ulu” (it’s very nice) in line 3 and “undit[h]emgela” (he bought it for me) in

line 4, although his spelling is at times incorrect. Allowing Vuyo to use his full linguistic repertoire in writing enabled him to engage more with the activity and motivated him to express his ideas in writing. If I had expected him to use only strictly English words, this would have severely limited him from engaging in the lesson and expressing his ideas. However, by referring to the development of writing skills that allowing learners to speak in their home languages potentially produces, does not mean that I am proposing that the sole purpose of literacy teaching is the transition from spoken language to written language, but rather that there is a bi-directional relationship between the two, in the sense that developing one benefits the other.

Line 1	iswiti	and	ishape yayo	cecle
	the sweet	and	it's shape	[is a] circle
Line 2	inekala yayo	nobaheyibi	ikala	
	it's any colour	any	colour	
Line 3	imnandi kakulu	and	ivela eshoprait	kibox retegil
	it's very nice	and	it's from Shoprite	[and comes] in a rectangular box
Line 4	and utatam	uqela	unditemgela	and bole
	and my father	used to	buy it	and a ball

Figure 4.2 Translation of Vuyo's Writing

Allowing Vuyo to use his full linguistic repertoire not only potentially developed his written language but also his verbal and non-verbal communication skills, what Busch (2015) refers to as the “multimodal dimension of communication” (Busch, 2015: 345). For example, Vuyo speaks with more expression when he reads his description (refer to Figures 4.1 and 4.2 above) for the sweet guessing game (10 May 2017, session 6). I have observed him in class to be a learner that speaks with expression when conversing in English but not when reading English books or his own work English written work. However, in the video footage, he begins by using humour, making the audience laugh by kicking his legs to the side and pretending to straighten his collar. He then proceeds to read with an animated voice, gesticulating with his hand while he does so and rubbing his stomach when he says his sweets taste “good”. By allowing him to use his full linguistic repertoire, he has also been

provided with the opportunity to develop his communication skills and take up the position of a successful communicator and performer.

Learners' interest in and awareness of the language practices of their peers

In addition to the positive benefits discussed thus far, learners' interest in and awareness of the languages of their peers was also evident. From the start of the after-school lessons I observed that learners showed an interest in learning the different languages of their peers. Learners also seemed to become aware that when their peers used their full linguistic repertoires, it had a positive effect on their peers. These effects of integration and acceptance are particularly important in a context where racial prejudice still exists amongst different South African ethnic groups that were previously oppressed and divided, and in the Western Cape particularly between some African language speaking and Coloured children. In post-Apartheid South Africa, racial divisions in schools still exist, where groups of learners are labelled by other learners as "culturally different" (Carrim & Soudien, 1999: 167) in a negative sense and these groups are "fixed and stereotyped within their assumed identities" (Carrim & Soudien, 1999: 168). Activities involving multilingual teaching strategies such as translanguaging and translation in these after-school lessons seemed to promote integration and acceptance (Manyak, 2004) and potentially avoided this negative essentializing.

During the Telling Stories lesson (25 April 2017, session 1) two interesting examples of collaboration across languages occurred. In the first one, I had invited Amira to tell us a story in Afrikaans that she had told before and Unathi expressed her apprehension at not being able to understand Afrikaans:

Extract 4.6 25 April 2017, session 1:

- (1) TR: She's going to tell the same story and she's going to tell it in Afrikaans and we're going to see how much we understand. Hey Zintle, we're going to listen carefully.
- (2) Unathi: I don't hear Afrikaans.
- (3) TR: Hmm?
- (4) Unathi: I don't hear Afrikaans.

(5) TR: You don't hear Afrikaans? (*Unathi nods and smiles shyly*) Oh. So who are, so who's going to help you with the Afrikaans? (*Unathi looks at other children. David, Naomi and Andile raise their hands.*) Who's going to help? (*Zach points at Laura. Unathi points at Yasmeeen.*) Even Andile doesn't understand Afrikaans either, but um, he's been trying to understand. (*I look at Unathi*). Can you try and understand it? (*Unathi nods a big certain nod*) And we'll help you. (*Unathi nods again*) My Afrikaans is not so good either but, um, those that know Afrikaans are going to translate for us, hey? Lovely (*Naomi laughs*). Yes? (*Laura nods*). Yes? (*I look at several different children in turn for a reply*). Who's going to help us with translating? (*Laura, Naomi and Sesethu raise their hands*). Who's going to help us with translating? Sesethu's going to try! Excellent, Sesethu you're going to help us with translating (*Sesethu ducks her head shyly*). Who else is going to help us with translating Afrikaans? Andile? Fantastic! Zach! Very nice. Okay.

In this extract, some of the learners willingly raise their hands to indicate that they will help with translation, such as in turn 5 when Naomi raises her hand and when Laura nods and raises her hand. This shows that they are open to helping others understand their language. This can be seen as facilitating inclusion and subsequent integration on the part of learners more fluent in English because they are willing to help their peers understand their language, instead of rejecting them and laughing at them. Furthermore, while most of the learners that volunteer to help with translation speak Afrikaans at home, some of them do not. In turn 5, Andile and Sesethu raise their hands. Both of these learners speak isiXhosa as a home language and understand very little Afrikaans but instead of being apathetic, they raise their hands. This action quite possibly shows that they are interested in learning Afrikaans and helping others learn it, despite knowing very little Afrikaans themselves. Despite the apprehension that Unathi might have felt at the beginning of the extract when she says "I don't hear Afrikaans" in turn 2 and 4, she is prepared to try to understand it once she sees that more fluent learners will help her translate it and that others including her teacher are also trying to understand it. In turn 5, she gives me a certain affirmative nod indicating that she will try to understand it. In this diverse classroom, the task of translation potentially has helped build a community of learners who accept and include each other, help each other learn and are interested in one another's languages (Makoe and McKinney, 2009; Manyak, 2004; Toohey, 1998).

Later in the lesson after a different learner, Yonela, had told her story in isiXhosa, I divided learners into groups and asked them to practise acting out Yonela's story of a granny getting

bitten by a dog. The groups were mixed with learners from different grades and different language backgrounds. Laura, an Afrikaans-speaking grade 2 learner, approached me and asked me if her peer Sesethu in her group could speak in isiXhosa. I immediately answered yes without questioning her further and then announced to the rest of the class that they could speak in isiXhosa or Afrikaans if they wanted to. When Laura originally asked me I immediately said “yes” because I wanted to respond positively without hesitating. But I wondered afterwards what had triggered her to ask this. The next morning (26 April 2017) I called Laura over and asked her what had made her ask. Laura said she had asked, “because Sesethu speaks so nicely in Xhosa.” She didn’t offer any further explanation so I clarified what she meant by “so nicely” by asking her, “Do you mean you like the sound of Xhosa or Sesethu speaks more in Xhosa?” She said “because Sesethu speaks more.” I had observed that other adults and learners often found Sesethu to be a frustrating child to work with because she is often non-verbal, does not offer ideas and does not always actively participate in activities. Laura, it seems, who is a very emotionally perceptive girl for her age, realized that in order to get Sesethu to talk more while acting should speak in isiXhosa. It seems that Laura had understood from the learners’ responses to my inviting them to speak in their home languages that learners speak or participate more in their home languages and that it was acceptable to do so. Instead of being positioned as a deficient language user, Laura repositioned Sesethu as a meaning-maker, as having language resources within her linguistic repertoire that she could use (McKinney, et al., 2015). It did not matter to Laura that some of the learners in her group spoke in English and some in isiXhosa. Rather, the priority for her was to have everyone actively participating, which was also my goal for the lesson. Furthermore, Laura’s actions reveal how learners can potentially adapt easily to multilingual teaching. This shows that in this instance, what Bourdieu refers to as the “legitimate” (1977: 650) language in the classroom changed from only English to including other languages as well. Thus, the language regime in the classroom had shifted from a monolingual one to a multilingual one.

Learners positioned as language experts

When I positioned languages other than English as legitimate in these lessons, it positioned my learners as language experts because I myself am not by any means a fluent speaker of

isiXhosa or Afrikaans and my learners were well aware of this. This repositioning seemed to give my learners a new sense of agency and they not only actively participated but also sought to position themselves as the teachers. The extract below epitomizes this repositioning, where the learners tell me how to spell the name of an isiXhosa clapping game called *MakaDentsula*. I willingly follow their instructions and try to pronounce the name, which humours them:

Extract 4.7 2 May 2017, session 3

- (1) Vuyo: **MakaDentsula** (Mother of Dentsula) ma'am
- (2) TR: Hey? (*I lean closer to hear what Vuyo is saying*)
- (3) Vuyo: (*starts singing the words of the game*) **MakaDentsula zayisho, makaDentsula zayisho** (Mother of Dentsula okay, Mother of Dentsula okay)
- (4) TR: Okay, what's the name of the game?
- (5) Siya: (*breaking up the word for me*) Ma-ka-Den-tsula
- (6) TR: Ma- (*I write down each syllable*)
- (7) Several learners: -ka-
- (8) TR: -ka-
- (9) Several learners: -den-tsu
- (10) TR: de-tu (*I mishear the learners and omit the 's'. Several learners laugh, Zintle has a big smile on her face and Sesethu points at what I've written and smiles.*)
- (11) TR: Am I right Zintle? (*Zintle shakes her head slightly*) No? Who wants to write it?
- (13) Vuyo: Me ma'am!
- (14) TR: Okay, will you write it on the board there for us? (*I point to the whiteboard*) Write it on the whiteboard there, use the whiteboard koki there (*Vuyo writes MakaDentsula on the board*) Is it looking better now Zintle? (*She nods*)
- (15) Sesethu: yes
- (16) TR: (*reading what Vuyo has written*) Ma-ka-Den..**tsula**, maka**Dentsula**! (*Several learners laugh because of my incorrect emphasis*) Maka**Dentsula** (*Learners laugh again*) Is it funny what I say Zintle? You say it.

(17) Sesethu: MakaDentsula

(18) Odwa: MakaDentsula

(19) TR: MakaDentsula (*Several learners laugh, Zintle is laughing bent over her lap with her face in her hands*)

In the extract above, the children are actively engaged in helping me write the word MakaDentsula, partly because it is an isiXhosa word that is familiar to many learners, and partly because in positioning them in the role of language experts, it seems they have been given a renewed sense of agency. In turn 13, Vuyo, who I have observed to generally be quite apathetic and disengaged during mat time in regular classes, eagerly volunteers to write the word on the board when I ask who would like to write the word, shouting “Me, m’am!” At the end of extract, my attempts at pronouncing the word and my asking different learners to say the word for me, further entrenches this repositioning, where the learners have the competency and knowledge in pronouncing the word and I am the language learner struggling to pronounce the word correctly.

In another example, during the Sweets lesson (9 May 2017, session 5), we were discussing different adjectives that describe sweets and I drew the learners’ attention to the similarity of the word “chocolate” in the three different languages, English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans. For the isiXhosa one, the learners provided the Urban isiXhosa word “ichocoleti” which is not Standard isiXhosa but is the familiar word for them. In the extract below, I asked the learners if there were parts of the three words that looked similar and Laura requested to show me how the words for chocolate were the same:

Extract 4.8 9 May 2017, session 5

(1) TR: Do the words look completely different or are they kind of the same?

(2) Several learners: Different

(3) TR: Is there parts of the words that look the same?

(4) Several learners: Yes.

(5) TR: There are?

(6) Laura: (*She raises her hand.*) Ma’am, can I show you?

(7) TR: Yes, come show me where the words look a bit the same.

- (8) Laura: This. (*She points to the letter 'a' in the word "sjokolade."*)
- (9) TR: This part looks the same as? (*I underline the letter she has pointed to.*)
- (10) Laura: The 'A' here. (*She points to the letter 'a' in the word "chocolate."*)
- (11) TR: Over there. (*I underline the letter.*)
- (12) Laura: And the 'e.' (*She points to 'e' in the word "chocolate"*)
- (13) TR: Hang on. And here where does it look the same? (*I point to the word "ichocoleti."*)
- (14) Laura: Here (*She points to the 'e' in the word "ichocoleti."*)
- (15) TR: There, okay. (*I underline the letter she has pointed to.*) You're saying that 'e' is looking the same. (*I re-underline all the e's in the 3 words.*)
- (16) Laura: And the 'l'. (*She seems to pointing be to "l" in "ichocoleti."*)
- (17) TR: And the 'l' looks the same, okay, that part, (*I underline the 'l' in "ichocoleti" and in the other words*), okay. (*Laura returns to her place on the mat*). And the 'oco' even though we say it differently in Xhosa, okay, it's also got 'O,' 'C,' 'O,' 'o,' 'c,' 'o,' okay? Even though we say it differently.

For a learner to ask to approach the board and to ask to show the teacher something is quite unusual in my class and thus can be seen as a brave move on the part of the learner. Moreover, discussing different languages that I was not familiar with and asking my learners about certain words, positioned myself as a language learner and consequently positioned the learners as language experts because they were fairly fluent in the languages that we were discussing. Thus, in the extract above Laura was positioned as a language expert, and this quite possibly encouraged her to behave or participate differently to the normal teacher-directed pattern of interaction where I would initiate interactions and call on specific learners to speak. Instead of putting up her hand to give a response to my initiation in turn 1, she responded with a question in turn 6 in which she was in effect requesting permission to approach the board to share her expert language knowledge.

Problematizing shifting the language regime

The legitimization of languages other than English, as part of the discourses about language in education, was not a simple, straight-forward process for me in these classes. Rather, it was a complex process in that it involved a real, honest intention to value all languages in

these lessons but this message was confounded by my personal monolingual English orientation and teaching responsibilities, and required me to shift to a bi/multilingual translanguaging orientation. This was not an automatic trajectory but one that required much introspection and practice. By scrutinizing the transcripts, it is evident that at times instead of communicating the valuing of all languages equally, I unintentionally communicated a subtle language hierarchy. The extract below is from the first after-school lesson and is an example of this subtle hierarchical positioning:

Extract 4.9 25 April 2017, Session 1

TR: ...we're going to learn each other's languages because in these classes after school, doesn't matter what we speak, whether we speak English or Xhosa or Afrikaans, okay, we all want to learn. Okay, because every language that we speak is important. We're not going to laugh at each other. We're going to learn from each other.

By using the words "in these classes after school", I drew a distinction between the after-school classes, where it was acceptable to use any language, and the regular classes during school, where it was not necessarily acceptable. I drew the distinction because I intended to make learners feel comfortable to participate in these classes with whatever linguistic repertoires they had but in effect the reverse is also true that I unintentionally conveyed to them a subtle message that only English was acceptable during in-school lessons.

In other instances, I also subtly positioned English as the norm. When we played the Guess the Sweet game I invited the learners to speak in whatever language they wanted to:

Extract 4.10 10 May 2017, session 6:

Me: ...You're going to come stand in front here. The rest of us are quiet and we're listening nicely. If you want to do it in a different language, you can do it in Afrikaans or Xhosa, doesn't matter, and somebody will translate for us. Okay ↑.

Here I invite learners to use a "different language" if they want to, instead of saying *any* language. The word "different" subtly positions the languages they choose to use as different from English and positions English as the norm.

However, as the lessons continue my orientation shifts from that of English monolingual to more of a multilingual translanguaging orientation and consequently this language hierarchy is deconstructed and instead my intentions and communications to the learners align. In the Games lesson below I introduce the topic of games and mention the languages that they use to play them:

Extract 4.11 May 2017, session 3

TR: Some of us at home play games in English, sometimes the games we play are in Afrikaans and sometimes the games we play are in ↑, Xhosa.

Here I refer to the languages equally without positioning English as the norm. I simply refer to learners either playing games in English, Afrikaans or isiXhosa. Later on in this same lesson I do this again when I divide learners into pairs and ask them to discuss the games they play at home:

Extract 4.12 2 May 2017, session 3

TR: Alright! Whether it's in Afrikaans, or Xhosa, or English, it doesn't matter. Just talk together about all the different games that you play.

By using the words, "it doesn't matter" I very clearly communicate to the learners that the point of the exercise is not the language that they use but the games that they discuss. By doing so, I effectively remove any language hierarchy and communicate that all languages are equally valued. This happens once again in this lesson, when I ask learners to choose a game and to practise teaching it to others:

Extract 4.13 2 May 2017, session 3

TR: ... what will happen next is that you're going to teach all of us to play the game, whether you're speaking in Afrikaans or English or Xhosa, doesn't matter, you choose, teach us the game with the words that you know, alright?

Here, once I again I communicate to the learners that it "doesn't matter" what languages they use because all languages are valued. The words "teach us the game with the words you know" communicates to the learners that they can use any language resource in their linguistic repertoire and that the priority is for them to communicate and not to use a certain language, namely English. Thus it is evident that despite my intended goals of

legitimizing languages other than English, this was not a straightforward orientation for me to implement, but rather a process or trajectory of shifting my own language ideology that I moved along.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how the monolingual language ideology that was present in this class prior to this study influenced the behaviour of these learners by making them reluctant to participate in class activities. In order to shift the language ideology away from a monolingual orientation, I have described how I created a multilingual space during the after-school lessons by actively inviting these learners to use their home languages. In so doing, learners were repositioned as having language resources necessary for literacy learning. From the positive response of the learners, it seems that the language ideology did indeed shift in this space. Learners appeared to be emotionally comfortable, more confident and participated freely, using their home languages. In addition, allowing learners to use their home languages enhanced learning, and the development of their writing skills and multimodal skills. Positioning learners as language experts also helped increase learner participation, and developed their awareness of each other's languages and their eagerness to translate and act as language brokers. These different teaching strategies were problematized as it was important to show that the legitimization of languages other than English was not an automatic process for me but rather one that developed over time. This chapter has focused on enabling learners to use their full linguistic repertoires. The next chapter will focus on enabling learners to use their cultural repertoires.

Chapter 5: Drawing on learners' cultural repertoires in literacy learning

Introduction

The learners in this class had diverse cultural repertoires but they were not encouraged to draw on these resources because of the exclusion and alienation that the exclusive use of the English as a medium of instruction created (Stein and Newfield, 2006). Furthermore, these learners, their families and their backgrounds were seen as the cause of academic failure, rather than the schooling system and the curriculum. Educational settings such as this are problematic because they do not position learners of non-dominant groups as legitimate learners who have valid contributions to make (Gutiérrez and Rogoff, 2003) and they restrict learners from participation and learning as they prevent learners from making connections between school and their personal experiences (Botelho et al., 2010). However, González, Moll and Amanti (2005) argue that it is possible to actively elicit learners' background knowledge and experiences and constructively incorporate them into teaching activities. Furthermore, Comber and Kamler (2004) argue that teachers should reposition learners as having interests and skills necessary for literacy learning by redesigning literacy activities and that by doing so they increase their learner's sense of self-worth and help them improve their literacy skills. Thus, in this chapter I focus on how I encouraged learners to draw on their diverse cultural backgrounds and experiences during the after-school literacy lessons, in order to increase learners' participation in these lessons. I show how this worked to position learners as possessing knowledge that was useful to their learning at school. The setting up of a multicultural space during the after-school lessons will be described, the strategies of encouraging and enabling learners to draw on their cultural repertoires will be analysed, as well as their responses to such strategies, such as increased participation, agency and confidence. In addition, the benefits of using multimodal interactions as a means to increase learning will be discussed.

Setting up a multicultural space

In order to encourage and enable learners to use their cultural repertoires, I needed to reposition the learners in my class as having valuable resources for learning and to help them make connections between school and their personal experiences. To this end

Wells (2009) upholds that teachers should find out about learners' backgrounds by listening to them and by paying attention to their interests and how they understand the world.

Prior to this research, I was very interested in my learners' lives and the activities and experiences that they entailed but I never actively collected information about their cultural resources and experiences or used these as central content for my lessons. In addition, my learners did not seem keen to share their experiences and interests in class during learning activities, possibly because they did not see them as valuable resources.

For example, one boy in my class who lives in the local fishing village regularly reported going fishing in his news writing and I just assumed that by fishing he meant fishing with a rod and bait off the rocks near the harbour. I never thought to ask him where and how he fished and he never offered further details. He only briefly mentioned having been on a boat when I asked the learners who had been on a boat during our transport theme. I found out later that he did in fact fish with a rod but off the side of his grandfather's boat, which was used for trawling trips. This example shows that this learner had a personal topic with a potential wealth of information to share but I did not actively recruit this information about his fishing experiences and he did not offer further information about them.

Thus, in order to encourage my learners to view their cultural repertoires as valuable resources for learning, I decided to incorporate some of their experiences as central content for the after-school literacy activities (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005). I consulted with my learners before the first session as to what over-arching topic they would like to use and we agreed on the topic of *My World*. Each week, I invited learners to draw on themes from their everyday lives that most, if not all, learners could relate to, such as stories that they knew, sweets they ate, games they played, phone conversations they had and television programmes they watched, as a means to getting learners to participate in their learning and to make personal connections with ease (Botelho et al., 2009). My goal was not to teach specific skills within the CAPs curriculum, but to link familiar topics with multimodal activities such as telling stories, speaking and acting etc. in order to encourage learners to use both spoken and written language as much as possible. As part of the planned activities, I chose the theme for the week and the literacy activity, but I did not use any typical formal content such as a published story or a particular rule of grammar. Moreover, I did not dictate to the learners what stories, games, TV shows, sweets and reasons for using phones

they should know; instead I asked the learners to talk about what they already knew. This positioned my learners as the experts of their own worlds and not the teacher. Thus, the structure of each lesson required the learners to relate to the theme by sharing their experience of it, for example, by describing sweets they liked to eat, writing scripts for television programmes they had watched and telling stories they had heard. Thus, learners were repositioned as having valuable cultural knowledge and this enabled them to play an active role in generating the content of the after-school lessons.

Encouraging and enabling learners to draw on their cultural repertoires

The telephone conversation lesson (16 May 2017, session 7) is a good example of how I encouraged learners to use their cultural repertoires to participate in a literacy activity. I wanted learners to write a phone conversation dialogue because although it was an unusual writing format for them, it was relatively accessible because it involved using spoken language. The extract below is from the beginning of the lesson where I found out which learners had spoken on a phone before:

Extract 5.1 16 May 2017, session 7:

- (1) TR: This week, Odwa, we are talking about talking on the phone. Who's spoken on a phone? (*Various learners raise their hands*) Who's spoken on a cell phone or a normal phone?
- (2) Laura: I've spoken on a tablet
- (3) TR: Have you spoken to your – or spoken on a tablet?
- (4) Various learners: I've spoken on a tablet
- (5) TR: Whatever you've spoken on to somebody else. Unathi, have you spoken to somebody on the phone? On a cell phone?
- (8) Unathi: Mm...On a tablet
- (9) TR: On a tablet, lovely.

In turn 1, I ask the learners, "Who has spoken on a phone?" While many learners raise their hands, some do not. I realise my learners probably have little experience of using a landline phone, either due to the increase of mobile phones or living in under-resourced

communities, but they have probably spoken on a mobile phone. In the same turn, I then rephrase the question, asking “Who’s spoken on a cell phone or a normal phone?” in order to broaden the definition of phone and hopefully match my learners’ experiences. This seems to work because in response to my rephrased question, various learners say in turn 2 and 4 that they have spoken on a tablet. However in the extract, I am still concerned because one or two of my learners haven’t yet raised their hands. In turn 5, I then directly ask Unathi, a shy learner who has not yet raised her hand, what device she has spoken on, giving her different options. In turn 8, she answers that she has spoken on a tablet. It was possibly easier for her to answer once I had broadened the definition of phone and once other learners had stated that they had used a tablet.

The lesson then progressed to a discussion about what learners used a phone (on any device) for and learners answered with a range of answers, depending on their experience of using a phone, all of which I accepted. Answers included phoning someone to talk about your problems, to tell someone you forgot things at their house, phoning for an ambulance or the police, phoning your father to tell them you love them, phoning someone if you need something and phoning someone if you’re lost. By broadening the definition of a phone to include any device and by allowing learners to share what they had used a phone for, instead of me telling them what a phone is used for, I repositioned my learners as having interests, knowledge and skills that were necessary for the literacy activity of writing a phone conversation (Comber and Kamler, 2004).

Learners then wrote a telephone conversation based on a topic of their choice. Most of my emergent bilingual learners were not yet able to write independently so instead I asked them to draw a telephone conversation between two people. In this lesson, two learners in particular, Zintle and Unathi, became active participants in the literacy activity. They each eagerly drew a phone conversation and then excitedly approached me to show me their work and explained to me what was happening in their phone conversations.



Figure 5.1 Zintle's Phone Conversation

Zintle chose to construct a phone conversation between two women, possibly neighbours, who are speaking about a fire that is currently happening and about calling the fire brigade. In her picture, she has drawn two women who appear almost identical, wearing the same clothing with similar hair and facial details. She has written their names, "Sam" and "Bradi" at the top of the page. The people in her drawing are not holding mobile phones in their hands but instead she has drawn the mobile phones attached to left-hand side of their heads. She has also drawn speech bubbles coming out of their mouths but she has only drawn dots in them. To illustrate the topic of conversation, she has drawn flames, a fire hose and another unclear item above the people. She has also drawn a pot of strawberry jam on the floor. Zintle explained to me that in her conversation, the one woman phones the other to ask her to phone the fire brigade because there is a fire (Field notes, 2017). The second woman agrees to do so but in the meantime the fire brigade arrives and they chat about the fire and what the firemen are doing. In terms of prior knowledge, Zintle lives in an informal settlement with very little space between the shacks. She is well aware of the threat of fire, and its ability to cause devastating damage to people and property (Two months after she drew this picture, her home was burnt down in a fire that left thousands of people homeless in her community). By allowing her to use her own knowledge of the danger of fires and the importance of phones in such a situation, she was able to construct a phone conversation with great enthusiasm. In addition, when I asked her about her

drawing, she was able to speak about it with ease and referred to details she had drawn or written such as the names of the people, strawberry jam and the firemen’s “pipe” (hose).



Figure 5.2 Unathi’s Phone Conversation

Unathi chose to construct a phone conversation between two people, a mom and a dad, who are speaking about things that each one wants the other to buy. In the picture, she has drawn a mother and father and has indicated who each person is by writing “Mom” and “Dad” on the respective people. She has drawn the mother with her hand on her hip and wearing earrings. Both people in her picture are speaking into the mobile phones that they are holding next to their heads and they have speech bubbles coming out of their mouths. In each speech bubble, instead of words there are pictures of items that they are talking about. In her conversation, Unathi explained to me that Mom phones Dad and asks him to buy her an Easter egg, a cake and a cupcake (Field notes, 2017). He agrees but he also wants her to do something for him. He wants her to buy him a different phone and a different tablet, because he is not happy with the ones she had originally bought him. In terms of prior knowledge, Unathi also lives in an informal settlement and probably is accustomed to family members asking each other to buy things for them, when they have financial difficulty supporting themselves and their children. By allowing her to use her own cultural repertoire of family members supporting each other during times of financial difficulty and

the importance of phones during such situations, she was also able to construct a phone conversation with great enthusiasm.

In both of these cases, with the class discussion I found out about the knowledge that these learners had in terms of using a phone and then with the writing/drawing activity I allowed them to use this knowledge to connect with the literacy activity (Gutiérrez and Rogoff, 2003). I did not make generalized assumptions about the backgrounds of the learners, in terms of what they had used a phone for and this seemed to actively engage them in the activity (Wells, 2009). In such a teaching situation it is clear that in my role as teacher I control to a large extent what learners use to connect with learning material; I can either create opportunities for learning or at times prevent it (Botelho et al., 2010). Thus, it is very important that I encouraged my learners "...to make personal connections and build on their prior knowledge" (Botelho et al., 2010: 251) of using a phone to call the fire brigade or to phone family members to buy things. As such I positioned my learners as having valuable resources within their cultural repertoires for learning and in turn, learners such as Zintle and Unathi actively took up this positioning (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005). This then increased their participation because they could relate to the literacy activity more easily and because they were motivated to be meaning-makers (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005).

Increased participation, agency, confidence and connection with literacy activities

In my analysis of extract 5.2 below taken from a session on games (2 May 2017, session 3), I show how encouraging learners to draw on their cultural repertoires increased their participation, agency and confidence. In this session, I divided the learners into pairs and asked them to briefly talk to each other about a game they like to play. Each pair then had an opportunity to demonstrate how to play their game and to teach it to the rest of the class. In this way I positioned the learners as teachers or experts as they possessed the knowledge of the game and were responsible for teaching it to everyone else, including myself. I helped the learners with classroom management but otherwise participated in

learning and playing the games, taking up the position of one of the learners in the class. In the excerpt below, learners are playing the isiXhosa clapping game, MakaDentsula.

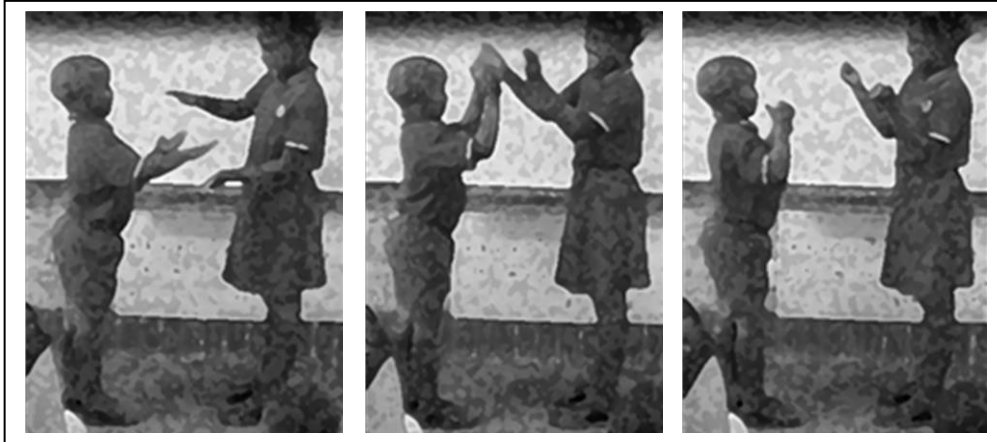


Figure 5.3 Photographs showing how learners play MakaDentsula

As learners clap using specific movements, they sing the words of the game. The words are translated from isiXhosa here below instead of in the extract, in order to make the extract easier to understand, as it contains a great amount of detail about movement and gesture.

The words are:

Ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma (ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma)

Ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma (ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma)

MakaDentsula, zayisho! (Mother of Dentsula, okay!)

MakaDentsula, zayisho! (Mother of Dentsula, okay!)

UphiDentsula, zayisho! (Where is Dentsula?, okay!)

Bancuntsile ngezafolokhwe, zayisho! (They stabbed him with a fork, okay!)

In the extract below, Odwa and Zintle teach Andile and I how to play this clapping game by teaching us both the clapping movements and the words of the game:

Extract 5.2 2 May 2017, session 3

(Learners stand in their pairs on the mat and try to play the clapping game. I am seated directly in front of Zintle and Odwa, who are playing the game. Odwa seems to be singing the words but is unsure of how to clap. Zintle knows both the words and the clapping movements.)

(1) Zintle: M'am, Odwa she [he] don't know it.

- (2) Odwa: M'am I don't know how to clap.
- (3) TR: You don't know it?
- (4) TR: *(looking at Zintle)* Show us how. Andile, are you waiting for Unathi? Come play here. Do you know how to play MakaDentsula? *(Andile shakes his head, Zintle is trying to push Odwa's hands with her hands as she claps so that he can get the hang of the movement)*
- (5) TR: Let's watch Zintle *(Andile and I start to clap, watching Zintle and Odwa as we try.)* **Ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma** *(Zintle is now watching my hands while clapping with Odwa)* Ja, same again, good. **Ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma** And then? *(Zintle and Odwa stop playing the game and watch us).*
- (6) Odwa: **Ma-ken-Den-tsula** *(demonstrating the clapping slowly with his hands)*
- (7) TR & Andile: **Ma-ka-Den-tsula** *(clapping the movements, Odwa says the words with us)* And now?
- (8) Odwa: **Zayisho** *(demonstrating the next part with his hands)*
- (9) TR & Andile: Sa sho *(copying Odwa's movements but I mispronounce the words)*
- (10) Odwa: **MakaDentsula zayisho** *(Odwa says the words quickly as the game requires)*
- (11) TR & Andile: MakaDentsula sa sho *(Odwa laughs at my mispronunciation)*
- (12) Odwa: **MakaDentsula zayisho** *(Odwa repeats the words as the game requires)*
- (13) TR & Andile: MakaDentsula sa sho *(Odwa laughs at me again)*
- (14) Odwa & Zintle: **Bancuntsile ngezafolokhwe, zayisho!** *(They both say the next part)*
- (15) TR & Andile: Yeza kola...*(I mispronounce the words again, Zintle says the correct words slowly and loudly with us watching both Andile and I)*
- (16) TR: What do the words of the song mean? *(Odwa doesn't answer)* Come here *(speaking to other children, Zintle then moves to Andile and claps with him, helping him along the way)* Amira and Nadim. *(Odwa moves over to watch Zintle and Andile)*

What is significant in the extract above is how encouraging and allowing learners to use their cultural repertoires seemed to influence some of the learners to participate more than they normally would have, in the sense that they actively take on a teaching role. I have observed Zintle and Odwa to be very quiet, shy learners in class but in this extract they take

on a highly active role. At the beginning of the extract, Odwa says that he cannot do the clapping part of the game but in turn 6 he starts to teach Andile and I what he does know of the game. He says the words “ma-ka-den” slowly and claps slowly demonstrating as a teacher would, so that Andile and I can follow him. He continues with this teacher behaviour in turn 8, stopping at intervals for Andile and I to repeat his actions and words. At this point, Zintle then decides to help with the teaching. At the beginning of the extract it seems as if she just wants to play the game saying the actions and words quickly without giving Andile and I time to follow her, but after observing Odwa’s teaching role, she also moves into a teaching role. In turn 15, she loudly enunciates the words saying them slowly and clearly for Andile and I to hear. In turn 14, when I turn to speak to other children, she takes my place and steps in front of Andile and starts to clap with him, clapping slow enough for him to follow. At the beginning of the extract Odwa is unsure of how to clap but in turn 4, when I say to Zintle, “Show us how” the game is played, Andile and I watch *both* Odwa and Zintle. This positions him as a teacher, firstly by association with Zintle and secondly because we are watching him, looking to him for knowledge, to learn from him. This seems to motivate him to take on an active teaching role, confidently doing the steps gradually so that we can follow. This then encourages Zintle to confidently take on a teaching role as she of her own accord decides to teach Andile the game at the end of the extract. Thus by referring to the learners’ cultural repertoires of playing a specific game and incorporating it into the learning activities I positioned learners such as Odwa and Zintle as having valuable cultural resources (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005). Moreover in this activity they are also positioned in a teaching role, as the experts. It is important to note that despite such positioning by the teacher, learners can struggle to take on this role. However, by allowing learners to use their knowledge, such as the game in the extract above, it helped learners such as Zintle and Odwa to take on an active role more confidently.

Allowing learners to use their culture repertoires also appeared to build learners’ confidence and help them connect with literacy activities. As part of the games lessons, I asked learners to act out a story that involved the game that they had demonstrated and taught the rest of the class the day before (Session 4, 3 May 2017). This concept of a game within a story proved tricky for most groups to grasp but Amira and Nadim succeeded. In their performance, they play a game called ‘Nikkies’, where Amira and Nadim stand a

distance apart, facing each other and Amira throws the ball to Nadim. According to the rules of the game, Nadim must kick the ball as far away as he can and then run to Amira's side and back before Amira fetches the ball, causing her to be out. However in the extract below, Amira is angry because Nadim has kicked the ball very far away and he won't go with her to fetch it, probably because he wants her to be out. Amira is upset by this and walks off to buy herself a cold drink even though she feels he should buy one for her:

Extract 5.3 3 May 2017, session 4

- (1) Amira: Nadimmmmm (*She throws an imaginary ball to him*)
- (2) Nadim: (*He kicks the ball, lifting his leg high as if he is kicking the ball hard*)
- (3) Amira: Ha! (*gasping expressively*). Now I can't get the ball!
- (4) Nadim: (*runs towards Amira, squeaks excitedly and then runs away*)
- (5) Amira: (*steps on a chair and walks on the spot, as if to indicate that she is walking up stairs*)
- (6) Nadim: (*Runs back and waits for Amira to come back down the stairs*) Nikkies!
- (7) Amira: (*walks off, with a bounce in her step and flaps her hand as she speaks*) I'm going to the sop [shop], I don't care. (*At the shop*) Give me a Jive (*walks back, pretending to drink the Jive*)
- (8) Nadim: Nikkies!
- (9) Amira: Ha! Nikkies! (*gasping expressively*). The sop [shop] is just here, round the corner. Ha! Nikkies! Sho, now you owe me a R10 (*pointing at Nadim as she speaks*).

Their performance is interesting in how the combination of a familiar game as cultural knowledge and acting out a story, provided Amira with confidence when acting. I have observed Amira to be a very shy, soft-spoken learner but in this extract her character is cheeky, dramatic and expressive. In turn 7, she flaps her hand at Nadim and says dramatically, "I don't care." Furthermore, in turn 9, she expresses surprise when Nadim shouts "Nikkies!" by gasping and saying the words "Ha! Nikkies!" twice and she communicates dissatisfaction with his behaviour by saying to him "I don't care" and "Sho, now you owe me a R10". What is not immediately clear from this extract alone, is that her choice of linguistic resources from her repertoire is striking. She does not normally behave

in a dramatic, cheeky manner in class, nor does she use the Kaapse Afrikaans² dialect that she may use at home and thus this performance stands in stark contrast to how she usually behaves in class. In her performance, she allows herself to speak English with a deeper Kaapse Afrikaans accent than she normally uses in class, as well as using Kaapse Afrikaans pronunciation conventions with her use of the word “sop.” In Kaapse Afrikaans, “sh” is often pronounced as “s” which causes speakers of this dialect to say words such as *shoes* or *sharpener* as *soes* and *sarpener*. In class, Amira usually pronounces words with “sh” and does so regularly showing that she has mastery of more than one variety of English and Afrikaans in her linguistic repertoire. However, while she is acting she confidently says “sop” instead of “shop” which shows her knowledge of which linguistic resources will best suit her character and her ability to move across varieties as needed. In addition, it seems that her confident, cheeky gestures are a part of her personality or at least her acting skills. She flaps her hand at Nadim and even points at him while speaking to him. Once again, it seems that by encouraging learners, such as Amira in the extract above, to use their cultural repertoires it provides them with the opportunity to connect with and participate in literacy activities (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005). Furthermore, recognizing the cultural diversity (New London Group, 1996) in this class and allowing Amira to bring it into the classroom, possibly bridged the gap for Amira between her experiences at home and at school and created a conducive learning environment (Stein and Newfield, 2006). Not only did she participate in the activity, she created a play and acted it out confidently.

Benefits of multimodal meaning-making

The activities mentioned in this chapter also involved a variety of multimodal activities, using different modes of communication for literacy learning. The visual modes of drawing images and the verbal mode of speech were used for the telephone conversations, where Zintle and Unathi drew their telephone conversations and then verbally explained their drawings. The modes of speech, gesture and sound were used in the games lesson, where Zintle and Odwa sang, clapped and gestured with their hands. In the game story lesson, the mode of speech and gesture was used where Nadim and Amira acted out a story that

² Kaapse Afrikaans is a variety of Afrikaans spoken in the Western Cape. As Stroud explains, it is "a stigmatised variety of Afrikaans spoken in the Cape Flats of South Africa" (2015:21).

involved a familiar game. Such activities recognize the cultural diversity of learners and promote inclusive teaching practices, rather than exclusion (New London Group, 1996). Furthermore, as Newfield (2011) has argued with regards to other accounts of multimodality in literacy learning, multimodal activities promote participation, in this case particularly in learners who were observed to normally be shy, quiet learners. In addition, these activities developed learners' creativity in the sense that they were positioned in a more active, creative role as meaning-makers who designed their own visual and verbal texts (Newfield, 2011). In the telephone conversation lesson, Zintle and Unathi created their own telephone conversations; in the games lesson Zintle and Odwa had to think about how to teach Andile and I the game; and in the game story lesson Nadim and Amira had to create a story that involved their game and they had to act it out. Moreover, these multimodal lessons appeared to increase learners' enjoyment of literacy activities (Newfield, 2011), where prior to this research there had been "...disinterest, disengagement and alienation" (Newfield, 2011: 27), through no fault of their own. In the telephone conversation, Zintle and Unathi enthusiastically set about drawing; in the games lesson Odwa and Zintle had a good laugh at their teacher trying to play a isiXhosa clapping game and seemed to enjoy teaching Andile and I; and in the game lesson Nadim and Amira smiled their way through acting out a story. It therefore appears that the multimodal meaning-making aspect of these activities positively contributed to literacy learning.

Conclusion

To conclude, learners were encouraged and enabled to use their cultural repertoires in order to mediate and enhance their learning in the after-school literacy lessons. To this end the after-school lessons drew on themes from learners' everyday lives as the central content of the lessons. In addition, learners were positioned as having valuable knowledge, interests and skills. Learners were also encouraged and allowed to use their prior knowledge. These strategies appeared to enhance learning as learners actively participated in lessons, they took on teaching roles, they confidently acted in performances and they connected with ease with literacy activities. Furthermore, the multimodal aspect of these activities increased participation, developed creativity and ultimately enhanced learners' enjoyment of literacy.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Overview of the study

This study drew on theoretical resources that strongly advocated redesigning literacy activities in order to reposition learners as having interests and skills necessary for literacy learning (Comber and Kamler, 2004). In addition, it drew on theoretical resources that advocated inviting learners to use language resources that provide learners with opportunities to express themselves and engage meaningfully with their learning (McKinney et al., 2015) and acknowledging and using learners' background knowledge and experiences to increase participation and learning (González, Moll and Amanti, 2005). This theoretical framework enabled me to consider the negative effects of the language ideologies that the policies of the South African education department enforces, the alternative resources that my learners possessed for literacy learning, namely their linguistic and cultural repertoires, and the possible teaching strategies such as translanguaging and translation for shifting dominant monolingual language ideologies. In addition, it allowed me to explore the combination of multilingualism and multimodality during teaching activities. The participants in this study were the learners in my multi-grade Learning Support class, which consisted of 15 grade 1 and 2 learners, who participated in after-school literacy lessons. They attended these lessons during a 5 week period from the end of April 2017 to the end of May 2017, attending two 45 minute lessons per week, during their normal extra mural slot. These learners were emergent bilingual learners who during in-school time were required to learn a Eurocentric curriculum through the medium of English, despite having diverse linguistic and cultural repertoires. The after-school literacy intervention researched in this study was unique in that a space was created that attempted to delink from dominant monolingual language ideologies and to work rather from a view of language as a resource, for both my learners and myself, in my role as teacher. The data collected was audio-visual recordings of the after-school literacy lessons, transcription of these lessons, field notes and samples of the learners' work. The theoretical framework of this study together with this research design allowed me to investigate how inviting learners to use their full linguistic repertoires and cultural repertoires enhanced their learning. It also allowed me to explore what multimodal interactions contribute to such teaching moments.

Findings

The predominant contribution of this study is that it describes and analyses multilingual teaching methodologies as well as the learners' responses to these. Such descriptions are in short supply in educational research. Furthermore, my dual role of teacher and researcher empowered me because I felt that I knew my learners' capabilities very well prior to the study, and this consequently enabled me to keenly observe the changes that multilingual and multimodal teaching methodologies produced. The greatest and most surprising finding for me was the change in my learners' attitudes to literacy learning that inviting them to use their linguistic and cultural repertoires brought about. Over the course of 5 weeks, I observed learners who were initially self-conscious, reluctant to participate and/or apathetic, become engaged and confident learners, who were eager to participate and enjoyed literacy learning. Busch's (2015: 350) argument that there is a "lived experience of language" or in other words an emotional aspect to learners' linguistic repertoires certainly explains the change in my learners to some extent. Busch (2015) largely refers to the negative consequences of "linguistic inequality" (Busch, 2015: 352) but the reverse of this argument is that there are positive consequences of linguistic equality such as learners feeling comfortable and speaking freely (Busch, 2015). The findings of this study reflect this reverse argument. In addition, the findings of this study seem to support the notion that this emotional aspect is not only present, but *crucial* for teachers to understand when teaching learners of any age, but particularly young emergent bilingual learners, such as the participants in this study. Moreover, while Busch (2015) argues that learners need to have positive experiences when learning a target language, such as English in this study, the findings of this study suggest that the benefits are surprisingly greater when learners have positive experiences while using their English language resources *as well as* their home language resources. Thus, in terms of the language debate in teaching, this study seems to suggest that the simultaneous use of different languages during teaching and learning is beneficial to learners.

The benefits of inviting learners to use their full linguistic repertoires included that they seemed to exude emotional comfort and increased confidence, resulting in their increased participation in activities. This positively benefited their learning, as well as the development of their writing skills and their multimodal skills. In addition, it revealed the

ability of some learners to translate skilfully across languages. Furthermore, it influenced learners to become interested in and aware of the languages of their peers, thereby encouraging social cohesion, which is particularly important in the socio-political context of South Africa and of this school. Encouraging learners to draw on their cultural repertoires, not only increased their confidence, participation and agency, but also seemed to motivate learners to engage in literacy activities as they were able to connect with the activities more easily.

A further contribution of this study is that it explores the combination of multilingualism and multimodality in education. As pointed out by Blackledge and Creese (2017) and Kusters et al. (2017), research which focuses on both multilingual and multimodal meaning-making simultaneously, is much needed. South African educational researchers Pippa Stein and Denise Newfield have pioneered educational research which simultaneously focuses on multilingual and multimodal meaning-making, though with the emphasis of their analysis on multimodality (Stein and Newfield, 2006). This study foregrounds multilingual and multimodal strategies in teaching and learning. The findings in this study suggest that multimodal activities together with multilingual teaching, increases learner participation, develops their creativity and increases their enjoyment of literacy activities, thus supporting earlier research by Stein and Newfield (2006).

In addition, my active attempt to change the language regime in this class from monolingual English or anglonormative to a multilingual language orientation was largely successful but not a linear process for me. Thus, an additional finding is that it is critical for teachers to be willing to position themselves as learners at appropriate moments during teaching. Moreover, changing the language ideologies of teachers and schools is vital to support the implementation of the kind of pedagogy that this research recommends. Furthermore, this research helps reveal that it is a myth that multilingual approaches can only be enabled by teachers who share the same linguistic repertoires as their students. Thus, a further contribution is that this research shows how a teacher can learn from her learners, and how learners can learn from each other in the language learning journey.

Implications for classroom pedagogy

The implications for classroom pedagogy are significant in that the impact of the multilingual, multicultural and multimodal pedagogies of this study on the learners were not only observed during the after-school literacy lessons but during in-school lessons as well. Learners who changed from shy, reticent learners to confident, talkative learners in the after-school classes remained highly engaged during the main school day. The implication of this is that it seems important to create a space where learners are invited to use their full linguistic repertoires and cultural repertoires. In this study, linguistic repertoire has been defined as learners' full range of language resources, including not only named languages but also different language varieties and registers (Busch, 2015). Cultural repertoire has been defined as any background knowledge, experiences or skills that learners have accumulated from different social and cultural structures. Thus teachers need to acknowledge learners' full range of language resources and cultural resources, incorporate them into teaching activities and provide learners with opportunities to use them. Furthermore, it is evident that teachers need to reposition learners as having skills necessary for literacy learning rather than following the deficit model of blaming learners for their academic failure (Comber and Kamler, 2004). Utilizing learners' linguistic and cultural repertoires during teaching and learning activities seems to provide a means for doing this. Given how the learners in this study responded so positively to the intervention, the implication for classroom pedagogy is that by utilizing learners' linguistic and cultural repertoires, learners are enabled to express themselves and engage in learning activities and are ultimately provided with better access to education. The dangers of not doing this, it seems, is that learners will continue to have great difficulty expressing themselves and accessing learning.

Recommendations for further research

More research on multilingual teaching methodologies needs to be conducted, in order to encourage education departments, schools and teachers to consider the relevance and importance of multilingualism to learning, especially in South Africa. In addition, using multimodal activities to help learners access the curriculum seems to have great potential,

especially when combined with multilingual teaching. Thus, more research needs to be undertaken on combining multimodality and multilingualism in literacy education for young emergent bilingual learners. Lastly, as long as teachers continue to blame learners for their academic deficit, learners will continue to experience academic failure. Consequently, there is much needed research on practical teaching pedagogies that help teachers resist the deficit model and instead guide teachers in repositioning learners as capable individuals who have necessary skills for literacy learning.

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