COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES IN A BI-/MULTILINGUAL, RURAL, FOURTH
GRADE CLASSROOM IN KENYA

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Today, multilingualism in primary education is a reality that must be fully embraced in language and literacy research. Multilingualism is the norm in schools due to linguistic heterogeneity in classrooms. Despite the growth of bilingual education all over the world in the twenty-first century (Chimbutane, 2011; Garcia, 2009), there remains little understanding around how two or more languages interact and affect learning. This study was designed to understand and document how emerging bilingual or multilingual speakers deploy their communicative practices, specifically in a fourth grade rural classroom in Kenya, and how the deployment of those resources affects knowledge construction and access to literacy. To do so, I draw on sociocultural (Bakhtin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978) and cognitive (Collier, 1995; Cummins, 1979; 1981) theoretical perspectives. These theoretical perspectives permit recognition of the importance of native languages in the development of literacy in a second language (L2), as well as the importance of sociocultural contexts as influences on literacy learning (Bakhtin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978, 2012).

A qualitative case study approach was employed to understand the communicative practices of emerging multilingual children in a fourth grade classroom. The study was carried out in a rural primary school in eastern Kenya. The participants included the school principal, the English and science teachers, five focal students, and five parents of those students. The data collection procedures included classroom observations, interviews, shadowing, collection of artifacts, and home visits.

The findings indicate that while safe talk strategies predominate in English language arts classrooms, students also would engage unofficial literacies during those lessons, an indication of a disconnection caused either by a language barrier or other factors. In the science classroom, the teacher used (officially disallowed) translanguaging approaches, which raised student participation and disrupted the Initiation, Response Feedback (IRF) discourse pattern that otherwise prevailed in the English language arts classrooms. Additionally, students used their multilingual resources in both writing and speaking practices, even when they were required to use one language. These literacy practices suggest that students enact their lived practices in school settings, thereby disclosing a need to consider and put to good purpose those resources that they bring to school.

Another major finding is *language as a problem* and *time on task* ideologies that were entrenched in the language practices and linguistic decisions made by the education stakeholders (parents, students, and teachers alike). These ideologies were embodied in daily literacy practices and were articulated, and imposed, through institutional policies. We find that these ideologies eventuate in the exclusion of the rural children from literacy access due to a language barrier. They also lead to changes in pedagogical strategy such that teachers resort to *teaching to the test*, helping students simply to memorize formulaic phrases necessary to pass a test. In this way, student creativity and voices are silenced, and education is distanced from the child. This deployment of linguistic resources then reproduces social inequalities, most of all in the conditions that lead to continued mass illiteracy in rural settings.

I call for a *heteroglossic multilingual pedagogy*, for bilingual and emerging multilingual children in rural Kenya. Such an education acknowledges the sociohistorical and ideological bases of current language-in-education policies—not only, for example, an exclusive choice of English for literate social functions and the reservation of indigenous languages for oral interpersonal relations and storytelling—but also the effects that this has had on formation of linguistic ideologies and attitudes towards knowledge in certain languages. Heteroglossic multilingual education acknowledges that different languages index varying viewpoints, challenges the stratification of language that tends undesirably towards oppressive universality rather than liberating heterogeneity, and holds out the feasibility of making informed decisions to support and enable the multiple voices of children, through channels like stylization and hidden dialogicality (Bakhtin, 1981). Through heteroglossic multilingual education, education can be connected or reconnected to children, so that children can be guided to acquire and use a foreign language without negating their existing linguistic resources and identities.

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved son, Rezin Muthomi Mwiathi, and my parents, Dad, Julius Kiramba Barutua, and Mum, Zipporah Mwoburi Kiramba, with love and gratitude

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Table of Contents

Chapter One

Introduction

Multilingualism is a phenomenon manifested today in educational settings all over the world (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Chimbutane, 2011; Garcia, 2009; Grosjean, 2010). It was ideologically obscured in Europe during the 17th and the 18th centuries through the rationalization process of one-nation, one-language campaigns that led to suppression of certain languages and enactment of language standardization movements in the 19th and 20th centuries (Adams, et al., 2002; Franceschini, 2011). Standardization movements shaped language and literacy research and embraced monolingual ideology as a norm, rather than as a social ideological and political construct. In1884 the division of Africa by the European powers resulted in English, French, or Portuguese as the languages of instruction in African countries. Monolingual views of literacy pervade literacy research in Africa, and, at the same time there is multiplicity of languages and increasing linguistic and cultural diversity due to constant immigration and globalization. The monolingual orientations to literacy research and education have led to substantial educational challenges throughout the world for linguistically and culturally diverse students.

Today multilingualism has become a new disposition in education even in nations that have been historically monolingual (Tucker, 1999). Multilingualism in the 21st century education needs to be addressed for sustained educational excellence in the world, both in Africa and in other multilingual nations. Multilingualism in primary education is a reality, which must be fully embraced in language and literacy research.

Recent research has been undertaken in North America and Europe describing the relationship between language of instruction (LOI) and acquisition of literacy and learning (August & Shanahan, 2006; Genesee et al. 2005) and interaction between language resources (Canagarajah, 2011; Garcia, 2009). Despite this promising scholarly work, multilingual literacies in African States remain largely understudied or studied through monolingual lens, thus, leading to misunderstandings of multilingual learning; such as viewing bilinguals as "two monolinguals in one" (Grojean, 2010); this perpetuates a narrow definition of literacy that is predominantly informed by a monolingual ideology.

In Kenya, the pervasiveness of multiple languages has been a pretext for adoption of exclusionary, monolingual language policies requiring use of English only, thus influencing democratization of knowledge acquisition and indigenous knowledge production (Bokamba, 2011; Kiramba, 2014). The paucity of in-depth research studies on multilingual literacies and resources contrast with the current world trends in which multilingualism is the norm in schools due to linguistic heterogeneity in classrooms. Currently, there is little research on multilingualism and multilingual resources in Kenyan elementary schools and how they are appropriated in classrooms.

A delay in understanding the needs of multilingual populations in the classroom and putting them first continue to create education inequality in many parts of the world. Teachers and teacher trainers are grappling with the best pedagogical strategies to address the needs of multilingual learners. This study set out to understand the communicative lives of emergent multilinguals in the process of knowledge construction with the aim of contributing towards connecting or reconnecting education with the lives of children. The

goal of this study is to understand how multilingualism affects knowledge construction and acquisition, and how it impacts structurally and socially the languages in contact. It is not to place blame on either students or other educational stakeholders, but to create a dialogue around educational issues in the guise of multilingualism, and, imposed monolingualism in education, without erasing student identity and making them inauthentic beings. The study of multilingual appropriation in classrooms is crucial for current real world application. There are widespread reports of academic failure of English Language Learners (ELL) on both local and systemic literacy assessments in both national and international assessments in multilingual nations.

Historical Background of Kenya Language Policy in the Pre- and Post Colonial Era

The first formal school was established in Kenya by the missionaries in Rabai along the coast in 1846. Kenya had over forty-two indigenous languages and this necessitated a choice of language that would be used as the medium of instruction. The early language decision by the missionaries favored use of mother tongues. The missionaries were convinced that people understood better the scriptures in their home languages (Eshiwani 1993). Therefore, these missionary schools laid foundation for literacy in the local languages. Another group of missionaries believed that there was already a local lingua franca with a literate tradition, Kiswahili (Abdulaziz, 1982). These missionaries promoted the use of Kiswahili, the lingua franca for the linguistically heterogeneous region.

The European colonial powers divided Africa at the Berlin conference in 1884-1885. Kenya became a part of British East Africa. However, it was officially declared a British colony in 1920. Before the establishment of a British colony in Kenya, the

Christian missionaries held the United Missionary Conference of 1909, and discussed how English, Kiswahili and the different mother tongues were to interact in education. They decided that mother tongues should be used in the first three classes in primary school, and Kiswahili should be used in grades four and five; and, then, English takes over in the rest of the classes (Abdulaziz, 1982).

When Kenya became a British Colony in 1920, the language issue in education was approached through Commissions. In 1922, the Education Commission for Africa (the Phelps-Stokes Commission) was given the task of organizing an education system for the British colonies. The Phelps-Stoke report published in 1924 acknowledged the importance of local languages in preserving and fostering self- respect in indigenous populations and in facilitating the acquisition of the European languages (Jones 1924). The Phelps Stoke report challenged the 1909 decision to have Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in the middle primary school classes. It recommended that Kiswahili should be dropped from the education curriculum, except in areas where it was spoken as the first language. This report, therefore, recommended the use of mother tongue instruction until the end of fifth grade.

The Beecher report in 1942/1949 put more emphasis on home languages and recommended a shift to Kiswahili from third grade as the medium of instruction, and to continue teaching Kiswahili in junior secondary school. The Beecher report further advocated for English as early as possible to replace Kiswahili. The 1949 Beecher report recommended that English replace Kiswahili as the lingua franca (Gorman, 1974). The education department annual report of 1955 argued against use of three languages in primary education and recommended English as early as possible and Kiswahili to be

eliminated progressively.

The colonial education was racially and linguistically segregated. The performance of the African and Asian learners was not as good as that of the European pupils. The Ministry of Education placed the blame on the use of the mother tongue in the first years of education and this laid the background for the introduction of the English as the medium of instruction (Sifuna, 1980). Africans began to demand more literacy in English after the Second World War. This was a period of political awakening and the struggle against colonial rule, and Africans needed English fluency in order to participate in the Legislative Council. The colonial administration used English for vertical communication, and Kiswahili for communication with the masses. The colonial government also needed more clerks and skilled workers. Knowledge and use of English was a prerequisite for these jobs. Knowledge of English was, therefore, important to access white-collar jobs and fight for independence. In the 1950s English was elevated in education system and Kiswahili and other languages had fewer roles in education. The East African Royal Commission 1953-1955 stressed the use of English. It introduced English as a subject and recommended its use as a language of instruction as early as possible (Abdulaziz, 2003). The desire for English continued beyond political independence in 1963.

British rule lasted until 1963 when Kenya attained independence. English had acquired a dominant role through conquest by the British power. After independence, the capitalistic political and economic structures of the colonial regime were maintained by the new regime. The Kenyan elite that took power maintained the language policies of the colonial powers because of the social-economic advantages they bestowed on them.

According to Woolman (2003), the new government inherited a colonial system of education that was meant to serve economic interests of the then colonizers. This system was modified and expanded to serve the emerging social and economic interests of the few Kenyan elite. The Kenyan education system of learning was modeled around western and colonial ideals resulting in social and economic inequality, cultural and intellectual servitude, devaluation of traditional culture and a curriculum that was often irrelevant to the needs of society.

The government of newly independent Kenya appointed the Ominde Commission in 1964 to review education matters. The Ominde commission was the first postcolonial commission mandated to overhaul the colonial education system (Ominde report, 1965). This report issued by the commission called for education to serve Kenya's national development (Kay, 1975). The racially segregated colonial schools were phased out to provide Africans with the same quality of education that was once reserved for white settlers. Otherwise, the old system was left intact. However, strong popular demand for education resulted in the foundation of many *Harambee* schools[1] by fund-drives organized by wealthy patrons. The Ominde commission maintained English as a language of instruction, but recommended that Kiswahili be made a compulsory subject in all primary schools (Mbaabu, 1996). It recommended that: a) English be adopted universally in the education system as the only viable medium of instruction, b) Kiswahili be introduced as a compulsory subject from first grade. Kiswahili remained a non-examinable subject until 1985 when the education system was overhauled. For the various mother tongues, the commission recommended a daily period of storytelling.

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[1] The Harambee schools were schools that began in the communities, through the good will of the community members.

The Ominde commission justified the position of English over other languages noting that:

> First, the English medium makes possible a systematic development of language study and literacy, which would be very difficult to achieve in the mother tongues. Secondly, as the result of the systematic development possible in the English medium, a quicker progress is possible in all subjects. Thirdly, the foundation laid in the first three years is more scientifically conceived, and therefore provides a more solid basis for all subsequent studies, than was ever possible in the old vernacular teaching. Fourthly, the difficult transition from a vernacular to an English medium, which can take up much time in standard (grade) five, is avoided. Fifthly, the resulting linguistic equipment is expected to be more satisfactory, an advantage that cannot fail to expedite and improve the quality of post-primary education of all kind. (Republic of Kenya, 1964, p. 60)

The assertion above implied that African languages lacked the capacity to carry literacy, or that literacy in indigenous languages would be inferior to literacy in English.

The implicit advantages of English mastery during the pre-colonial period may help explain the language-in-education policy decisions that were made by the Ominde Commission after independence. The Ominde Commission endorsed English as the medium of instruction from first grade for the entire nation, and Kiswahili as compulsory subject from first grade, but Kiswahili was not examinable. This commission degraded the local lingua franca and relegated local languages to verbal communication in the first three classes in primary schools, and as languages to be used for story-telling sessions constituting one lesson in a week, while affirming English as the language of instruction

from the start of school. The Ominde Commission recommendation led to the mushrooming of English medium schools in the country (Bunyi, 2009). English was pursued vigorously, and it became the measure of intelligence and ability in the arts, the sciences, and all the other subjects. English became the main determinant of a child's progress up the ladder of formal education (Ngugi, 1986). Ngugi further notes that those who could speak the British Standard variety had greater access to the products of the modernization process while those who spoke nonstandard varieties were condemned to the periphery of the mainstream development activities.

The Gachathi Commission, 1976 informs the current language policy. The language-in-education policy is as indicated in Gachathi Report:

(a) The mother tongue be the language of instruction for the first three years of primary education while English and Kiswahili are taught only as subjects during this period, (b) English takes over as medium of instruction from the fourth year onwards as Kiswahili continues to be taught as a compulsory subject up to the end of secondary school, (c) English and Kiswahili be the official languages, and (d) Kiswahili be the national language. (Republic of Kenya, 1976, p. 54)

The other Kenyan indigenous languages are left mainly to perform interpersonal communication functions in the home and neighborhood. The teaching of Kiswahili was strengthened in 1985, when the 8-4-4 system made Kiswahili an examinable subject in k-12.

The most recent and comprehensive articulation of the Kenyan language policy is contained within the 2010 Constitution of Kenya. The constitution retained the status of Kiswahili as the national language and further elevated it to official status in addition to

English. The language-in-education policy is further restated in the Sessional Paper No. 14. The constitution articulates the government's commitment to promote and protect diverse languages of people of Kenya and development and use of indigenous languages, Kenyan sign language, Braille and other communication formats and technologies accessible to persons with disabilities. The Bill of Rights of the Kenyan constitution has set out provisions for linguistic rights of the people of Kenya, including right to use a language of a person's choice; maintain cultural and linguistic associations; and free interpretation services. The government also committed itself to put in place affirmative action programs that are designed to ensure that minorities and marginalized groups develop their cultural values, languages and practices. The 2010 constitution of Kenya, therefore, has constitutionalized multilingualism, and protected the linguistic rights of the citizens.

The language-in-education policy decisions that have been made mainly as political decisions have influenced the Kenyan attitude towards home languages. These historical attitudes have preoccupied the minds of the Kenyan education stakeholders (the teachers, parents and learners) and to a greater extent the policy makers. The impact of these attitudes in providing access to equal educational opportunities is what educators and researcher are grappling with. This study seeks to understand the communicative practices in the guise of language stratification and educational inequalities of students in the rural setting.

From the current language-in-education policy, therefore, transitional bilingual education early-exit (TBE early-exit) is the education program by default. TBE programs target students who speak the same native language (L1) with a goal to transition the

students to an English-only classroom as quickly as possible (after two to three years). Nevertheless, research has shown ambiguities in the language policy and practice in elementary schools in Kenya (Muthwii, 2004; Ogechi, 2009). Some schools have an unwritten language policy and begin English only instruction from kindergarten.

In January of 2014, the Ministry of Education required the schools to implement the Sessional Paper No.14 (Republic of Kenya, 2012), a language policy that required teaching students in K-3 using their indigenous languages (enforcing Gachathi report on language policy). The policy also required the teachers to help students master both English and Kiswahili. This raised uproar in the country with parents and teachers contesting the move strongly (Kiplang'at, 2014, January 27). Many felt that teaching in African languages is retrogressive in the global era and was not applicable in view of technological advancements and the push for national integration and cohesion. These same reactions that were made in 2014 were observed by Ngugi (1986), that Kenyans viewed the indigenous languages as backward. In 2014, the parents and teachers argued that this kind of policy had been overtaken by economic and technological development the country needs and will lower learning outcomes in many public schools. The language-in-education policies are the ones that define the role of different languages and language varieties in school; including the language that should be used for instructional purposes (Corson, 1999).

The reaction from Kenya education stakeholders above indicates their ideological stances towards Kenyan languages (Kembo-Sure, 1999). Multilingualism is lived and practiced in Kenya, but simplistic universal approaches of "one size fits all" views monolingualism in the education of Kenyans as the ideal. The language policy is

constructed on the basis of monolingualism striving for simplicity and generality to reduce complexity in the classrooms. The quick recipe of English-only in most Kenyan classrooms creates a discontinuity between the school content and the culture of everyday life outside of school, despite the fact that majority of the students in rural schools speak a common language or, at least, mutually intelligible dialects of the same language. The overwhelming desire to acquire English has penetrated in rural schools to the extent that indigenous languages are viewed as problems to be solved for excellence in education (Qorro, 2009) rather than a resource to be used. These assumptions are based on long held myths such as linguistic interference, that have been disapproved scientifically through research by several scholars such as Thomas and Collier, (2002); and Cummins, (1981; 2013).

Research has established that students learn better when their languages are used in instruction. The National Literacy Panel (NLP) in the USA, undertook a rigorous review of the research literature, and issued a report of their findings (August & Shanahan, 2006). They found that oral proficiency and literacy in the first language (L1) can be used to facilitate literacy development in English and that students who are literate in their L1 are likely to be advantaged in the acquisition of English literacy. Similarly, Genesee et al. (2005) reviewed findings from scientific research that had been conducted in the US since 1980 on the educational outcomes of English language learners (ELLs). All the studies showed strong evidence that the educational success of ELLs is positively related to sustained instruction through the student's L1. The role of L1 is further emphasized in Thomas and Collier's (2002) five-year longitudinal study that notes that

the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is amount of formal Ll schooling. Arguably, these findings can be applied to the Kenyan context.

For the past over thirty years, research has consistently shown that educating ELLs in their L1, at least during the primary school years, provides them with easy access to concepts and hence, facilitates cognitive development (Cummins, 1979, 2013; Fafunwa, 1989). Fluency in learners' L1 also facilitates the acquisition of second and third languages (Cummins, 1981). Research studies following ELLs long term, show that the minimum length of time it takes to reach grade-level performance in L2 is 4 years. Furthermore, only ELLs with at least 4 years of primary language schooling reach grade-level performance in L2 in 4 years. Students with no primary language schooling are not able to reach grade-level performance in L2. Bilingually schooled students out-perform monolingually schooled students in all subjects after four to seven years of bilingual education. Short-term programs are not sufficient for ELLS with no English proficiency.

Similar findings are reported in Lindholm-Leary et al. (2006) and Hakuta, et al. (2000). Hakuta et al. (2000) questioned the length of time it takes for ELL, to acquire oral proficiency. The results of their study revealed that, even in schools that are considered most effective in teaching English to ELL, it takes three to five years to develop oral English proficiency and four to seven years to develop academic English proficiency.

Although the above bilingual education theories have influenced the construction of multilingual education curricula, pedagogical models and the production of teaching and learning materials in some developed nations, this has not been the case in Kenya. Support of L1 during early schooling is embraced on paper but the practice is totally different (Muthwii, 2004; Ogechi, 2009). Considering the length of time recommended

by research, then what does it mean for a fourth grade Kenyan child who transitions to English only? How do the varieties of languages the children speak impact their literacy learning? How does meaning making processes take place in a bi/multilingual classroom where students are taught in unfamiliar languages? The multilingual situation in Kenya raises serious concerns; where neither teachers nor the students are speakers of the language of instruction. Additionally, some concepts that are taught may not have equivalence in the students' culture or language.

The Sociolinguistic Context of Kenya

Table 1

Actual Competence versus Educational Expectation in Multilingual Kenya

Stakeholders in multilingual Kenyan societies	Actual competence	Typical education expectation
Learners	-oral proficiency in one or more languages -possible oral proficiency in language of wider communication (LWC)/lingua francae	-monolingual/-bilingual in English and Swahili -focus on learning in English and its cultures -must demonstrate all content learning through English and pass exam in English
Teachers	-oral proficiency in one or more ethnic languages -oral and written proficiency in LWC -variable oral and written proficiency in English	-must pass at a teachers training college -Trained in English -must use curriculum materials in English -may be placed outside home language regions (rarely)

Table 1 (continued)

Adult family and community members	-oral proficiency in one or more ethnic languages -likely proficiency in the LWC -possible English skills (if accessed formal education)	-seen as incapable of making education decisions -want (or perceived to want) children to learn in English only
Ministry of Education	-likely to have LWC and English proficiency -formally educated in English	-focus on English for all -value elite/private school/English schools for their children -policy and planning focus on English

Educational approaches in multilingual Kenya are pervaded by monolingual habitus. Monolingual habitus is a set of assumptions that are built on the fundamental myth of uniformity of language and culture. Benson (2013) has correctly noted that research in multilingual contexts often fails to recognize multilingualism as a social and individual reality that requires appropriately designed approaches. Education language policy and research reflect a monolingual view of the world (monolingual habitus) (Gogolin, 2002). Linguistic habitus is a set of unquestioned dispositions toward languages in society (Bourdieu, 1991). A focus on English language is prevalent in Kenyan education planning and policy where discussion of the language barrier appears to place blame on learners who do not speak the language of the school at home. Benson (2013) calls this an imperfect fit designed for learners. Instead of meeting learners where they are in terms of languages, cultures, identities and experiences, school officials impose an unrealistic and rigid curriculum and approach on learners, prevent a number of pupils from succeeding and increase school dropouts. In line with Benson's assertion, this

study will adopt a multilingual perspective to understand how bilingualism/multilingualism exists in the classroom.

Statement of the Problem

In classroom settings in Kenya, many students have varying degrees of bilingualism or multilingualism when they enter school or soon after, depending on the use of different languages at home, in the community and wider language of communication (lingua franca). Although there are still relatively isolated monolingual communities that lack exposure to languages other than the MT, the students develop second and third languages in the process of schooling. The school officials can tap these linguistic resources. Unfortunately, in Kenyan primary schools, the language policies have not tended to be flexible enough to make use of the linguistic resources of local contexts from fourth grade onwards, and any strategies developed have to do with the result of the individual teacher or school efforts. English is rarely accessible to children in rural areas (Michieka, 2011). The language-in-education policy does not reflect the multilingual reality in school and community contexts. The stipulated policy aims at high competence and excellence in the third language (L3) that is acquired at school, although research does not support this trend. The learners' lack of exposure in the L3 outside school makes it essentially a foreign language to them.

The language situation in Kenya is best described by what Gogolin (2002) called monolingual habitus. Monolingual habitus is a linguistic self-conception that can make people blind to multilingual, multicultural ways of life. According to Bourdieu (1991), linguistic habitus is the symbolic power of language, where even limited proficiency in a certain language offers greater social capital than others. Monolingual habitus may

correspond with the language as a problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984). According Ruiz (1984), language as a problem views lack of competence in the dominant language as a disadvantage. In Kenya, English is one of the two official languages (English and Kiswahili) and a minority group speaks it, usually, the Kenyan elite. An inability to communicate fluently in English, which is a minority language, is commonly constructed as a deficit, illiteracy or disadvantage; and, in this context, indigenous languages are primarily viewed from a problem perspective. Although English is a minority language, its hegemonic power is felt in educational, economic and cultural contexts.

The privileging of English as a language of instruction (LOI) from fourth grade onwards in Kenya raises several concerns. It assumed that by fourth grade the student would have mastered enough English to understand content areas which several research studies have casted doubt (Cummins, 1979; 1981; 2013; Hakuta, et al., 2000). Effects of unfamiliar LOI in Kenya are evident by looking at the literacy rates in Kenya. For example, Nzomo, Kariuki and Guantai (2001) sought to establish the level of reading for grade 6 students based on national survey of schools in three domains of reading literacy: Narrative, expository, and documents. The items were set in compliance with 6th grade syllabus and the items were reviewed to eliminate those that were unsuitable due to content, language, and cultural bias. The study revealed that after six years of English medium instruction, a Kenyan student in sixth grade was barely literate in reading. Among the 642,337 sixth grade students, 226,000 had not reached the minimum level of mastery in reading while 492,000 students had not reached the desirable level of mastery in reading. These figures indicate a need for review of the policy related to development of literacy skills in Kenya. The reasons advanced for this trend include the training of

teachers and home characteristics of students, which includes their L1. It is noted that the results varied in major cities and the countryside. Students in Nairobi had better access in terms of library and English access generally compared to those living in the countryside. Thus, although English is the LOI, only a small percentage knows the language of power as the majority of people do not achieve effective proficiency in English.

Additionally, the LOI has had adverse effects on literacy levels and it has been argued that most school dropouts and grade eight leavers revert to illiteracy or semiliteracy depending on their initial attainment of literacy skills (Kembo, 2002). The school dropout is partly attributed to the LOI because it makes instruction un-enjoyable to many. Consequently, many students fail exams because language is a major obstacle and candidates do not understand questions and even when they do, they do not have linguistic facility to express themselves effectively.

According to Education For All Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2012), most Kenyan sixth grade students are unable to read or write. One third of the students in sixth grade are unable to read or write a simple English sentence. The majority of Kenyans are leaving school before acquiring basic skills to read or do basic calculations. Primary education in Kenya is not of sufficient quality to ensure that all children can learn the basics. Among young men aged 15-29 years who had left school after six years of schooling, 6% were illiterate and 26% were semi-literate; and for young women 9% were illiterate and 30% semi-literate after being in school for six years. Such available statistics suggest unproductive language education policy and planning in Kenya that has not met the needs of its population. The researcher acknowledges that there are many other factors that can be attributed to the literacy levels

reported above such as teachers' training, access to curriculum materials, consistent school attendance by the students, and other socio economic factors. However, the language of instruction plays a key role in literacy acquisition.

Purpose of the Study

The monolingual habitus underlies the language policy in multilingual Kenya education. Instead of meeting learners where they are in their language developmental processes, building on their languages, cultures, identities and experiences and motivating them to grow, the policy imposes an unrealistic and rigid curriculum and approach on learners preventing large numbers of them from succeeding. The situation of monolingual habitus in a multilingual Kenya led to the need for this study that examined how Kenyan primary school students' deployed their L2/L3 to meet the expected cognitive language practices in language arts and science. This research was intended to understand how children in bi-/ multilingual rural classroom in Kenya make meaning from classroom practices in fourth grade, during English and science lessons. The researcher aims to establish how students' linguistic repertoires and local literacies play a role in the establishment of meaning.

Research Questions

The study will specifically examine these research questions:

1. How are the children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in the classroom in the interaction between teacher and students and students themselves in varied communicative practices involving reading, writing, and speaking?

   a. How are children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in official classroom interaction with the teacher?

   b. How are children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in unofficial interaction with peers?

2. How does children's participation in official and unofficial communicative practices reflect their acquisition of English (i.e., what is the nature of the English used by children in the course of communicative practices)?

3. What linguistic ideologies characterize official classroom language use?

Significance of the Study

The significance of this research study is wide-ranging. First, the research has the potential to inform language policies in multilingual nations throughout the world. The insights gleaned from the research may provide new ways to help students that speak a myriad of languages in local schools throughout the US that must balance referenda that limit bilingual education and/or exhortations to prepare students to meet the challenges of globalism and help meet the need for multilingual citizens. This study will create a greater awareness of the relations between language of instruction and tensions of literacy access in multilingual settings. This kind of information may serve as basis for further

nationwide research and may provide some information to policy makers on adopting policies that acknowledge multiple languages as resources to be embraced.

Second, in attempting to understand the complexities of communicative practices in the classroom, this research study intends to reveal, at a micro level, the engagements and negotiations among students and the students and their teacher. Through close examination of the interplay among students, teacher and administrators' perspectives and expectations, macro issues of culture, ideologies, authority and other constraints will be discussed. This information is important for Kenyan education stakeholders, to be better informed of the literacies in students' access and constraints to accessing literacy. This may be a possible solution to reversion to illiteracy among Kenyan eighth grade school leavers and general improvement of quality of education in the country.

Third, a considerable body of literature on multilingual and bilingual settings indicates that children continue to be educated in monolingual literacy. To understand the effectiveness of bilingualism and multilingualism in Kenya and other multilingual settings, there is a need to understand the communicative practices: How students utilize their linguistic repertoires to negotiate learning and understanding within the classroom. Therefore, this study is relevant to multilingual settings.

Fourth, the researcher hopes to provide information needed to help researchers and educators to better understand the communicative practices and needs of bilingual and multilingual children. Presumably, such information can be a tool for teachers to create learning contexts where children have access to learning and literacy and design schooling to better suit learners.

Fifth, this research study is aimed at sensitizing the policy makers in multilingual nations to develop a critical awareness of language. It is argued that bilingual speakers have a heightened linguistic awareness informed by their ability to cross linguistic borders and "learn alternative ways of naming and interpreting the world" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 240). This is crucial for all multilingual settings; viewing language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984) rather than a problem. Ruiz (1984) contends that the conceptualization of language and linguistic diversity as a resource has been a less influential discourse in language policy and planning as compared to language as a problem and language as right perspectives. In bi-/multilingual Kenyan classroom, minimal attention has been given to the resource potential of linguistic diversity and bilingualism. The view of language as a resource is absent in classroom discourse literature about multilingual Kenya. This research study will attempt to fill this gap.

Sixth, by adding on the extant literature on the use of multiple languages as resources and funds of knowledge in the classroom, this study is expected to raise awareness of the unquestioned assumptions regarding language and education in multilingual settings. In Kenya for example, the literacy classes in English from fourth grade do not consider learners' proficiency from early childhood through fourth grade in order to determine their levels of proficiency. This research study will serve as a call for assessing proficiency and negotiating languages of literacy with participants, building on children's knowledge and experiences in multilingual settings.

Through an extensive literature review there is paucity of studies that have documented the official and unofficial literacies in a fourth grade classroom in Kenya. Various studies have documented the kind of classroom discourses that take place in

Kenyan classrooms (Ackers & Hardman, 2001; Ogechi, 2009; Pontefract & Hardman 2005). However, this study is different in that it is particularly interested in how meaning is made through use of the linguistic repertoires that are available to children in language arts and content areas, and how students make meaning of these practices.

Theoretical Perspectives

To investigate students' communicative practices in classroom, I employ social cognitive (Collier, 1995; Cummins, 1979; 1981; 2013) and sociocultural (Bakthin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978; 2012) theoretical perspectives of literacy. The social cognitive perspective of this study is informed by theories of literacy development that acknowledge the importance of native languages in the development of literacy in the L2 (Collier, 1995; Cummins, 1979; 1981), and, guides the analysis of students' communicative lives in the classroom. The sociocultural perspectives are important for understanding sociocultural contexts and influences that shape communicative practices in the classroom (Bakthin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978, 2012). Drawing on socio-cognitive theories and sociocultural theories, I demonstrate how children engage in their linguistic repertoires to make meaning of the literacy practices in the classroom.

Vygotsky's theories have dealt with the concepts that children construct knowledge, learning can lead to development, development cannot be separated from its social context, and that language plays a central role in mental development. Vygotsky's major assertions, were summarized by Lee and Smagorinsky (2000) as follows:

1. Learning is mediated first on the interpsychological plane between a person and other people and their cultural artifacts, and then appropriated by individuals on the intrapyschological plane, 2. Learning in the interpsychological plane often

22

involves mentoring provided by more culturally knowledgeable persons usually

elders who engage in activity with less experienced or knowledgeable persons in a

process known as scaffolding, 3. The mediational tools (concepts, content

knowledge, strategies, and technologies or artifacts) that are drawn on in the act

of meaning construction are constructed historically and culturally, 4. The

capacity to learn is not finite and bounded, its potential for learning is an ever

shifting range of possibilities that are dependent on what the cultural novice

already knows, the nature of the problem to be solved or the task to be learned,

the activity structures in which learning takes place, and the quality of this

person's interaction with others. (Lee & Smagorinsky, 2000, p.2)

The sociocultural context is important in Vygotsky's conceptualizations.

Vygotsky focused on the interactions between people and their sociocultural context in

which they interact and act in a shared experience. Emphasizing the role of the context in

the process of concept formation, Vygotsky (2012) notes that the "investigator must seek

to understand intrinsic bonds between the external tasks and developmental dynamics,

and view concept formation as a function of the adolescent's total social and cultural

growth, which affects not only the content but also the method of his thinking" (pp. 115-

116.). Vygotsky shows the difficulty of application of a concept that has been grasped

and formulated on the abstract level to new concrete situations.

Vygotsky (2012) describes scientific and spontaneous concepts. Spontaneous

concepts are non-conscious whereas scientific concepts are concepts taught in school.

Vygotsky defined systematization as contact with scientific concepts. He found that as

long as curriculum supplies the necessary material, the development of scientific

23

concepts runs ahead of the development of spontaneous concepts. This is because the scientific concepts are formed in the process of instruction in collaboration with an adult. Also, children develop reflective consciousness through the development of scientific concepts. Furthermore, mastering a higher level in the realm of scientific concepts raises the level of spontaneous concepts. Scientific concepts or schooled concepts are learned through written symbols to examples while spontaneous concepts are learned from sensory experience to generalization. Vygotsky stressed the importance of the interface between the spontaneous and systematic concepts noting that they are related and they influence each other. An interface between the spontaneous and the schooled concepts is where the highest understanding is achieved. The systematic and spontaneous concepts are seen as a single unitary process rather than exclusive forms of thinking (Vygotsky 2012). Further, Vygotsky (2012) notes, "The development of spontaneous concept must have reached a certain level for the child to be able to absorb a related scientific concept." (p. 205). These views provide lens for understanding the use of L1 and other home experiences and the extent to which spontaneous knowledge in terms of multilingual resources are developed in the classroom.

Language plays a central role in mental development (Vygotsky, 2012). Language is both the transmitter of cultural tools and the most important of them. Language is the mechanism for thinking, and the most important mental tool. Language is the means by which information is passed from one generation to another. Vygotsky notes, "…the speech structures mastered by the child become the basic structures of his thinking" (p.100). "Thought development is determined by language, i.e. by the linguistic tools of thought and by the sociocultural experience of the child. Essentially, the development of

inner speech depends on outside factors; the development of logic in the child…is direct function of his socialized speech. The child's intellectual growth is contingent on his mastering the social means of thought, that is, language" (p.100). Vygotsky's concepts are important for understand meaning making practices in a foreign language classroom and the constraints.

This research study will also include the work of Bakthin (1981). One critique of Vygotsky put forth by Wertsch (1991) is failure to focus broadly on historic and economic forces. To link the individuals' mental functioning to cultural, historical, and institutional settings, the work of Bakthin as recommended by Wertsch is important. According to Bakthin (1981) as explicated in Wertsch (1991), "the production of any utterance involves the appropriation of at least one social language and speech genre... (which are themselves) inextricably linked with historical, cultural, and institutional setting" (p.66). Bakhtinian theories will be important to understand the classroom discourses; historical, social, cultural specificity of the communicative practices in the classroom. Bakthin developed several concepts that inform much of his work, that are central to his conceptualization of language, and that could be most likely applied in understanding the communicative practices in a rural classroom in Kenya. They include utterance, dialogism, ideological becoming, unitary language, and heteroglossia.

Utterance or a word is an expression in a living context of exchange (Bakhtin, 1981). It is the main unit of meaning and it is formed through a speaker's relation to the other. Utterance is always embedded in a history of expressions by others in a chain of ongoing cultural and political moments. An utterance/word is marked by addressivity (it is addressed to someone) and answerability (anticipates an answer).

25

Bakthin (1984) also believed that the study of language requires an examination of questions that go beyond the usual scope of linguistics and encompass the philosophical, cultural, ideological aspects of "language in its concrete living totality" (p. 181). He insisted on intimate connection between language and the living reality of a person's existence. "Every utterance makes a claim to justice, sincerity, beauty and truthfulness. And these values of utterance are defined not by their relation to the language as a purely linguistic system, but by various forms of relation to reality, to the speaking subject, and to other utterances" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.123).

Dialogic is another concept that is used to capture the meaning making process through which the historical and the present come together in an utterance. According to Bakhtin, "all utterances are inherently dialogic. They have, at the same time a history and a present which exist in a continually negotiated state of intense and essential axiological interaction" (Bakhtin (1990, p.10 in (Hall, Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005, p. 3). The theory of dialogue focuses on cultural and interpretational dimensions of language and examines discourses that are formed by multiple voices.

The other major concept is ideological becoming. Ideological becoming is the way we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas. It refers to the process of engagement through which ideological stance, or worldview, develops. This takes place through a process of "selectively assimilating the words of others" (Bakthin, 1981, p. 341). Bakthin distinguished between authoritative and persuasive discourse. The authoritative word includes the religious, political, moral; the word of a teacher, the word of adults and of teachers, and so forth, while the internally persuasive word lacks all privilege, is not backed up by any authority at all, and is frequently not even

26

acknowledged in the society. "The struggle and dialogic interrelationship of these categories of ideological discourse are what usually determine the history of an individual ideological consciousness" (p. 342).

The distinction between authoritative verse internally persuasive discourses according to Bakhtin is the degree of ownership:

The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally, we encounter it. The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. It is so to speak the word of the fathers. Its authority was already acknowledged in the past. It is a prior discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it from among other possible discourses that are its equal. (p. 342)

...the internally persuasive word is half-ours and half-someone else's. Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. ... It enters into an intense interaction, a struggle with other internally persuasive discourses. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values. (pp. 345–346)

This authoritative discourse and the persuasive discourse approach echoes language debates around languages, for example the decline of local languages use in Kenyan education while favoring the European languages.

Bakhtin (1981) used the term unitary language to refer to the sense of language as coherent and unified. Unitary language, "gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the processes of socio-political and cultural centralization" (p. 271). This theoretical construct does not, however, reflect reality of language. Language in use is inherently diverse, multiple and fluid. Bakhtin (1981) has noted that language is stratified into dialects, languages that are socio- ideological, languages of social groups, etc.

Heteroglossia (Bakthin, 1981) is an important concept for understanding multilingual classroom language practices. Heteroglossia is heterogeneity of signs and forms in meaning making, which includes the aspects of tension filled interaction, indexicality and multiple voices. Bakthin's (1981) work is important for this study because it focuses broadly on historic and economic forces of language use (Wertsch, 1991). Wertsch recommends the work of Bakthin to link the individuals mental functioning to cultural, historical, and institutional settings. According to Bakthin (1981) as explicated in Wertsch (1991), "the production of any utterance involves the appropriation of at least one social language and speech genre... (which are themselves) inextricably linked with historical, cultural, and institutional setting" (p.66). Bakhtinian theories are important to understand the historical, social, cultural specificity of the writing practices in the classroom.

Heteroglossia is an important concept for understanding multilingual classroom language practices. Heteroglossia denotes the different stratas (social, professional, dialects, jargons etc.) in the same language. Heteroglossia is opposed to unitary language and what makes its uniqueness is this diversity. For Bakhtin, unitary language and

28

heteroglossia are in constant struggle, a struggle that is characterized in terms of centripetal and centrifugal forces. Duranti (1998) explains these terms as follows:

> The centripetal forces include the political and institutional forces that try to impose one variety of code over others ...these are centripetal because they try to force speakers toward adopting a unified linguistic identity. The centrifugal forces instead push speakers away from a common center and toward differentiation. These are the forces that tend to be represented by the people (geographically, numerically, economically, and metaphorically) at the periphery of the social system. (Duranti, 1998, p. 76)

According to Bakthin (1981), language is characterized by social tensions. Bakhtin described the social tensions in language as explicated above by Duranti (1998), the opposing pull of 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' forces. The centripetal force constitutes the pull towards the 'unitary language', homogeneity, standardization, and correctness. The centrifugal force pulls towards heteroglossic disunification and decentralization. These forces are rarely free of each other, however, as the centripetal forces of language operate in the midst of heteroglossia and coexist with centrifugal forces, which carry on their uninterrupted work. Bakthin, unitary language is constantly opposed to the realities of heteroglossia, and "makes its real presence felt as a force overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it" (Bakthin, 1981, p. 270). In this study, thus, the tensions between policy and practice in multilingual writing practices will be discussed through these two concepts. The centripetal forces may represent the language policies or assumptions on the part of teachers, parents and communities that it is better to learn in one unitary language, while the centrifugal forces such as TL in writing that

arise from the heteroglossia found in linguistically diverse classrooms.

Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia also provides a frame for analyzing the ideological underpinnings of language (indexicality) and literacy teaching and ideologies that are central to rural Kenyan students' communicative practices. Bakthin (1984) also believed that the study of language requires an examination of questions that go beyond the usual scope of linguistics and encompass the philosophical, cultural, ideological aspects of "language in its concrete living totality" (p. 181). He insisted on intimate connection between language and the living reality of a person's existence. "Every utterance makes a claim to justice, sincerity, beauty and truthfulness. And these values of utterance are defined not by their relation to the language as a purely linguistic system, but by various forms of relation to reality, to the speaking subject, and to other utterances" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.123). The concept of utterance indicates that language use represents specific points of view of the world. Language points to or indexes a certain point of view, ideology, social class, profession, or other social position (Creese, et al. 2014). Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia attempts to account for social, functional, generic, dialectological variation within languages. Language stratification derives from its social nature and historical association within languages. Different language forms are connected with particular ideological positions, for example, a social group. Bakhtin (1981) has noted that language is stratified into dialects, languages that are socio-ideological, languages of social groups, etc. The relationship between the indexical form and meaning is brought into being through historical association. Additionally, the socio-cognitive theoretical perspectives will be used in this study to understand the proficiency levels of the students. Some of the concepts that will be used are discussed below.

Threshhold Theory

Threshold hypothesis assumes that in order for bilinguals to benefit cognitively from bilingualism, they need to attain a minimum level of proficiency in both languages. Threshold hypothesis suggests that children will experience linguistic and intellectual benefits of bilingualism when they have attained an adequate level of language proficiency in their primary language. If children do not attain a certain level in L1, bilingualism could have negative effects on their cognitive development. Thus, L1 literacy skills have a significant impact on L2 literacy.

Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis

Cummins (1979) developed the Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis from the Threshold theory. This hypothesis proposes that the level of L2 competence that a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins. High level of L1 development makes possible the development of similar levels of competence in L2. For children whose L1 skills are less well developed in certain respects, intensive exposure to L2 in the initial grades is likely to impede the continued development of L1. This will, in turn, exert a limiting effect on the development of L2. This hypothesis then proposes that there is an interaction between the LOI and the type of competence the child has developed in his L1 prior to school.

Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP)

CUP is based on the idea that a set of academic skills and proficiency acquired in one language can be transferred when learning another language (L2). The implication of this for bilingual education is that L1 proficiency facilitates academic performance in L2,

and literacy related skills acquired in L1 could be transferred when learning to read and write in L2. This is contrary to the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) that posits that a set of academic skills and proficiency acquired in L1 cannot be transferred when learning (L2) and will interfere with learning L2 or delay its development. Opponents of bilingual education hold this view.

The sociocultural and social cognitive theories are relevant for this study that will investigate communicative practices in a fourth grade bi-/multilingual classroom. The next section provides language and literacy context in Kenya.

Definition of Terms

Communicative practice. Hanks (1996) notes that study of communicative practice involve situating language with respect to context to explain how language taps into the world. For the purposes of this study, communicative practice embraces language as a social act and includes aspects of meaning making literacy practices in the classroom; including dialogicity (dialogic or authoritative), reading, writing, speaking activities, discursive genres, and non verbal languages such as silence, etc.

Language ideology. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) defined language ideology as "ingrained, unquestioned beliefs about the way the world is, the way it should be, and the way it has to be with respect to language" (p. 9). Hank (1996) notes that ideologies embody broader values, beliefs, and, sometimes, self -legitimating attitudes.

Communicative competence. It is speaker's internalized knowledge both of the grammatical rules of a language and of the rules for appropriate use in social contexts. It includes rules for communication both linguistic and sociolinguistic and shared rules for

interaction and the cultural rules (Totality of knowledge individual has in respect to structural rules and sociolinguistic rules) (Saville-Troike, 2003).

Classroom discourse. It is the oral interaction between teachers and their students and between students themselves that takes place in a classroom context. It is the situated language use in classroom setting, the patterns of language use; who speaks, who receives thoughtful responses, the verbal exchange or conversation (Cazden, 2001).

Linguistic repertoire. These are languages that an individual knows and can use them as fit sociolinguistically.

Bi-/multilingualism. Sometimes called plurilingualism, involving proficiency in and use of two or more languages by an individual; the term does not always imply an equally high level of proficiency in all the relevant languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984).

First language (L1). Often a synonym for mother tongue, or in contrast to a second language (L2), the language first learned, best known, and/or most used.

Foreign language (FL). A language learned mainly in the classroom, for reading texts and/or communication with its speakers (e.g., English in Kenya)

Language policy. Language policy is a set of principles, which enables decision makers to make choices about issues of language. It is a governmental effort to affect the structure and function of language varieties, express normative claims about legitimate and illegitimate language forms and uses (Bianco, 2008, 2013; Corson, 1999; Wright, 2003; Tollefson, 2013).

Mother tongue (MT). Language(s) one learns first, identifies with, and/or is identified by others as a native speaker of; sometimes also the language that one is most competent in or uses most. A person may have two or more mother tongues.

Second language (L2). Language learned after acquiring the mother tongue (as opposed to first language), or learned and used in the environment, often in addition to school (as opposed to foreign language).

Translanguaging (TL). The term translanguaging was introduced by Cen Williams (1996), and has been developed (Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Wei, 2014) innovatively to mean "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages in order to maximize communicative potential" Garcia, 2009, p, 140). TL includes code switching and goes beyond it. Translanguaging takes language is action and practice (verb), and not an autonomous system of structures and discreet sets of skills. Translanguaging suggests that bi/multilinguals have one linguistic repertoire (Common underlying proficiency (Cummins, 1981)) from which they draw features strategically to communicate effectively. Canagarajah (2014) has defined translanguaging as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah, 2011, p.401).

Outline of Chapters

This study consists of eight chapters. In chapter one I recounted my early childhood experiences through my career as a k-8 teacher in Kenya, and the impacts the education system had on my being and the disconnection and alienation effects it had on me. I then presented the background information of the Kenyan language-in-education policy and practice in pre and post colonial Kenya, showing the linkages with the present state of educational system in Kenya. I then describe the problem statement and the questions that guided this study. I also describe the theoretical frameworks that undergird

this study, and end the chapter by defining the key terms central to this study. Chapter

two presents a review of literature on literacy practices in multilingual classrooms.

Chapter three describes the qualitative approach that I used in this study and data sources,

procedures, and analysis. Chapter four presents findings on communicative practices in a

fourth grade classroom and the unofficial literacies during English only classrooms.

Chapter five discusses translanguaging practices in science classrooms. Chapter six

focuses on analysis of writing and translingual writing, focusing on one of my focal

students. Chapter seven presents the language ideologies that were embodied in the

communicative practices discussed in chapters for four through six, and the articulation

of these ideologies by the education stakeholders. The impacts of these ideologies in

literacy access are further discussed, which includes exclusion and washback. Chapter

eight, which is the final chapter, presents a summary and discussion of the findings, and

implications of the findings for policy, practice and research and the limitations of the

study.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Several studies have interrogated the construction of language-in-education policies that argue from monolingual ideologies for multilingual populations. The argument for insisting on these policies mainly intends to unify the complexities found in heterogeneous classrooms. Implicit in these policies are often covert attempts to control the masses and maintain the unequal relations of the status quo. This results then in inequitable education systems that deny the poorer masses from reaching their literacy potential. In this literature review, I discuss the language practices in multilingual Kenyan classrooms by focusing on language ideologies and attitudes that have been formed historically. I further discuss research on bilingual/multilingual education that focuses on the most recent areas of flexible multilingual education. This includes discussion of contested views, pro and con, around translanguaging not only as a possible mitigation for educational problems in multilingual nations but also in writing.

Language and Literacy Acquisition in Kenyan Primary Schools

Meaning is constructed by having students ask questions, respond to open ended questions, elaborate their own ideas, and so forth. Language constraints can hinder these practices from occurring. And when a teacher's voice dominates in classrooms, this raises serious concerns over the meaning construction and learning that takes place. Moreover, as students are not able to systematize spontaneous knowledge acquired out of school in a language they have not mastered (Vygotsky, 2012), many of the concepts that are taught in school have no equivalence in the students' culture or language.

As noted in Chapter One, Kenya's language policy is the TBE early-exit program. However, the implementation of this policy is inconsistent across the country, with some schools having unwritten policies and instructing students in English only right from first grade (Jones, 2008; Muthwii, 2004; Ogechi, 2003, 2009). Muthwii's findings revealed that students in K-3 were taught in English and that the teacher translated into the mother tongue (MT) for the children to understand. Mother tongue was not encouraged in K-3 as the LOI as required by policy. Similarly, English was found to dominate all other languages as a child progressed in school. The unwritten policy found in these several studies is that of transitioning students to English as quickly as possible.

The individual schools' unwritten language policies affect (if not effect) the pedagogical strategies that teachers employ in classroom. One major area is in interactions between the teacher and the students and students themselves. For example Ackers and Hardman (2001), studying classroom interactions in Kenyan primary schools, found that in all the ninety lessons observed in math, English, and science, the most common form of teacher-learner interaction was teacher recitation via interrogation of the learners' knowledge and understanding. Student-generated questions were very rare. Teacher presentation and teacher-directed question-and-answer dominated most of the classroom discourse, accounting for 82% of total teaching exchanges. Similar findings were reported by Pontefract and Hardman (2005), who studied discourse styles in twenty-seven teachers as they taught English, math, and science across grades one through seven in nine schools. They found a dominance of teacher-led recitation, with memorization and repetition constituting 66% of the teacher's input and little attention paid to securing pupil understanding. Choral responses to questions were common. The analysis of the

transcripts revealed that the classroom discourse was dominated by the Initiation, Response, Evaluation (IRE) structure (Cazden, 2001) comprised of teacher explanation with question-and-answer sequences.

The discourse patterns in the above studies suggest that students are not yet able to engage in constructing meaning in English-only. Research into the constructivist role of dialogue in learning suggests that effective classroom discourse involves students' active participation in their learning. Ogechi (2009), in study of fourth grade math and science classrooms from three primary schools in three Kenyan provinces—in urban, peri-urban and rural settings—found that teachers did most of the talking, with learners making minimal oral contribution. The study revealed that students in both urban and suburban settings engaged better in the classroom when a familiar language was used. Ogechi noted that the learners in rural settings mostly gave either brief responses or remained silent. The learners in the peri-urban and rural schools were enthusiastic to answer questions when teachers translated or rephrased their questions in Kiswahili while urban primary school learners were also not fully comfortable with English-only at the start of grade four. With respect to compositional writing, Ogechi (2009) assessed grade four essays and found that in English, pupils hardly wrote ten lines while in Swahili they could write a full-page essay while expressing ideas with few grammatical mistakes.

With respect to reading instruction, research has shown an overemphasis on oral language skills, leading to surface fluency without comprehension. Dubeck et al. (2012) observed that first and second grade English reading instruction in Kenya emphasized oral language skills, specifically whole-words reading with extensive oral repetition. Word recognition skills were taught primarily by emphasizing oral language skills

through repetition. Research suggests that due to this oral emphasis students could read more fluently in English yet without comprehension (Piper et al. 2015). Piper et al. carried out a study to compare the oral reading fluency and reading comprehension of two thousand third graders in two large communities in Kenya. They assessed the reading for four languages: English, Gikuyu, Kiswahili and Dholuo. They found that children reading in L1 were more predictive of reading comprehension than those in L2. Although children could recognize English words readily, their understanding of English was limited. The increased English instruction time and oral emphasis helped children to unlock the orthography challenges of English and gain some basic fluency yet without expression. Prioritizing English has resulted in basic fluency in English but student mastery of English remains inadequate for them to understand what they are reading. Piper et al. argue that the use of English only as the LOI can impart basic decoding skills and word recognition but not the level of English-language mastery necessary for understanding the meaning of those words. Comprehension involves the ability to use prior knowledge to derive meaning from what is read (Hudson, 2007). Hudson has argued that learners who are already literate in their L1 use their knowledge of the orthographic and syntactic features of both languages to make sense of the second language (Hudson, 2007).

Research studies and the interdependence theory (Cummins, 1979) show the benefits of supporting a learner's L1 as a way to facilitate the development of concepts enabling a more fluid acquisition of the knowledge for L2. A great deal of research indicates that a child's reading proficiency in L1 is a strong predictor of their English reading performance (August & Shanahan, 2006; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Garcia, 2000;

Thomas & Collier, 2002). In other words, bilingualism does not interfere with performance in any language. That, however, is not the end of the study, such that the character of bilingual educational practice in Kenyan classroom remains at question in this study, and specifically to understand the communicative practices that take place in fourth grade classrooms where all instruction is carried out in a foreign language. To understand this is important for providing a rationale for the promotion of bilingual and bi-literate children in multilingual Kenya. Presently, Kenyan rural children miss out on the benefits of using MT as a LOI, for example.

Linguistic ideologies and attitudes

Ideologies are ideas, constructs, notions, or representations and involve the practices through which these notions are enacted as well (Gal, 1992). Language ideology specifically, then, is a set of beliefs about the structure of language and/or the functional uses to which language is put as shared by the members of a society (Milroy & Milroy, 2012). Watts (1999) notes that these beliefs will have formed part of a community's overall set of beliefs for so long that their origins seem to have become obscured or forgotten. These beliefs are therefore socio-culturally reproduced and appear logically coherent with respect to the society. Foucault (1988) has noted how belief systems gain momentum and that as more people come to accept the particular views associated with that belief system they become assumed as common knowledge.

In the Kenyan educational system, linguistic ideologies were formed during the pre-colonial period, and these ideologies represent the perceptions of language and discourse that were constructed in the interests of the Kenyan elite. These ideologies are reflected in classroom discourses, teacher decisions, and language-in-education policies.

As noted correctly, language ideologies present several domains for analyzing language constructs, including the language policy and planning, the role of language in nation building, language and symbolic power, and, historical processes through which these constructs are formed (Bloomaert, 1999). This study identifies how prevailing language ideologies are enacted in a fourth grade classroom through observation of communicative practices. Fairclough (1989) notes that literacy is a kind of societal discourse. The classroom, then, represents a microcosm of the wider society, such that social and cultural inequities will be perpetuated via classroom discourse. It is thus assumed that literacy practices contain beliefs, assumptions, and language ideologies that may influence both teacher practice and student learning. Additionally, from Blommaert's domains above, language ideologies may be understood and interpreted as a macro phenomenon that remains distant and abstracted from the micro interactions that construct them (Razfar, 2003). This study explores such ideological constructs during English and science classroom discourses.

Language attitudes

Kenya's colonial history as highlighted in Chapter One and the current economic influence of English as a global language along with other incentives have led to an insistence on English as a LOI historically, and, consequently the generation of negative attitudes towards Kenyan indigenous languages. Such an orientation is acquired as part of enculturation into a particular speech community and is strongly influenced by the social structure of the community in question (Saville-Troike, 2003). As noted in the introduction, the great demand for English towards the end of the colonial period and immediately after independence gave English a prestige that it has continued to have in

Kenya even after over fifty years of political independence. A person's command of English is seen as granting access to a good job, higher social status, and membership within the elite group in the society. In general, parents lack an understanding or awareness of the linguistic potential of a child growing up in a multilingual setting. There is a fear that the use of many languages in the school system will negatively affect English language acquisition and consequently the learning process. Research has shown that teachers and parents do not favor the mother tongue as the language of instruction in lower primary schools because they are convinced that knowledge of English leads to better understanding of content while use of the home languages would hamper understanding in the child (Ogechi, 2003). Ogechi (2003) notes that teachers enforce the use of English and that students who speak English even at kindergarten level are applauded, while those who speak home languages are punished. Muthwii (2004) analyzed the perceptions of parents, pupils and teachers on the use of MT among the Kalenjin in Kenya, and found that students did not prefer the use of MT, except a few pupils from a monolingual school. Most of the pupils preferred being taught in both English and Kiswahili because of the advantages they saw in their use. Similarly, most parents articulated the advantages they saw English as providing their children in the long run and regretted that learning in MT would cut their children off from future participation in national projects and higher education. Many Kenyans feel strongly that in order to succeed in Kenya and globally, they must have a strong command of the English language (Jones, 2008, 2012). This English power influences pedagogy, inasmuch as education stakeholders may see any regular use of the local language in the classroom as evidence of incompetence (Trudell, 2005).

In this way, the implementation of national language policy is significantly influenced by such local attitudes with respect to using local language for educational purposes. A negative attitude towards the local languages then transfers from the teachers and parents to the learners. And, although the learners are struggling and can hardly follow the lessons in English, they nonetheless grow up believing that that is the way schools are and should be. The general lack of demand for proficiency in local languages in the workplace also influences learners to see no need to study them.

These language ideologies and attitudes, along with the prevailing degree of English language proficiency of students, influence the kind of instruction that takes place in the classroom. Moreover, this English-only instruction and testing in English focused specifically on exams has been called washback, i.e., the influence of testing on teaching and learning, (Bailey 1996 cited in Fulcher and Davidson 2007). Washback describes the extent that the introduction and use of a test shapes what teachers and students to do (and do not do) that promote or inhibit language learning. Smith (1991) reports on two qualitative studies, which investigated the effect of tests on teachers and classrooms. Smith showed that the publication of test results induced feelings of fear, guilt, shame, embarrassment, and anger in teachers, along with the determination to do whatever was necessary to avoid such feelings in the future. Teachers believed that test scores were used against them and that testing had a severe emotional impact on young children. Smith (1991) concluded that testing reduced substantially the time available for instruction and narrowed the curriculum and modes of instruction. The importance placed on doing well in exams thus takes the focus away from gaining knowledge and puts it on passing the exams. Drilling in classroom by teachers becomes a common occurrence,

while remedial sessions are offered to low and average achievers in order to raise their grades. In the place of learning mastery of the material the student learns merely a mastery of the test.

Thus, washback creates anxiety for both teachers and learners, with the overriding desire being to fulfill societal expectations by passing exams. And this, in part, because failure to do well on exams is often viewed as failure in life, and vice versa. Students may therefore feel that their life depends on passing exams, often leading to great panic and going on to affect their performance in the long run. According to Alderson and Wall (1993) and Spratt (2005), the teacher is an important and influential agent in the washback process because they face a set of pedagogic and ethical decisions about what and how best to teach and facilitate learning if they wish to make the most of teaching to exams. Teachers as well operate within ideological, historical, economic, and political contexts. Washback may either promote or hamper the accomplishment of educational goals held by learners or other education stakeholders.

Brock-Utne (2010) has correctly observed that education for an African child is primarily learning English, especially in the Anglophone Africa, yet education is generally taken as the acquisition of wider knowledge. Within the research literature on classroom discourse in Kenya, there is a shortage of data into how multilingual resources are treated in the classroom and how (and why) teachers actually teach in the classroom, suggesting a need for a description and interpretation of classroom communicative practices, particularly of the discourse practices in foreign language content area classrooms. The comparatively few studies that have been carried out show a heavily teacher-dominated discourse in Kenyan classrooms (Ackers & Hardman, 2001; Cleghorn

1992; Merritt et al., 1992; Pontefract & Hardman, 2005; Ogechi, 2009). These studies show that teacher-pupil interaction often takes the form of lengthy recitations of questions (by the teacher) and answers (by individual pupils or the whole class) within an Initiation, Response, Feedback (IRF) discourse pattern. Yet, these studies have not explored or explained how student resources are drawn upon or how comprehensible input is attained in the classroom. This necessitates all the more further exploration of the communicative practices that take place in the classroom.

Bilingual Education and Multilingualism

The role of L1 is emphasized in Thomas and Collier's (2002) study that notes that the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling. Thomas and Collier (2002) carried out a five-year longitudinal study that examined the education of language minority students in five US school districts, using both qualitative and quantitative data. Examining long-term outcomes for student achievement, depending upon the type of program in which students were placed, data from two rural school districts in northern Maine demonstrated high levels of student achievement for students schooled through two languages (Thomas & Collier, 2002). In other words, bilingually educated students outperformed those schooled monolingually.

Knowledge of L1 appears to aid L2 acquisition due to linguistic transfer. Baker et al. (2012) carried out a three year longitudinal study that examined the effects of a paired bilingual program and an English-only reading program on English reading outcomes for Spanish-speaking English learners (ELs) in first, second, and third grades. Results of growth modeling analysis indicated that ELs in the paired bilingual group made more growth on oral reading fluency in English than ELs in the English-only group across all

45

grades. The paired bilingual reading approach worked as well, or better than, the English-only reading approach in terms of reading development and outcomes. Although ELs in the paired bilingual approach received less reading instruction in English, they made significantly more gains on English oral reading fluency compared to ELs in the English-only approach.

Conversely, research has also shown that L1 does not impede L2 acquisition (Fafunwa, et al. 1989; Hakuta, et al. 2000; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Fafunwa, et al performed an experimental study to examine the learning and thought processes of young Yoruba children learning in Yoruba and English. One group of students studied science, math, and cultural studies in Yoruba, with English taught as a second language, from 1-6. In the control group, Yoruba was used up to third grade, and then English used was the LOI. After six years, the students who were taught in L1 performed better in all levels of primary education, including in English language arts, compared to their peers who were taught in English. Tong et al. (2008) carried out a two-year (kindergarten and first grade) experimental study to examine the effectiveness of oral English intervention provided to 534 Hispanic English-language learners in transitional bilingual education (TBE) and structured English immersion (SEI) programs. Using latent growth modeling, the authors compared instructional programs in relation to growth trajectories and rates in academic English literacy. The findings revealed that students in the TBE programs improved significantly in a linear pattern over two years, with students receiving the intervention developing at a faster rate than those receiving typical instruction, thusly indicating that L1 instruction did not impede the learning of L2.

Empirical support for L1 is not universal. Earlier studies on bi-/multilingualism suggested that it caused cognitive confusion. Early research by Macnamara (1966) cited in Bialystok (2001), reviewed in detail 77 studies that were published between 1918 and 1962 on several languages and language pairs and various situations and circumstances for children's bilingualism. Macnamara did a meta-analysis of the findings and concluded that bilingualism causes language deficits, giving four reasons: linguistic interference for highly differing languages, an absence of cultural assimilation in bilingual children, inadequate language models, and a lack of time available to learn the languages. Bialystok (2001) observes that Macnamara's conclusions are not supported in recent research and cites methodological flaws in the study. One major flaw notes no inclusion of differing bilingual competencies, such that testing was done as if there were two monolinguals in one. Contrary to the premises of Macnamara and more recent findings, views opposing bilingual education have been held and can still persist in most post-colonial nations (Benson, 2013, Brock-Utne, 2001) including Kenya. This study explores the nature of communicative practices in the classroom and adds to the existing debate on the role of L1 around meaning making processes in a foreign language classroom.

Language Resources as Funds of Knowledge

Funds of knowledge refer to "those historically developed and accumulated strategies or bodies of knowledge that are essential to a household's functioning and well-being" (Moll et al., 1992, p. 133). The funds of knowledge include knowledge and skills related to families, origins, occupations, and strategies used to adapt, for example, to social and economic changes (Gonzalez et al., 2005, Moll et al., 1992). "The funds of

knowledge are based on the view that students' community represents a resource of enormous importance for educational change and improvement" (Moll, 1992, p. 21).

Multilingualism is now widely recognized as one of the major funds of knowledge. Knowledge of different and multiple linguistic systems, along with the socio-cultural knowledge and histories inherent in languages and experiences, comprise part of these funds of knowledge (Gee, 2012; Smitherman, 1999). Kramsch (2006) used the term *symbolic competence* to describe the ability to use home or community languages and to draw on funds of knowledge associated with worlds beyond the classroom and the school. Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) point out that the social actors in multilingual settings appear to activate more than a communicative competence that would enable members to communicate accurately, effectively, and appropriately with one another.

Research studies indicate that the view of language as a problem (Ruiz, 1984) creates problems for linguistically and culturally diverse students. The discontinuities between home and school may be blamed on distinctive communication systems among people of different communities represented in the classroom. This is illustrated in Heath's (1982) study around questioning at home and at school among Trackton students in order to establish why there was so little meaningful communication going on between teachers and their black students in the classroom. Heath studied questioning at home and at school in three communities—Roadville, a white working class neighborhood, Trackton, an African-American neighborhood, and Townspeople, a composite portrait of middle-class town residents of both ethnicities—and found that a lack of communicative competence between black students and white teachers was the reason for little meaningful communication. In brief, the black students at Trackton had not acquired the

rules of speaking or interpretation of speech performance and values regarding language forms and use in order to cope with the features of classroom questions. Additionally, they were not able to respond to questions that were outside their general experience and that had a predetermined expectation of response by the teacher. In order for students to succeed, they would have had to learn how to use questions according to the rules of the classroom. The teachers also had not developed the cultural competence to interact with the black students productively. This dissonance in school and home literacy practices was a hindrance to constructing knowledge in the classroom.

Further studies have indicated that a discontinuity exists also between the cultural content of instruction and the culture of everyday life outside of school. Because learning is facilitated by using communication strategies in the classroom that are culturally congruent with discourse patterns of the home (Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Genesee, 1987; Philips, 1972), the relationship of culture and cognition is particularly important in multilingual settings where students are taught in a foreign language. Cleghorn et al.'s (1992) study focused on the language used during science lessons in Kenyan primary schools, particularly the language used for providing explanations of abstract and culturally foreign ideas. Preliminary observations suggested that mixed-language lessons flowed more easily than English-only lessons. Code-switching allowed teachers to make cross-linguistic analogies, to refer to local items, and generally to make lesson content more comprehensible. Cleghorn (1992) noted that the content of primary level science lessons may be more accessible to students when teaching incorporates the use of the home language in a variety of code-switching patterns. Use of the local language, along with English, provided a means for linking the cultural content of instruction to

experiences outside of school and offered a tool for connecting the concrete to the abstract. Cleghorn (1992), however, lamented the English-only policy from fourth grade since when English was used exclusively for instruction, a barrier was raised to giving clearer explanations, especially around abstract and counterintuitive concepts.

Several other scholars (Adger et al., 2007; Brock-Utne, 2007; Erickson & Mohart 1982; Ngwaru & Apoku-Amankwa, 2010; Philips, 1972) have described the problem of the mismatch between classroom language use, speaking rules and speech performance interpretation, and attitudes and values about home languages. Saville-Troike (2003) explicitly points out the mismatch between cultural competence, linguistic competence, and interactional competence between the teachers and students. Saville-Troike notes, "In many speech communities formal education is conducted in linguistic code quite different from the one children may have acquired at home" (p. 244). The development of communicative competence in school settings stresses the formal style of literacy skills unique to the school and may interfere with the co-construction of meaning between students and the teacher.

Similarly, scholars have argued that defining literacy as the ability to read, write and speak in only one language accepted in school is limiting other resources that mediate meaning-making in the classroom (Heath, 1982; Street, 1984). Heath's (1982) work shows that there is no universality to literacy. There are many literacies; to describe only one that is associated with school misses out on other literacies. Exploration of multiple languages as resources in school is relevant to understanding how the linguistic resources are appropriated in the classroom. Additionally, understanding the ideologies that govern literacy instruction and how they permeate literacy practices is important.

Saville-Troike (2003) has noted that the "children who succeed through formal education are those who 'learn how to learn' through abstract linguistically mediated instruction" (p. 17). Saville-Troike (2003) points out that there "is a correlation between the form and content of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of its speakers" (p. 28). As Heath (1982) recommended, language use knowledge should flow from community to school and vice versa. It is important to understand how teachers tap into the uses of languages of the students to make meaning in the classroom.

By contrast, language as a resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984) tends to see local languages as benefits for their speakers and society as a whole. Street (1984) noted that children bring literate abilities and linguistic dispositions that differ from schooled literacy. Street (1984) expounds on multiple literacies arguing that literacy is not one uniform technical skill, but rather something different in each different context and society in which it is embedded. Local literacies are those literacy practices that are closely connected with local and regional identities and indeed are often overlooked by international and national campaigns. Chimbutane's (2011) study of Mozambique bilingual education programs found downgrade or unemphasised the potential of bilingual programs to make connections between school and home knowledge through the use of local languages. While discussing hygiene in the classroom, students added to the conventional means of tooth hygiene in a way that showed their familiarity with the cultural world. Openness to the local culture had further effects in boosting students' creativity since they had a wealth of cultural capital to draw upon. This did not occur only when instructed in Portuguese. Similarly, this study explores local literacies in terms

of the local language uses and literacy practices that are valued and devalued in formal schooling settings in Kenyan fourth grade classroom.

For multilingual educational settings, scholarly attention has tended to explore literacy development in two or more languages (Hornberger, 1997, 2003; Manyack, 2002; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000). These studies are in contrast to a monolithic view of literacy. Heath (1982) and Street (1984) have both indicated no universality prevails for literacy but rather that there are many literacies. This fact, however, has not been documented in research studies on multilingual Kenyan classrooms. Literacy there has been described in terms of ability to read and write in English (Benson, 2013) and thus missing out on a myriad of other literacies. As indicated in Street (1984), the sociocultural contexts of literate practices are ideological contexts. Literacy practices are "the social practices and conceptions of reading and writing … that are already embedded in an ideology and cannot be isolated or treated as 'neutral' or merely 'technical'" (Street, 1984, p. 1). However, the number of research studies to document multilingual literacies and the uses of linguistic repertoires for meaning-making literacy practices are meager. Martin-Jones and Jones (2005) use the term *multilingual literacies* to capture the multiplicity and complexity of individual and group repertoires. According to Martin-Jones & Jones, multilingual literacies:

> Focus attention on the multiple ways in which people draw on and combine the codes in their communicative repertoire when they speak and write. The term 'bilingual' only evokes a two-way distinction between codes whereas . . . in multilingual settings, people typically have access to several codes, which they

move in and out of with considerable fluency and subtlety as they speak and

write. (Martin-Jones & Jones (2005, p. 7)

In multilingual settings therefore, although the monolingual norm may operate for the production of the texts in an institutional context, the talk around those texts may be multilingual and incorporate elements of the text while speaking in different language varieties. This scenario is investigated to document the instances when multilingual resources are hardy.

Validation of home languages has been empirically proven to be productive. Gonzalez and Reyes (2012), for instance, show that a home language can serve as a meaning-making representational tool. Their study indicated that children used Spanish for social interactions and as a communication tool. The children used code-switching and bilingual strategies during reading, and also used the two languages for a wide range of functions in their interactions at school. They report that there was an enhancement of English language development among children along with being able to use Spanish. Gonzalez and Reyes note that children showed an interest in exploring sound/symbol relationships in Spanish even when their literacy instruction had been only in English. Home language did not delay acquisition of English but became a scaffold both for learning English and participating in school literacy practices. The authors suggested that supporting the use of home language facilitated a more refined understanding of English literacy. The young bilinguals demonstrated both metalinguistic awareness as well as early development of abstract knowledge around the relationship between sounds and letters. The study implied that irrespective of the language of instruction, children needed

to use their native language to construct and represent meaning as well as to access prior knowledge.

The use of a student's language has intellectual and affective impacts as well. Potts and Moran (2013), drawing from a long-term Canadian study of multiliterate pedagogies, investigated students' multilingual resources and the extent to which use of their languages impacted academic success beyond their affective contribution. They analyzed texts for the functions of home languages, as well as the broader context, activities immediately surrounding the production of texts, and the home language's function(s) in relation to the text's context. They found that over multiple texts realized by the three focal students—in texts produced independently and in interaction with their peers—home language was a resource, not only for thinking and feeling, but also for reflecting on the ways in which the students had made meaning of their worlds. Home language signified affiliation, membership, and a sense of belonging to communities beyond the classroom. It was a dimension of the focal students' personalized meaning potential as well as a resource for academic success and the stuff of creativity.

The aims of this study reflect a similar goal. However, this study is broader in that it will examine the reading, writing, and speaking activities of classroom settings. Moreover, here English is a minority, rather than majority, language; different language use dynamics will likely play out.

This study seeks to understand and position children's multilingualism as an asset. In this way, the study adds to the substantial body of literature that chronicles and strategizes how children's diverse ways of knowing can be drawn upon in formal educational contexts (Cummins & Early 2011; Heath, 1996; Moll et al., 1992; Schecter &

Cummins, 2003; Vygotsky, 2012). While acknowledging the studies on bilingual education and multilingualism, languages in multilingual and bilingual education settings in Africa have yet to receive sufficient attention. This research differs from previous studies in that the specific focus has two emphases: not only to understand how languages (linguistic repertoires) are used to make meaning in English language arts and the content area of science but also to understand the complexity of negotiating multilingual resources in a classroom where a foreign language is used as the language of instruction.

Moreover, by documenting both official and unofficial literacies, this study adds to the extant conversation on multilingual literacies as funds of knowledge. Official practices are the recurrent, situated school practices that are formally valued in that setting. Unofficial practices are children's governed practices, where children use their experiential, linguistic, and textual resources either to construct meaningful social practices or to rework official practices into more familiar and more valued practices by peers (Dyson, 2003; 2008).

Translanguaging

Recent research documents that linguistically and culturally diverse individuals draw on their collective linguistic repertoires of resources to meet communicative goals in a given situation. This indicates that their language use is not strictly compartmentalized but fluid and mobile. Several researchers have described this phenomenon as: plurilingualism (Jørgensen et al. 2011); heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981; Bailey, 2007); flexible bilingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2010); code-meshing, (Canagarajah, 2011); translanguaging (Garcia 2009) and others. These multilingual practices have led to various scholars questioning certain premises within the fields of

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and language allocations/restrictions in teaching. For example, Kachru and Sridhar (1994) lamented the lack of historicity within the field of SLA and claimed that the SLA research had ignored areas that have stable multilingualism in the global south. Recently other scholars have conducted research on multilingual communicative practices (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, 2014; Garcia 2009; Velasco & Garcia, 2014) and have argued that language separation is an ideological construct rather than actual linguistic practice. In this study, I use the term translanguaging to refer to the process whereby bi/multilingual students, and possibly teachers, utilize linguistic repertoires as part of situated literacy practices to accomplish communication goals (Sylvan & Garcia, 2011); this process includes code-switching and translation.

Multilingual discourse has been studied for several decades. Earlier research focused on the mixing of languages in discourse, particularly as code-switching (CS). Most of the work studied was spontaneously produced data, and most of it was done in informal contexts. For example, there are studies on the pragmatic functions of code-switching, largely influenced by Gumperz's pioneering typology (1982), such as Appel and Muysken (2005), Romaine (1995), Heller (1988) and the like. Here, the researchers aimed to identify the socio-pragmatic motivation for the occurrence of particular code-switched utterances and eventually to classify according to fixed categories, such as quotation, elaboration, reiteration, or many others. Myers-Scotton (1993) took a different approach in her Markedness Model, where she assigns a significant role to the social reality of the speakers as well as the nature of the relationship between them to explain the occurrence of code-switching. Her *negotiation principle* describes how speakers will

code-switch or not, according to the set of rights and obligations (RO) they wish to maintain, establish, or challenge in a given interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Of particular relevance to this study is her definition of code-switching as a marked choice where "the speaker disidentifies with the expected RO set" (Myers-Scotton 1993, p. 131). The switch in this case becomes meaningful as a strategy used by the speakers to signal certain positions and intentions different from the one expected as they depart from the unmarked code. The markedness model relates to Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia.

Heller (2007) notes that, "the speech of bilinguals goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains, and stay put where they are meant to stay put" (2007, p. 11). This indicates that bi/multilinguals code-mix. Bilingual code-mixing has been defined as "the use of elements (phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic) from two languages in the same utterance or stretch of communication" (Garcia & Frede, 2010, p. 64). Research on code mixing (CM) in adults has shown that it serves several metacognitive functions (Garcia & Frede, 2010). However, bilingual code-switching in children has been viewed unfavorably as a sign of incompetence and even confusion. Research reported in Garcia and Frede (2010) indicates that the constraints that operate on child bilingual code-mixing are the same as those reported in adults. The reasons given for children's code mixing are gap filling, context sensitivity, and pragmatic or symbolic reasons. Although the debate around gap filling is high, it is argued that bilingual CM is associated with a variety of pragmatic functions even in quite young bilinguals. CM therefore is not random but purposeful. For this reason, it becomes necessary to find out when and why CM happens in multilingual classroom.

In education, CM has been seen as a pedagogical strategy. Gonzalez and Reyes (2012) argued that hybrid language practices are an important aspect in the language and literacy development of emergent bilingual children. CM practices provided children with opportunities to connect their home language and literacy practices with school literacy practices in ways that were relevant to their lives. CM and bilingual strategies enhanced rather than inhibited children's English literacy learning. By drawing from their language repertoires in two languages, children were able not only to make connections with their background knowledge and experience but also to construct and share new meanings regardless of their level of English competence.

Several studies have supported the role of code-switching for learning in multilingual classrooms. Rollnick and Rutherford's (1996) study of science classrooms in Swaziland found that use of student languages were a powerful means for enabling learners to explore their ideas. Moschovich's (1999) study in US has argued that CS is a learning and teaching resource. These studies have indicated that use of L1 in teaching and learning provides support for students while they continue to develop proficiency in the LOI.

However, negative attitudes towards CS prevail (Ferguson, 2003; Martin, 2005). Empirical studies do not supply a universal position on the role of CS in multilingual communities as a normal strategy for negotiating meaning in conversations. In school, CS may be considered inappropriate, officially unaccepted, or even banned. The time-on-task debate, where maximum L2 development within an L2-medium system requires maximum exposure to L2 in the lesson, may prevail. Setati et al. (2002), for instance,

report that rural primary teachers in South Africa take the view that classroom CS should be avoided because the classroom was the only source of L2 exposure for their learners.

Although research studies have indicated that CS permeates classroom discourses in some contexts, both learners and teachers are uncomfortable with the situation (McGlynn & Martin, 2009). Teachers express and admit to dealing with unease about using CS (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 2006), which can be due to teachers' beliefs that the language policies call for an English-only pedagogy, or both (Cleghorn, 2005). The present study aims to create awareness around language practices in order to shed light onto assumptions held by teachers, learners, and education stakeholders regarding CM.

Drawing on ethnographic research conducted in Mozambican bilingual education schools, Chimbutane (2013) discussed teacher beliefs and practices around code-switching in L1 and L2 classroom contexts and shows that teachers tended to avoid the use of code-switching for different reasons. However, research in other L1 and L2 learning contexts has demonstrated that classroom code-switching is a communicative and pedagogical strategy that can aid learners' 'target' language comprehension, use, and learning, as well as assisting them in expressing and affirming multiple identities. Chimbutane's (2013) study revealed that while some teachers were flexible about language separation, others appeared reluctant to use and/or allow pupils to use African languages in Portuguese learning contexts. Chimbutane (2011) further noted that the pupils' difficulties were more apparent at the transition phase, when Portuguese becomes the language of teaching and learning. In this context, avoiding the use of the pupils' first language (while at the same time maximizing the use of the target language) is perceived by many teachers as the correct way to address this situation. However, it has been

acknowledged that the use of pupils' L1 in L2 contexts is one of the most powerful means of linking L2 linguistic knowledge and academic knowledge imparted through this language with the knowledge already developed in L1 (Cummins, 2008).

The study of *spoken* discourse in the classroom has also gained momentum in multilingual settings (Canagarajah, 2011; Garcia, 2009). However, little research exists on how two or more languages interact and affect knowledge construction with regard to *writing*. Few studies have analyzed multilingual texts in classroom settings (Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; Velasco & Garcia 2014). Mixed languages in writing seem to have been ignored or overlooked because written texts are viewed as normative and tend to have a pedagogical focus (Canagarajah, 2013; Sebba, 2012). This tendency has produced a monolingual bias in research, which makes it difficult for researchers who are identified with and specialize in the study of specific languages. Sebba (2012), for instance, decries that CS in writing, unlike spoken CS, has not been theorized and recommends that mixed language written texts be studied within literacy frameworks also in order to understand that practice as one of the several literacy practices that it represents.

Translanguaging in Writing

Several scholars have offered translanguaging (TL) as a possible solution to educational challenges facing linguistically and culturally diverse students and student populations. Busch (2014), drawing on a study carried out in a state primary school in Vienna among culturally and linguistically diverse students, described the challenges around the linguistic needs of children with multiple languages who are otherwise required to use only one language. Busch advocates opening up spaces for children to bring into dialogue their individual repertoires in order to engage in metalinguistic

discussion and negotiation, with a goal of transforming the enforced monolingual habitus into a multilingual habitus. Busch argues for literacy instruction that acknowledges the different languages as a resource and commitment to multidiscursivity and multivoicedness. *Multidiscursivity* means that children can bring their concerns and topics into classroom, thereby participating in making a dynamic curriculum. Similar arguments were made by Garcia and Leiva (2014) based on their study of TL in an English classroom for immigrants. They describe the functions of TL in the classroom as serving: to involve and give voice, to reinforce, to clarify, to manage classroom, and to extend and ask question. They argue that a flexible use of language by the teacher enabled students to learn to develop academic concepts and language, and to think. Garcia and Leiva (2014) view TL as an act of bilingual performance and pedagogy, pointing out the use of flexible linguistic resources in a classroom also resists the historical and cultural positioning of multilingual students within English monolingualism. Such flexible language use represents a practice of social justice because TL serves a role in releasing voices and new prejudices, and it gives students who are confronted with unfamiliar languages alternative representations that release knowledge and voices that have been silenced by English-only (Garcia & Leiva, 2014).

The use of TL for rhetorical purposes in writing has also been explicated. Hélot's (2014) analysis of authors who crossed language borders in children's books explored how TL in writing serves creativity in a bilingual and multiliteracy pedagogy. Hélot analyzed configurations of TL used by different multilingual authors, and specifically how these authors negotiated their identities through translation of their own work or by the invention of new, hybrid forms of language. While Hélot questions the possibility of

TL as a pedagogical approach in bilingual teacher education in Alsace where French or German languages are taught separately, she argued that using TL in literary texts is more appropriate for offering ways of legitimizing language mixing. Hélot argues that translingual texts offer an excellent basis for discussing not only what it mean to be bi- or multilingual but also to explore the notion of identity because translingual authors break the traditional ideological barriers that separate languages. In this way, new bi/multilingual voices emerge along with identities. Hélot also argues for translanguaging in teacher training programs in Alsace to counteract linguistic insecurity in the classroom and to understand translanguaging as a resource for multilingual students and teachers alike for communicating creatively and meaningfully.

Sebba et al. (2012) echo this use of TL for creativity, indicating that language code-mixing affords authors a way to satisfy the demands both of norms and voice by using their languages in a qualified manner. Authors merge their languages in rational ways for significant rhetorical and performance reasons. Therefore, CS practices in a text can serve as an author's means not only for representing identity and pluralizing their texts but also to satisfy their own need for voice, preferred codes, and conventions. Use of TL thus allows students to succeed in mainstream discourse without sacrificing criticality or their voices. In support of this argument, Mahootian (2012) points out that the style, register, and the languages that authors choose to express themselves in *all* contribute to who they think they are, how they are, how they want others to see them, and how others actually identify them. In this way, language constructs, indexes, and reveals an individual's identity. TL acknowledges the complex relationship between language, identity and sociopolitical power (Garcia & Leiva, 2014). All the same,

Canagarajah (2013) still cautions that code-meshing practices do not necessarily guarantee success give the ideological measures on what is deemed good academic writing.

Canagarajah (2013) has pointed out that although the power of monolingual orientation in educational settings continues to prevail, there are increasing numbers of multilingual texts in everyday life as a result of language contact. He views multilingual texts or code-meshing as an important mode of writing that multilingual students can use to represent their identities in English. He points out, moreover, that languages are always in contact and mutually influence each other. Multilingual users have an integrated competency and do not separate languages. Languages are not principally at war with each other. Coining of the term *translingual* thus breaks away from the notion or premise that languages are kept separate.

Canagarajah (2013) also discusses negotiation strategies in multilingual writing, particularly *envoicing*. Envoicing is the shape, nature, and extent of hybridity considered in relationship to voice and identity. Envoicing plays a role in appropriating text or talk, in personalizing the speaker, distinguishing her or his work, and accentuating differences by deviating from the homogeneous uses and available collective norms as a way to provide identity and voice. Canagarajah argues that attaining success in communication does not involve forfeiting people's uniqueness. This is in line with Bakhtin's notion of utterance, which keeps in view the specific situatedness of the speaker for every act of speaking. In these terms, for Bakhtin (1986), to speak would be to envoice, to accentuate or populate language resources with a speaker's own intents and histories. From this

viewpoint, negotiation of meaning is inseparable from identity representation. In this way, writers negotiate their voices into the texts they write.

Canagarajah (2013) perceives code-meshing as a means for resolving challenges in writing pedagogy, since it offers "pragmatic resolution that is sensitive and important for challenging inequalities of languages" (p. 113). Individuals who code-mesh are learning the dominant languages for social and educational means at the same time. Research on the role that translingual writing plays in development of the target language is important, then, for informing discourses about how the languages are learned concurrently. Scholars often view a deviation from standard written English as costly; resistance to or transgressions against established academic writing norms will frequently lead to the author being not only treated as unproficient and but also penalized since writing is such a strictly kept gate (Canagarajah, 2013; Sebba, 2012).

The major constraint on translingual writing and studying multilingual writing are monolingual assumptions; because these frame literacy development as a unidirectional acquisition of competence, this prevents researchers from fully seeing or understanding the resources that multilinguals bring to texts (Canagarajah, 2011). Zamora (2010) views language homogenization policies as colonizing language and literacy practices. Language homogenization policies position learners simply as acquirers of skills that are useful for basic functioning and that offer only predetermined roles for identities. In contrast, multilingual writing is agentive and shuttles creatively between languages and discourses toward achieving communicative goals (Canagarajah, 2011).

Similarly, Valesco and Garcia (2014) have used the term *self-regulation* to describe the writing of multilingual learners as discussed by Zimmerman (2000). They

64

point out that speakers select features from a repertoire and assemble their language practices in ways that fit their communicative situations (Garcia, 2009). Multilinguals use their multiple semiotic resources to negotiate meaning with the text. Velasco and Garcia problematize bilingual education programs that separate languages strictly, such that multilinguals are conceptualized or framed as two monolinguals in one (Grosjean, 2010). They point out that spaces should be opened up for TL in writing by bilinguals so that students may use their multiple linguistic repertoires to self-regulate. Inasmuch as TL goes beyond simply acknowledging language as a social construct to see how it reflects a nation state's ideologies (Heller, 2007), TL then represents a democratic gesture and endeavor towards social justice (Velasco & Garcia 2014).

The foregoing underscores the need for embracing multiple linguistic repertoires in writing, as a way enable writers to negotiate restrictive policies around voice and identity (Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; Busch, 2014; Helot, 2014; Garcia & Leiva, 2014; Mahootian, 2012; Sebba, et al. 2012; Velasco & Garcia, 2014). In schools, children with complex linguistic repertoires experience institutional policies that are rooted in traditional monolingual habits (Gogolin, 2002). Such schools prioritize English-only language instruction. Since independence in 1963, Kenyan schools have historically been sites for English acquisition and serve to implement language policies aimed at promoting a unitary, monoglossic language (Bakhtin, 1981) as well as language homogenization despite the stable multilingual status of school students. Academic writing, as well, has been historically a monolingual practice in Kenya, with all exams written, required, and adjudicated in English-only despite the stable multilingual status of the population. By this, African languages are relegated to oral communication while

English and other European languages remain reserved for academic and other acts that are considered literate. Early research in the West problematized this monolingual view of literacy for example; Heath (1982) and Street (1984) challenged the universalizing view of literacy. *Autonomous literacy*, according to Street, takes literacy itself as having an effect on other social and cognitive practices; it involves imposing Occidental conceptions of literacy on other cultures (Hernandez-Zamora, 2010). Heath, Street, and Hernandez-Zamora, in contrast, situate literacy in social contexts as a part of local social relations. They emphasize the agency of individuals who adopted unauthorized literacies.

Research increasingly indicates that multilingual children do not enact the ideology of language separation, but instead draw from a common linguistic repertoire through a process of languaging (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Garcia, 2009; Mignolo, 2012). *Languaging*, according to Mignolo, is thinking and writing between languages. Recently, scholars have discussed code-switching in African classrooms in Mozambique (Chimbutane, 2013), Kenya (Merrit et al. 1992), South Africa (Setati et al. 2002, 2005). Even so, there remains a paucity of research addressing multilingual writing practices in African classrooms. What research on writing practices in the classroom has been done has taken a first-world perspective, which historically adopts a monolingual bias, sometimes pejoratively.

Chapter Summary

In reviewing the literature related to language and literacy acquisition both generally and within Kenya specifically, this then has highlighted the key topics of what distinguishes bi/multilingualism from monolingualism, the language ideologies and attitudes that accompany multilingual or monolingual frameworks, the language

resources and translanguaging practices available to multilinguals, and rationales for resistance to previous monolingual research, when even available, at least within a natively multilingual context such as Kenya.

While laying a groundwork that can build on the positive insights of previous work, this review also discloses a necessity for reexamining multilingual contexts through a non-monolingual lens. This portends to better integrate existing and emergent research that points to the benefits, rather than the deficits, that bi/multilingual pedagogy and learners offer not only to enhance the efficacy of classroom pedagogy in general and the experiences of learners in support of their identities and voices but also to challenge and reverse the colonial or historical prejudices that result, by design or not, from monolingual classroom pedagogy and the research that argues for it.

Chapter Three

Methodology

In this chapter, I describe the qualitative approach with a focus on case study methods that were used for this study. The research procedures and analysis procedures that were used to understand how children's linguistic repertoires are displayed during language and literacy practices are delineated. Further, the role and identity of the researcher are discussed. The critical questions that guided this study were:

- How are the children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in the classroom in the interaction between teacher and students and students themselves in varied communicative practices involving reading, writing, and speaking?

    a. How are children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in official classroom interactions with the teacher?

    b. How are children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in unofficial interactions with peers?

- How does children's participation in official and unofficial communicative practices reflect their acquisition of English (i.e., what is the nature of the English used by children in the course of communicative practices)?

- What linguistic ideologies characterize official classroom language use?

Qualitative Case Study Approach

Qualitative methodology highlights the use of natural settings, interpretation of reality grounded in the empirical world, construction of meaning through interaction with participants, and descriptive analysis of data collection (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The qualitative research afforded me an opportunity to spend time in the classroom setting,

68

taking context into consideration. The naturalistic aspect of qualitative research allowed me to construct a picture of the setting as data collection took place; and thus, develop a more comprehensive understanding of the happenings in the classroom. Additionally, by placing myself in the natural environment of the classroom, I was able to complete ethnographic observations and follow up with interviews and, consequently, develop a deeper understanding of the occurrences in the classroom. In case study methods, researchers seek to explore and interrogate a phenomenon in its complexities and particularity (Stake, 1995). Case study methods involve comprehensive examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or a particular event, (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake, 1995). Stake (1995) stated that case study involves intensive holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit. Case study methods were suitable for this study because I had no control over the behavior of participants. The definition of case study is most appropriate for the questions that are examined, as the method allows for a fuller exploration of the research questions, the participants' linguistic activities and the teaching context.

Using the case study methods, I tried to understand how communicative repertoires were displayed in official and unofficial literacy practices, the nature of these literacy practices and the ideologies that were embodied and articulated by the participants in the classroom. The definition of repertoire adopted in this study is by Blommaert, (2006), "Repertoire is a collection of particular formats for using communicative means, languages, in the traditional sense, language varieties (dialects,

specific codes) modalities (visual, gestural, intonation, aesthetic) topically organized styles and genres." (p. 168).

Boundedness of the case: This was a case of a fourth grade classroom in a rural primary school. The heart of the case was a fourth grade classroom. The primary school provided the context and the site for this study. In terms of time boundary, there was no information collected prior to May 19, 2014 and after December 2014 used for analysis. The case also was bounded in terms of sampling operations. The participants that were observed or interviewed are only those relating to the fourth grade classroom. Additionally, the conceptual frame/focus of the case was communicative practices in a fourth grade classroom, (Miles & Huberman, 2014)

Field Entry

I used the overt approach to gain access to the field (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). I obtained initial access to Tumaini (pseudonym) primary school through my sister. I requested that she find a rural public primary school in which I could conduct a research study. She chose to visit Tumaini primary school to speak with the principal. The principal agreed that the study could be done in his school and, and wrote a letter to confirm this agreement. After this initial permission, I entered the research site on Monday May 19, 2014. I went with my sister who introduced me to the school principal. I explained the proposed study in order to seek his cooperation and permission. I also shared with him my research schedule and assured him that I would not interfere with the school routine or be disruptive to the school routines. The principal signed the consent forms and introduced me to the fourth grade class teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu (Pseudonym), who also taught science in fourth grade classroom. I explained to Mrs. Tabasamu the

purpose of my study and the methods that I would be using to collect data. Most importantly I assured her of confidentiality, and that the participation would be voluntary. Mrs. Tabasamu agreed to take part in my study and signed the consent form. She introduced me to other teachers in the school that I planned to involve in the study. I shared the purposes and the objectives and goals of the intended research study with the fourth grade teachers and sought permission to observe their classes. I also assured them of the confidentiality of participants in reporting data and how it would be presented in journal papers, conference presentations, and book chapters. All the teachers voluntarily agreed to participate in the study and consented. All of the teachers welcomed me to the school and assured me of their support. I was given a desk in the teachers' staffroom. My interaction with the teachers in the staffroom laid groundwork for a good rapport. I also joined teachers in the afterschool music festival preparations; I took students for the swimming classes and attended all the morning assemblies.

Later, Mrs. Tabasamu introduced me to the fourth grade students. She explained to the students that I am a university student interested in finding out their language use and learning in the classroom. The children welcomed me to their class. I explained to students what I would be doing and the recording instruments I would be using in the classroom. I explained that I would be observing how they learn different subjects and that I would be audio recording these practices. All my explanations were done in Kiswahili. After thorough explanation, I informed them of their choice to participate voluntarily and that they could withdraw at any point. All fourth graders agreed to participate and the assent forms were distributed to the class members to assent. Through the class teacher, letters were sent to fourth grade parents to request permission for their

children's' participation in this study and their participation as well. The letters were written in Kimeru and English. The students returned with the parents' consent letters during the first week. All of the parents permitted their children to take part in the study, and were willing to be interviewed about their children. Each day, different students wanted me to sit by their desk. I spent two weeks in the school interacting with students and learning the environment without taking notes or recording. During this time I learned about different students and consulted with the teacher to learn more about the students.

For entry to homes, after interacting with the focal students for about a month, I had already built some trust with my focal students. I told them that I would want to speak with their parents to make an appointment for a home visit. The students shared with their parents and gave me phone contacts to their parents and times that I would call them. I talked to the parents on the phone and planned initial visits. During the initial visit I introduced myself and explained my research study goals. All my conversations with parents and with the community members outside the school were in Kimeru. All of the parents agreed and consented to participate in the study. I, therefore, made appointments for home visits and interviews. The recruitment process was mainly through face-to-face conversations with the prospective participants. I explained the project in an age-appropriate manner. I am not related in any way to the subjects. I explained and clarified to participants all areas of the assent /consent letters that needed clarification. The assent letters were written in age appropriate language for fourth graders. Students were given time to read, then I read with them explaining each aspect of the consent letter. Through daily interaction with the fourth grade students and their parents during the research

process, I realized that students had highest proficiency in Kiswahili and the parents had highest proficiency in Kimeru. This necessitated translation of interview protocols to enable collection of rich data from the participants. Throughout the study, I interacted with the teachers in their staffroom and students in the classroom. I spent the first half of the month of May/June familiarizing myself with the setting and interacting with the students to minimize observer paradox. During this period, I chose five focal students and informed the class teacher of the choices, and gathered more information about focal students from the teacher. The criteria for the choice are discussed in the participants section.

Relationships between the researcher and the researched. During my research study, I spent as much time with students in the field for every opportunity that I had. I spent time with fourth grade students as they built literacy centers (grass houses, designing different rooms), playing stones, or as they ate lunch together. I was beginning to gain trust with the students in two weeks' time and was building rapport with them. For teachers, I was given a desk in the staffroom. I took tea together with the teachers during tea breaks. I attended social events hosted by the teachers. During my stay, two teachers held parties for graduation with a degree from a university, and one teacher held a party for her daughter's graduation. I participated in these social events. I established a working relationship with the members of staff and, particularly, my key participants. I accompanied the English teacher to the after school swimming classes with the fourth grade students. I worked continually throughout my study period to maintain and reinforce relations with the teacher and students through different strategies. I used local languages outside school. I made efforts to know fourth grade students by name, which

helped me to get closer to them easily. My ability to speak Kimeru and Kiswahili were crucial in building trust with the participants and the community. The principal introduced me to school parents' during parents meeting, and end of the term meetings, saying that the school was encouraged that a young woman was pursuing a PhD. He often said that I was a role model for the Umoja community. The principal reminded students often that it was possible for a girl child to do well in school; and, I was an example to be emulated. The parents were pleased to have me at their homes especially because we were talking about their children's literacy practices.

I was addressed by the students as "aunt," a name I chose due to its meaning in the society. It is perceived that aunts are friendly and nonpunitive to their nieces and nephews, and this term is used by many Kenyans to refer to older friendly ladies. The teachers addressed me by my first name, Lydiah. Although students viewed me as an aunt, at the same time, I was an outsider to whom they could express their views and perceptions about the communicative practices around their lives.

Research Site

Community and school context. The study was carried out in a rural primary school in Umoja (pseudonym) region of Eastern Province, Kenya. The school is located in Amani (pseudonym) County. Amani County has a population of 1,356,301 according to the 2009 census data. The county's economy relies mostly on agriculture. Most people are engaged in subsistence farming where they grow common foods such as maize, beans, sorghum, millet, cabbages and fruits. Others grow coffee and tea as cash crops and take them for processing in nearby factories. The community/school district where the research was carried out has a population of 149,144 according to the 2009 census. The

study was carried out at Tumaini (pseudonym) primary school. Tumaini Primary School was established in 1977.

When this study was carried out, Tumaini primary school had twelve teachers who were trained to teach K-8, including two teachers for the kindergarten school and two teachers for the Special Education class. There were three male teachers and nine female teachers. The school had a total student population of 262 students, one class for each grade. Tumaini is a public day school that operated with very little financial resources. The school has predominantly served economically disadvantaged families in the community. A look at the statistical data of the community may shed light on the demographics of the Amani County. According to Kenya Bureau of Statistics, out of 1,238,988 respondents of Amani County, only 46,272 people had access to computer service. The highest level of education indicates that only 170,428 (14%) people had education up to 8th grade and above. Those who had access to television were 500,071, and those with access to radio service 982,747. About 184,261 (15%) people never attended formal school, and 20,968 did not know whether they attended school. While there is no formal statistical report of the literacy levels in Amani County, these records indicate that there are very low literacy rates with only about 14% having attained eighth grade education and above and about 15% who never went to school. The extent to which English language is spoken in the country could be extrapolated to be less than 14% considering the fact that English is only acquired at school. The majority of the people in the community speak Kimeru and a good majority Kiswahili, the national language. Kimeru and Kiswahili are mutually intelligible languages; therefore, most people understand the lingua franca although they may not speak it.

The people in the community where the study was carried were from different social economic statuses. One indicator of this was the different residential houses and the schools in the area. Since 2002 when primary education in Kenya was paid for by the government, most middle class parents withdrew their children and enrolled them in private schools due to crowding in public schools. The population of Tumaini primary school was mainly the poor students. One community member commented that the students in Tumaini primary school would otherwise not be in school if it were not for the free primary education. However, the parents of this school were required to pay about a 1000ksh (about 15 dollars) each term for other school expenses such as paying the cook and paying for remedial classes. There was a school-feeding program that provided porridge to students of Tumaini primary school. Parents cooperated and worked on the school farm to produce corn for making the porridge. Each student received half a liter of porridge during the 10:25 to 11:05 AM break. The majority of the parents were casual laborers and peasant farmers. They lived in rented houses and these houses were not served with electricity. The head teacher described the parents as mainly squatters. They made a living by fetching firewood and burning charcoal from the nearby forest and working in the farms of the well-off neighbors.

The school. The school's surroundings are generally rural, with a variation of affluent neighborhoods alternating with relatively poor households of mostly squatters. The school is bordered on one side by a large forest separated by a solar fence and on the other side by a prestigious, international, private, boarding, primary school. The forest is largely inhabited by elephants that sometimes find their way to the school especially when the solar powered fence was switched off during the day. The area is regularly

affected by elephants' invasion during the night. The path leading to school is narrow with the forest growth creeping up on it. There were several animals in the forest, but the most common ones that got close to the fence were elephants and monkeys.

Tumaini primary school took children from K-8, boys and girls. There were 262 students enrolled in the school. This site was relevant to this study because it is a rural public school and has a high degree of linguistic homogeneity in the area. All the students entered kindergarten with no English proficiency. However, students by fourth grade were emerging multilingual (Kimeru, Kiswahili, Kikuyu, Kiluhya) and acquiring English. Tumaini primary school followed the transitional bilingual program mandated by the government with modifications, MT lesson was not taught as required. Fourth grade is the transitioning year from mother-tongue instruction to English only instruction as per the language-in-education policy. These criteria were important for the study of communicative practices where the majority had shared sociolinguistic profiles, profiles that are shared by many rural schools in Kenya, and the purpose of this study. I do not suppose that this was a representative sample of rural schools in Kenya. However, I assumed that the communicative practices in the fourth grade classroom would give me an insight into the communicative practices in multilingual settings and the nature of these practices for literacy learning.

The children in Tumaini primary school can be termed as multilingual (speaking two to three languages) either because of intermarriages or speaking different but mutually intelligible dialects. The school harbored children from kindergarten to eighth grade, one class for each grade. The school hosts children from different communities representing at least five languages (Kimeru, Kikuyu, Kiluhya, Kiswahili, English) but

77

about 98% of students came from the local communities; therefore, they spoke mother tongue, which is Kimeru. Those from other communities spoke Kimeru too and their other home languages. Parents were supportive of their children's education and had little schooling, so, they were not confident about taking part in the school life of their children. They held a culturally based tradition related to teachers' and parents' roles, where teachers were seen as entirely responsible for education of the children at school. Parents only visited school when there was a need or were called by the teacher.

At the time of study, the school had twelve teachers. The school operated a transitional bilingual education, where Kimeru was supposed to be used for the first three years of schooling as the medium of instruction; and, students transitioned to English only by policy in the beginning of fourth grade. However, both teachers and students used the three languages (Kimeru, Kiswahili, and English) in different topics and settings in school.

The buildings in the school included a teachers' staffroom, the school kitchen, the head teacher's office, and a library, which had books that were donated by a well-wisher from the neighboring prestigious school. There was a large playground where students converged for games and during recess. During certain school days students were accompanied to a neighboring recreational center, where they were taught how to swim (donated by a neighbor, community cultural center). There were many trees on one side of the field. Children engaged in various games during recess, including ball games, stone games and building houses using the leaves, empty tins and bottle tops etc. to play.

Demographic information of the school.

Table 2

School Enrolment and other Demographic Information

Class	Both parents	Single parents	Orphans	Total
Special unit (Students with learning disabilities)	4	5	1	10
Kindergarten	15	17	0	32
Class 1	14	9	1	24
Class 2	16	11	2	29
Class 3	8	18	2	28
Class 4	11	12	5	28
Class 5	10	9	1	20
Class 6	20	7	0	27
Class 7	12	12	5	29
Class 8	11	20	4	35
Totals	121	120	21	262

Fourth grade classroom context. The case in this study was a fourth grade classroom that had a total of twenty-eight students; twelve girls and sixteen boys. The door to the classroom was makeshift, completely broken from the hinges, which required it to be physically lifted when closing or opening it. There were six windows, three on each side; some had broken glass. The class was medium-sized with about eight desks. About three to four students occupied each desk. Some desks were not in good condition since most of them were broken and had not been repaired; they were placed at the back of the classroom. In front of the class were a teacher's desk and a chair. There was also a blackboard/chalkboard on the front wall.

On the walls of the classroom hung a number of charts, which acted as teaching and learning aids. Teachers habitually distributed books to children at the beginning of the term. Students were supposed to return these books at the end of the term. These books were shared between two to three students and sometimes four students when a student had misplaced his/her copy. Although there were books in the library, sadly the students rarely borrowed the books although they were allowed to. The school also provided the children with exercise books, which were replaced whenever they got filed up.

The rationale for the choice of fourth grade classroom was to capture the nature of communicative practices during this transitional phase, where English begins to be used solely as the medium of instruction. I think this moment is worth documenting and analyzing to understand the opportunities for literacy learning among students. Tumaini primary school was one streamed with an extra class for children with special needs. Therefore, there was one-fourth grade classroom and I did not have to make decisions on choice of class or teachers to be studied. I studied two teachers and five focal students.

Participants

For this study, I focused on a fourth grade classroom. Five focal students were selected through purposive sampling (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Meriam, 1988; Ritchie et al. 2014). The participants were identified because of their potential to provide me with rich data to answer my questions, and deeper understanding about the communicative practices in fourth grade classroom. The purposive sampling was used to locate individuals with particular features or characteristics that would enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and questions, which I was exploring

(Bryman, 2012). A sample was chosen because it typified a circumstance and held a characteristic that had salience to the subject matter under study. Also, purposive sampling was done to ensure that the sample was diverse as possible within the boundaries of the defined population and to optimize the chances of identifying the full range of factors or features that were associated with the phenomenon under study (Ritchie et al., 2014). Based on my study aims and descriptions of purposive sampling above, I used a heterogeneous sample approach to include cases, which varied from each other in the classroom (Byrman, 2012; Crestwell, 2013). I used the following criteria: 1) Students who were performing differently in reading and writing (high achievers and low achievers); 2) parent and child had agreed to participate; 3) gender, and 4) classroom engagement (participation in class with the teacher and peers). My sample represented the different forms of diversity in the classroom. My goal was to identify central themes, which cut across the variety of cases.

The communicative practices across two different subjects (English and science) were observed to identify how the linguistic repertoires were displayed in the classroom. The two teachers for these two subjects were interviewed. The school principal and the parents of the focal students were also interviewed to understand their perceptions of the school communicative practices and gain their perspectives and experiences regarding multilingual literacies of their children.

Fourth grade students. The fourth grade children ranged in age from 9-12 years old. All of the children were learning English as a foreign language; they did not have access to English at home. There were a total of twenty-eight students in the class, sixteen male and twelve female students. All students spoke Kimeru at home, and few of

them spoke Kiluhya and/or Kikuyu at home. I focused on five focal students. The focus on specific students was relevant mainly during oral story telling, review of classwork, home visits, and interviews. When a teacher was interacting with the class as a whole, I had no control on who responded. Any whole class-recorded lesson, therefore, included a range of children. I, however, focused my observation notes on the focal students. I observed the classroom for two weeks before choosing the five focal students purposively as noted above. The focal students were chosen on the basis of opportunities they provided to learn more about how the linguistic repertoires were displayed in the classroom in official and unofficial settings and their unique characteristics that were noted during the two weeks of acquaintance. The class teacher, too, assisted me through a discussion of my observations about the students I had noted. I inquired more about my initial choices. The characteristics that guided my choice included in class participation in the different languages and literacy events (engagement in the classroom), their variation in understanding of English (one not engaged, and totally engaged), and the labeling that existed in the classroom. This variation allowed me to learn variation in communicative practices in the classroom.

The focal students. As noted above, I chose only five focal students for this study. Here, I provide the profiles of the focal students.

Almasi. Almasi is eleven year-old-girl who lives with her mother. She has two older siblings. She has a sister who is married and her brother who was in tenth grade during the research period. She did not have opportunities to read at home because of household chores. Her duties after school were mainly selling tomatoes at the nearest market. She told me that, after school, she goes home, changes her school uniform and

goes to sell tomatoes at the nearest market until 7pm or 8pm sometimes. She then goes home, eats, takes a shower and sleeps. She told me that she was not able to do her homework at home because of the business endeavors. She had to come to school early in the morning to do homework before the lessons began.

Mosi. Mosi is a twelve year-old boy, an orphan who lives with his grandmother in a rented space/ room/efficiency. Mosi lives with his cousin, a 5-year-old kindergartener. Mosi has repeated two grades; he was taken back from fourth grade to second grade because the teachers felt that he was not able to read in English. Mosi now is in fourth grade at twelve years. Mosi reported to me that in the evenings he feeds goats and rabbits. For books, he has access only to books that he is given at school; these are the ones he reads at home. Mosi is very active outside the classroom. He likes swimming and ball games.

Adila. Adila is a nine year-old girl, who lives with her mother. Her parents have separated but the father comes to see her often. She lives with her mother and her elder sister who is in 10th grade. They live in a rented two-room apartment. Adila likes responsibilities in class. She seems quite generous with her pencils and pens in class. She reports anything she perceives wrong in class such as noise and Kimeru speaking. She was very active in class. She attended school daily. Adila liked writing and she wrote lengthy compositions both in Kiswahili and English. She also tried speaking English but only in class. Outside the classroom, she communicated with peers in Kiswahili or Kimeru.

Mahiri. Mahiri is a ten year-old boy. He is the only child in his family. He lives in a three-bedroom house with his parents. He is advantaged compared others in this class

because he has a financially stable family. His father is educated and worked as an elementary school teacher. His mother has 12th grade certificate as well, but she did not proceed to college. Mahiri was very active in class and was ranked highly in the classroom. He was confident in class whenever answering or asking questions. He attended school daily and he scored highly in class. He was always ranked high in the class. He performed well in all subjects but not so much outdoor activities. He read English texts fluently with comprehension. His compositions were written creatively and were long or satisfactory.

Fumo. Fumo is eleven year-old boy. He has three siblings, two sisters and a brother. Fumo is quite active and jovial in class. He was ranked average but had issues with handwriting, which was not legible. Fumo and his family lived in their two-room semi permanent house. His parents are casual laborers. Fumo is attentive in class, so happy when he scores, shows others and rejoices by singing or drumming on the desk and looking at what others are doing. Below is a summary of the focal students:

Table 3

Demographic Information of the Focal Students

Name	Age	Gender	Language (s) spoken at home	Parents' occupation
Almasi	11	F	Kimeru, Kiswahili	Single parent, Casual laborer
Mosi	12	M	Kimeru, Kiswahili, Kikuyu	Orphan; lives with a grandmother; Casual laborer
Adila	9	F	Kimeru, Kiswahili, Kikuyu	Single parent Casual laborer
Mahiri	10	M	Kiswahili, Kimeru	Teacher and farmer
Fumo	11	M	Kimeru, Kiswahili	Casual laborers

The teachers. I worked with two teachers (Mrs. Tabasamu and Mr. Jabari) and the school principal, Mr. Kibwe. The science teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu had sixteen years of teaching experience; the English teacher had thirty years of experience teaching in a primary school. Both teachers were trained and conversant with the primary school curriculum. I approached them to take part in the study because of their teaching subjects. Both teachers were aware that I was interested in classroom discourse in language arts and content areas. We agreed that, while in class, I would take a direct observer role but I would respond to children when they initiated interaction with me. However, students did not initiate any interaction with me when the teacher was in class. The teachers helped collect data within the context of normal activities and set up situations for the processes that could provide interesting data, specifically in writing. For example, Mr. Jabari, the English teacher, gave more essay writing tasks to students to provide a range of writing tasks by the students.

Mr. Jabari. Mr. Jabari was fifty years old. He was the fourth grade English teacher. He had been teaching in primary schools for twenty-eight years as a trained teacher, and two years before training. He had been at the Tumaini primary school for four years.

Mrs. Tabasamu. Mrs. Tabasamu was forty-three years old. She was the science teacher and the fourth grade class teacher. She had sixteen years of experience in teaching in primary schools. She was trained as primary school teacher and had upgraded herself to a university degree holder. She had taught at Tumaini primary school for eight years at the time of research.

Mr. Kibwe. Mr. Kibwe was the principal of Tumaini primary school. He was forty-eight years old. He had served as a primary school principal for ten years. However, he had served for only one year as the principal of Tumaini primary school.

The parents. The parents or guardians of the five focal students were recruited for this study. Either of the parents (mother, father or guardian) available for the study was recruited. Through interaction and the interview with the guardian, I gained insight into their opinions towards English only policy from fourth grade and the nature of communicative practices that took place at homes.

Data Sources

Different data collection techniques were used to address the research questions. The research questions were to document the communicative practices in fourth grade classroom and embedded and articulated ideologies. The main sources of data for this study were the classroom observational notes, audio tapes, interviews, students' writing samples and writing assessments, shadowing, home visits and curricular documents. I collected these data alone from May 19 to November 15, 2014. There were five science lessons per week, seven math lessons per week, and seven English lessons per week. I recorded and documented thirty-five lessons of science, forty-nine lessons of math and forty English lessons. Each lesson was thirty minutes. For the purposes of this study, I focused on English and science lessons only. In the following subsections, I discuss data collected and how they were collected.

Table 4

Data Collection at Tumaini Primary School, May To November, 2014

Site/informant	Dates	Data sources	Focus of data collection
Tumaini primary school Fourth grade classroom	May 19 –June 13, 2014	Field entry, observations First Semi structured interview with the principal Classroom observations	Seeking permission, creating rapport with the school and the community Language policy Language ideologies Language use patterns
Curricular documents	June 16-July, 31	Documents review	Review of policy documents, national syllabus
	August	Holidays	
Tumaini primary school, fourth grade classroom	September, 2	Classroom observations; note making, note making, Shadowing Collection of artifacts Semi structured interviews	Language policy Language and literacy practices The nature of language used
Tumaini primary school	October	Shadowing, classroom observations Writing artifacts Story telling Semi structures interviews	Language choice in content area teaching The meaning of silence Embedded ideologies Proficiency across languages
Tumaini primary school	November 1-14	Classroom observation Semi structured interviews Writing artifacts Home visits Story telling Member checking, discussion of the field notes draft and audio reflection	Ideologies The nature of language used by students Articulated language ideologies Participation structures Triangulation
	December	Holidays	

Data collected at the school. I initially planned to spend three days per week in the school. After visiting the school, I realized there were several activities such as exams

and cultural festivals that interrupted my plan. Therefore, I adopted a more intense schedule of observing every day. Thus, I visited fourth grade classroom five days a week; Monday through Friday, from 8am to 4pm in evening from May 19, 2014 to November 14, 2014. In the evenings, I shadowed my focal students by walking with them as they returned home; each day I shadowed one student and recorded my observations soon after.

Field notes from classroom observations. I visited the fourth grade classroom five days a week, Monday through Friday from 8:00AM to 4:00pm. I stayed in class when the targeted subjects were being taught and when there was no teacher in class. The rest of the time was spent in the staffroom typing notes that were observed. Classroom observations focused on the focal students to understand how they used different languages in the classroom, when, and for what purposes, and, their interactional patterns during these lessons. However, because I had no control over whom the teacher chose to respond to their questions, I took notes on the teacher's language use in the classroom as I focused on the whole class conversations in classroom. I depended more on focal students' writing and oral story telling to discuss their communicative practices fully.

The observations focused on English language arts, science and math lessons. For the purposes of this study, science and English lessons were used. The rationale for focusing on these two subjects was the fact that, in teaching science, students needed to understand both the language and the concept. This would inform my analysis of students' competence in English instruction. Following the naturalistic mode of inquiry, I entered the field open to all communicative practices (verbal, non-verbal) and indexical information that I would find to be relevant to answering my research questions. My

observation took account of aspects such as resources available, participant structures and the language used, the nature of English used, the teacher and student pedagogical practices. My main goal was to gain insight into the communicative practices in this multilingual space.

The classroom interactions and instruction were audiotaped and transcribed by the researcher alone. During classroom observations, I sat next to a different focal student each day with a goal to capture all conversations that took place in class between student peers and the teacher. I had five audio recorders, positioned where each of my focal students sat in the classroom. Classroom observations took place over a period of four months, but recording took place for twelve weeks. During the observations, I took the role of a direct observer to avoid disruptions. However, there were moments where students asked me questions and I responded.

I used five digital audio recorders initially. Each recorder was placed at the focal student's desk. My goal was to capture small voices while students are interacting among themselves. The recorders were really small and they were inside the desks, so they were not obstructive. I played back the English recordings to the English teacher and reflected on the observed practices.

During the observations, I engaged in note taking and note making (Frank, 1999) taking into account the contextual information, the non-verbal behavior, description of the physical scenes, identification of the participants, and so forth. I annotated what I considered interesting verbal accounts and my reflections. The detailed notes that I took were helpful later during the transcription stage.

Each day, I revisited my handwritten field notes and expanded my notes, filled any gaps and labeled the recorded data. I also identified interesting selections that I could use to support emerging themes, and also think about subsequent observations and interviews.

Shadowing: Observations outside classroom took place during breaks; 10:25AM-11:05AM porridge break; 12:15-2:00pm lunch break, I accompanied students walking home. I did shadowing in the evenings and walked with my focal students' home with their friends to widen the context of the study. As students became used to my company, they freely spoke in their mother tongue to each other, and to me, at times mixing with some Swahili terms. I stopped shadowing students after six weeks as it became evident that their communicative practices outside school were in Kimeru mainly with a few Swahili words. I also attended the nearby Methodist church where most of the community members and students attended. All church procedures were carried out in Kimeru and some Swahili and English words. The hymns and songs were mainly in Kimeru and some in Kiswahili. I stopped shadowing after six weeks when it was evident that students used their home languages outside school with peers.

Additionally, as I became closer socially with the fourth graders, I organized story-telling sessions during the lunch hour. Since most students carried lunch to school, we had close to one hour of story telling during lunch break. My goal was to learn more about their communicative practices in school language and how they appropriated other repertoires to communicate. As per the school policy, I asked students to narrate their stories in English, I especially encouraged my focal students to narrate in English; although some declined and wanted to narrate in Kimeru and Kiswahili. We both agreed

to have stories either in Kiswahili or English. This might have affected the number of students who would have wanted to narrate stories in MT. As I interacted with students more, my focal students considered storytelling as a risk free activity, hence, they could tell stories mixing their languages to communicate. Some fifth graders and third graders who had friends in fourth grade joined us during this activity. Storytelling was done for six weeks, once per week. The narrated stories were audio recorded. This activity widened the context for understanding fourth grade communicative practices.

Interviews. In addition to informal questioning to the participants that followed my observations in the classroom and outside the classroom, I conducted one on one open ended interviews with the participants (the English teacher, principal, parents and the five focal students). The goal was to gain insight into their subjective understandings, experiences in the classroom, and perspectives of the multilingual literacies. Also, I wanted to gain insight into their views of the communicative practices in the fourth grade classroom, their views towards the national language policy, and literacy in L1. Most of the informal questions that I asked were to corroborate my observations and the meaning of the behaviors observed. The informal encounters were not recorded.

The one on one interviews were open-ended questions, with each participant, adding other prompts based on the actual themes from the encounters. I conducted two sets of interviews with the teachers and the focal students. The initial interviews were conducted during the first month of study, and, had questions related to the language policy and experiences and views. The second set was conducted during the third month after gathering substantial data and having established the relations of trust and rapport with my focal participants. The second interviews asked more about the observed literacy

practices. Prior to each interview, I explained the nature and purpose of my research study for the second time, and reassured my participants of anonymity through use of pseudonyms throughout the research process and report of findings.

My role during the interview was mainly to ask questions and follow-up questions asking for clarification, elaborations and pursuing emerging themes from the interviewees' responses. I let the interviewee take an expert role while I assumed the role of a listener who was interested in learning from them. However, at some point, this was not very successful. During my interview with the teachers, I might have expressed fears, emotions, or expressed my feelings overtly. For example, when Mr. Kibwe noted that English-only policy reduced noise in school, I might have made an ambiguous involuntary facial expression because of my observation of silence in the English-only classrooms. However, this approach worked really well with the student and parent participants. The topics that were addressed during the interviews included the use of L1, their views about the national language policy, the translanguaging as observed in the classroom, and other practices that were observed.

Interviews with the focal students. I conducted two semi structured interviews with the five focal students individually (see appendix A), one after one month of the study and another towards the end of the research period. Each interview lasted approximately forty-five minutes. I used mainly Kiswahili, a language with which the student was comfortable in order to acquire as much data as possible.

In the first interview, I was interested in knowing my focal students deeper than just observations, and it focused on communicative practices in the classroom, at playground, and reading and writing preferences. The second interview focused on

experiences in the classroom and outside classroom such as silence in the classroom, punishment on language use and unofficial practices. We also discussed the unofficial literacies experienced during class and out of class. Learning how students choose languages and used them helped me to understand the complexities of language in a multilingual setting.

In these interviews, my general focus was on student language choices at school, home, with friends, etc. and incidents when they drew upon home languages at school and the possible reasons. Interviews with the students also helped me understand how the available linguistic repertoires were displayed in their daily lives and their impacts on literacy practices (reading, writing and speaking). Their perceptions of learning content areas of science and math in English were sought too. These interviews took place at school, in the school library.

Interview with teachers. The fourth grade teachers of English and science were interviewed for this study. Observing and interviewing these teachers allowed for understanding about how they negotiated the language policies to provide children with comprehensible input and language learning.

English teacher. I conducted two semi-structured interviews with the English teacher. The first interview was completed at the first month of the study to establish the context of the participants' experiences and their perceptions of available linguistic repertoires and the language policy. The second interview was developed from the researcher's experiences and observations in the classroom. This was an opportunity to give the English teacher time to reflect upon the meanings of his experiences, seeking clarifications of issues that I deemed important, expectations and future possibilities. The

second interview was a prompt for understanding how the English teacher integrated funds of knowledge and multilingual literacies into the literacy learning, how he negotiated the tensions between school language policy and actual proficiency of the students and reflections of goals achieved and future aspirations. Each interview took approximately ninety minutes. The interviews took place in the school library at the discretion of the teacher. This was a convenient place for the interviewees, and interviewer. Both interviews were conducted in English; however, at times, we code-switched among English, Kimeru and Kiswahili. I followed up in a language that the teacher used each moment switching occurred. Additionally, I had informal conversations with the English teacher throughout the study about different aspects of my observation including unofficial practices that I observed in classroom, at home and in the field. I also sought clarifications of my observations and I documented these and incorporated them into my field notes.

Science teacher. I conducted two semi-structured interviews with the science teacher. These were shorter and each interview took approximately thirty minutes. The first interview focused on the language policy and the second one focused on translanguaging that was observed during the science lessons.

Interviews with the principal. I conducted two open-ended interviews with the school principal to get demographic data of the school, school language policies and ideologies that existed. The first interview was conducted to find out his perceptions and beliefs about multilingual literacies in the school, the school language policy, the actual practices, the perceptions towards the policy.

The second interview was developed from my observations in and outside the classroom, to gain insight into aspects of language use by students, silence observed in classroom and views about translanguaging experienced in some lessons. This interview enabled me to understand his views concerning the language use by students and the challenges faced. I also aimed to understand the ideological stances that informed school unwritten language policy and practice. The interviews were carried out at the school offices at the discretion of the principal, Mr. Kibwe.

Data collection at home. The broader sociocultural setting of the participants was crucial to understanding the literacy practices of participants (Balton & Hamilton, 2000; Street, 1995). I visited the homes of the focal students with the aim of having informal conversations about the communicative practices of their children, and to understand the communicative repertoires as displayed outside school context. Home visits also aided forming the working relationships with parents and building rapport.

Interview with the parents. I interviewed the parents/guardians of the five focal students. One semi structured interview with each parent or guardian of the focal students. The interviews were conducted at the homes. I used Kimeru to conduct these interviews because out of the five parents, only one parent had completed eighth grade education, and my belief that it was easier to get trust and more data in a language both the parent and researcher are most fluent in. Each interview lasted approximately forty-five minutes. The goal of these interviews was to understand parents' preferences for language use at school and home, their children's engagement with literacy at home, church and community more generally, and, in which languages, and their views on the current language policy at school.

Students' writing samples and curricular documents. I gathered students' writing samples and some curricular documents and official documents. I also scrutinized the focal students' notebooks and took copies of students' writing. Official documents that were reviewed included school attendance, and teacher/school characteristics to provide a background and macro-context for this study. I collected writing samples from focal students, specifically English and Kiswahili essays. The aim was to analyze the samples so that I might gain a better understanding of their English language proficiency levels. I acquired some curricular documents such as textbooks, workbooks and syllabus to broaden the information on the setting.

  Writing Assessment. I was interested in students' communicative repertoires, and, writing in different languages provided me with a source for language production. I adopted a bilingual perspective to understand their strengths and weaknesses in each of the languages. The writing artifacts collected were part of the curriculum assessments set by the school and county examination boards. In order to assess the students' writing, I adapted a writing rubric that was designed by McCarthey et al. (2005). This writing rubric was adapted from the New Standards Literacy Committee, 1999 and developed for Chinese and English elementary writers. I adopted this rubric because it was specifically designed for English language learners of about the same age and grade as my focal students. Another reason is that it has categories that clearly describe students' competence levels, and thus help us to learn about the nature of writing. I added an aspect of translanguaging to the rubric to capture all aspects on the nature of writing across languages in a multilingual classroom. See appendix F for the grading categories.

The transcription process. I transcribed the audio recordings of lessons and interviews using standard orthographies of the languages used by the participants. The transcription was done between January 2015 to May 2015. After initial transcription, I selected sections that could be used as evidentiary data from the transcripts. I listened to the selected parts of the audio again. Then, I provided translations for the utterances in the selections for Kimeru and Kiswahili utterances. This happened after deciding the utterances that would be used for analysis. I am a native speaker of Kimeru; I learned Kimeru at home and at school during my elementary education in Kenya. I also learned Kiswahili at home and school, thus I grew up as a bilingual. I am also trained as African languages teacher and an African linguist with a thorough understanding of Kimeru and Kiswahili phonology, morphosyntax and semantics of the languages, through theory and research. I acquired English at school, and English was used as the language of instruction from fourth grade to college during my schooling apart from in African language classes. Therefore, as a researcher, I also acted as the translator. I believe that I had the required knowledge to do the translations across the three languages. The transcripts presented in this study are as a result of cross-referencing of audio recordings and my field notes. The field notes that were taken from my observations were used to contextualize the utterances recorded to make sense of what was going on in particular instances of talk.

Transcribing the audio myself was laborious and took a lot of time because transcription calls for careful and repeated listening to recordings. This reiterative process allowed me to have comprehensive grasp of my data and also identify initial thematic units of analysis, connect behaviors and stances taken from different participants' views.

Transcription conventions.

T	teacher
S	student
S1	student one
S2	student two
SS:	students
S-all	all students
*	incorrect phrase or word, either conventional or semantic errors
[]	researcher's observations and descriptions
()	translations
Italics	words, phrases or sentences in languages other than English
…	pause

Data Analysis Procedures

I used a thematic approach to data analysis. "Thematic analysis involves discovering, interpreting and reporting patterns and clusters of meaning within the data" (Ritchie et al. 2014, p. 271). Working systematically through the texts, the research identifies topics that are progressively integrated into higher order key themes, the importance which lies in the ability to address the overall research question (Braun & (Clarke, 2006).

During the process of data analysis, I followed the five stages recommended in data management for thematic analysis (Huberman & Miles, 2002; Spencer, et al., 2014). These five stages for data management are: familiarization, initial thematic framework,

indexing and sorting, reviewing data extracts for coherence, and data summary and display.

Familiarization. The data collected included the verbatim transcripts, observational notes, written documents, and pictures. I immersed myself in data, gaining an overview of the substantive content and identifying topic and subjects of interest, to ensure that whatever labels I developed were grounded in and were supported by the data. I read through the interview transcripts and the observational notes with the goals of getting thoroughly familiar with the data. I read through the entire data set during this period. I also chose interview transcripts, selection of data to be reviewed, I revisited research objectives and research questions. My goal was to identify the topics or issues of interest that were recurrent across the data sets and relevant to my research questions. I highlighted interesting topics in the text in a preliminary coding list as they emerged. During this process, I determined the themes/concepts that I used to label, sort and compare the data. I came up with several items that appeared of interest. I checked this inventory against my research questions for relevance. I also engaged in transcribing and translating data, data cleaning (detection and correction of errors in the data set), and labeling.

Constructing an initial thematic framework. Having developed a list of possible topics for inclusion, I refined and sorted them into a set of themes and subthemes that comprised of the initial thematic framework. I read through the data, and identified either an explanatory framework guided by my research questions or exploratory framework guided by data (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). Through a close reading of field notes and other gathered data, I developed analytic codes to group pieces of data into

99

categories of relevant information; noting recurrent terms. The framework was a mixture of emergent themes, ones derived from the research questions or aims and those contained in the topic guide for exploration in the interviews. The themes/subthemes were identified both inductively (those themes derived from literature and theoretical ideas) and deductively (new ideas from the data). I developed a hierarchical arrangement of themes and subthemes. I developed five themes and subthemes as shown below, from the data that I reviewed. I reviewed them to take into account the aims of the study. The thematic framework for the communicative practices displayed in the rural fourth grade classroom are shown in the table below:

Table 5

Initial Thematic Framework: Communicative Practices in Fourth Grade Classroom

Typical language arts lesson
Oral lesson
Reading
Writing
Unofficial literacies
The nature of language used
Writing across languages
Fluency vs. comprehension
Translingual writing practices

Table 5 (continued)

Translanguaging as a pedagogy

Translation

Bridging discourses

Multivoicedness

Embedded/articulated ideologies

Language as a problem

Time on task

Washback

Silence/epistemological exclusion

Authority relations

Monolingual/standard ideologies

Language restrictions and punishment

Tensions and transgressions

As noted above, at the end of the familiarization stage I generated the list of topics that were present in the data and reviewed them to take account of the aims of the study. I then sorted the list into hierarchy of themes and subthemes to construct a framework to use across the data. I wrote description notes on the data with analytic concepts from existing literature and the social cultural and cognitive theories to use later in the analysis.

Indexing and sorting. I engaged in the process of labeling the data according to the thematic framework. I showed from the data which themes or subthemes were referred to in the data selection. I read the transcriptions and labeled them, noting the

thematic references in the margins of the transcript. I applied labels to chunks of data that I judged to be about the same thing, so that similarly labeled data extracts can be further analyzed. After indexing, I reassembled materials with similar contents and properties together, points where single theme was discussed at different points during the data collection. This allowed me to focus on each topic, clustering physical material for an intense review of content to use in the subsequent stages of analysis. I brought the data together that had been indexed in the same way, creating thematic sets, also called topic coding. As Stake, (1995) notes, "the researcher concentrates on the instance, trying to pull it apart and put it back together again more meaningfully" (p. 75). Stake expounds that case study researchers' search for meaning is often a search for patterns and consistency while reviewing documents, observations, or interviewing. The researchers code the records, aggregate frequencies, and find patterns. After sorting, I reviewed data extracts; I read the piles of data that had been labeled and assessing for coherence to see if they were of the same thing and to assess if important themes were missing from the framework.

Data summary and display. I inspected the original materials assessing meaning and relevance to my research study, reviewing main themes and subthemes. I wrote a summary for each subtheme and each case in the study. Afterwards, I developed a framework matrix with each theme allocated a column. The first column for the case/demographic information of the cases, different cases different rows. I worked systematically through each theme across the whole data set. This provided me with deep immersion in the topic, hence an understanding of each theme, its contents and variation. I analyzed data within case and cross case analysis (Merriam, 2009; Mile & Huberman,

2014). For example, after developing the categories of relevant patterns in individual writing, I checked these patterns across all the writing. Within case analysis helped me to describe, understand and explain a single bounded case/ about individual student. A cross case analysis helped me to enhance the generalizability or transferability across the cases in this bounded study. It helped me to develop more sophisticated descriptions of the entire case and give explanations for variation or differences across the cases in the study.

Abstraction and interpretation. I read through the managed data putting the pieces together, reading across different cases and themes. I developed an analytic strategy identifying the key questions that needed to be asked of the data to meet my research objectives. I broke down the existing questions to help direct the interpretations. I identified the linkage between the themes, deciding which part of the data needed to be worked on first. I made links to the existing literature, and knowledge and theories that undergirded this study. From this final process, I had the main findings from the data to report.

For the analysis of writing and TL in writing, I use textual analysis because "a major source of data for writing research is writing itself; the use of texts as objects of study" (Hyland, 2010, p. 198). In this study, the analysis of TL in the written texts is aimed at investigating students' communicative repertoires displayed in writing practices. This is in line with Paltridge & Wang's (2010, p. 257) opinions about the aims of textual analysis, as follows:

a) "knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication."

b) "the relationship between language and the social and the cultural contexts in which it is used."

In this analysis I discuss overall levels of language use and focus on translingual writing practices in the classroom, showcasing the work of one student's writing across different languages and different prompts. The student is chosen as a representative sample of the TL writing practices in this classroom as she used multiple semiotic tools to communicate. The criterion for choosing this student was the consistency of TL across all the composing writing practices.

Building Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness of the data gathered was determined through a variety of ways. First, during the data collection, I triangulated data and verified field notes with the participants. Data triangulation involved revisiting the data and looking for confirmation evidence across the cases (Stake, 1995; Straus & Corbin, 1990). I shared field notes and checked on interview responses during administration to ensure a true representation of participants' ideas. I also used audio recording to complement and supplement the observational field notes. The interviews and most of classroom experiences were transcribed verbatim to ensure true representation.

Second, I provided a body of uncontestable description, (Stake, 2010), what Geertz (1973) called thick description of the setting and context of the study. I also did member checking with the teachers to review the material for accuracy. Member checking was completed through presenting a draft copy of observation notes to the English and science teachers, and asking for correction or comment. I played back the audio-recorded interview with the English teacher and sought for clarifications and

reflections. We also listened to some English lessons and discussed them with the English teacher. I triangulated my evidence for the assertions made in this study, asking again if this is what one said or meant to gain confidence that I had the meaning correct, or examine differences to see important multiple meanings. The member checking helped me to confirm my observations and interview responses, and, to some extent, to unpack meanings. I triangulated all description that was relevant but debatable, the data that were relevant for the main assertions. Third, triangulation was done through mixed methods (Stake, 2010), whereby I used multiple methods of collecting data interactively, using observation, interviews, and document review simultaneously and consciously to study the same case, simultaneously; that way, I had multiple sources of evidence.

Trustworthiness was also built through progressive focusing (Stake, 1995, 2010). The process of data collection involved gradually seeking for clarification from the participants, growing knowledge of my research questions and methods, thorough understanding of the sources of data; both of which aided my interpretation of the findings.

Researcher's Role

I acknowledge that I am not objective in this study. In the words of Ivanic, (1998), I realize that "I am not a neutral, objective scribe conveying the objective results of my research impersonally in my writing. I am bringing to it a variety of commitments based on my own interests, values, beliefs which are built up from my own history…" (p.1). I bring my lived experiences and these may have shaped my research questions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I am a Kenyan woman and a Kimeru native speaker. I grew up in a rural community that was predominantly Kimeru speaking. The language of schooling K-3

was Kimeru; and, English and Kiswahili were taught as subjects. I attended school comprised of an almost exclusively Kimeru speaking population. At home, I had access to the national language (Kiswahili) through national news and songs heard through the radio, Sunday school and community open air markets. I, however, learned English at school as a foreign language/third language. It was introduced as a subject from kindergarten and then used as a language of instruction from fourth grade. Thus, I learned to read and write in three languages during my elementary education. My school was poorly resourced and mostly there was underachievement. During early elementary and middle school, I attended a public school and spoke three languages, at school, at home and with friends.

In secondary school, I spoke English only in school with both friends and teachers. It was a policy to follow the English-only stricture except during Kiswahili lessons. However, Kiswahili was considered as a language for socializing and English for writing. Upon joining the college, language use was a choice of the individuals, and, therefore, we mixed languages, especially in the social spaces as deemed fit.

After graduating from university with a bachelor's degree in education (Mathematics and Kiswahili), I continued for a master's degree in African linguistics (Kiswahili), where all learning was in Kiswahili. During this time I taught in a teachers' college on part time basis. Upon completion of master's degree requirements, I moved to a different city and taught at a private teachers training college for two years prior to joining a university in the US as a graduate student. During my tenure, duties included teaching Kiswahili language and literature, reading and writing methods, and conducting field observations of the teacher trainees as they taught in different primary schools. One

of the challenges the student teachers (pre-service teachers) experienced was making literacy accessible to students in English-only, and at the same time, they had to keep the language policy. This experience may have motivated my study.

Tumaini primary school is typical of the primary school that I attended, and English is a foreign language to many as it was to me. Thus, I was an insider as I am a Kenyan from Amani and I share a cultural identity with a majority of the participants and a common mother tongue with most of them. I was a member of the community and this may have been advantageous in accessing information from the research participants; I also attended a rural primary school for K-8 schooling. I was a direct observer in the classroom.

Over the years, several things have changed. The students in Tumaini had more access to other languages such as Kikuyu and Kiluhya, and more resources than I had. My conceptions as a teacher trainer, and academic and theoretical knowledge have informed my views of pedagogy differently after several years of study in the USA; thus, my views may differ from those of the teachers. As Smith (1998) noted, insiders need to be reflexive and should build research based support systems. Although I built collegial and professional relationships with the research participants, my experiences and training complicated my insider status. Thus, I was also an outsider. Additionally, I did not know the schoolteachers, students and parents of the school that I studied prior to this study. I did not influence the curriculum in the classroom in any way; and, specifically in this particular site. I did not know the classroom daily routines and the communicative practices.

Below is a summary of research questions, data sources and methods of analysis for this study:

Table 6

Research Questions	Sub-questions	Data sources	Methods of analysis
1. How are the children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in the classroom in the interaction between teacher and students and students themselves in varied communicative practices involving reading, writing, and speaking?	How are children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in official classroom interaction with the teacher?	-Interviews with participating teachers and students -field notes from the classroom observations -documents	-analysis of interviews with the teachers and students -analysis of field notes from classroom observations -review of school demographic documents
	How are children's linguistic repertoires displayed and used in unofficial interaction with peers?	-interview with the teachers -field notes from observation -transcriptions from classroom discourse -teacher materials (documents, resources, etc.) -official curricular	-review of official curriculum and other related documents to analyze the practices -analysis of interviews with the teacher -analysis of verbal and non-verbal cues from the observation notes -analysis of classroom instructions
	How are the linguistic repertoires used in the official classroom interactions and unofficial classroom interactions among peers?	-field notes from the classroom observations -students writing samples -Transcriptions of the classroom discourse	-analysis of interviews -analysis of classroom observations -textual analysis of students written samples -analysis of field notes from classroom observations during official and unofficial tasks

Table 6 (continued)

2. How does children's participation in official and unofficial communicative practices reflect their acquisition of English (i.e., what is the nature of the English used by children in the course of communicative practices)?	What is the nature of English language used?	-field notes -audio recordings -interviews with teachers and students -writing samples	-analysis of students written products -analysis of classroom observation notes -analysis of interviews -textual analysis of students written work
	What are the contexts in which students and the teacher choose to draw upon their linguistic repertoires for academic purposes?	-field notes -interviews with students and teachers -transcriptions of classroom discourse	-analysis of classroom observations and interview on reflections from teachers and students -analysis of classroom discourses
	What do these instances reveal about the mediation of home language use for academic purposes?	-interview with students -interview with the teachers -field notes from classroom observations -documents	-analysis of interviews -analysis of observation notes -analysis of textual documents from students -analysis of classroom discourses
• What linguistic ideologies characterize the classroom language use?	How do language ideologies permeate classroom discourse and instruction?	-field notes from classroom communicative practices -documents -interview with the teachers -interview with the focal students	-review of official curriculum and other related documents -analysis of field notes -analysis of classroom discourse -analysis of interviews to teachers and students
	What are the education stakeholders' (parents, teachers, children) perspectives on the language of instruction in the school?	-interview with principal, teachers, students and parents -school policy documents	-Analysis of interviews with the principal, teachers, students and parents -Analysis of school language policies documents

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the qualitative case study methods that were used and the rationale for the research study decisions that were made. In the following chapter, I discuss the nature of communicative practices in the fourth grade classroom.

Chapter Four

Communicative Practices in Fourth Grade Classroom

In this chapter, I present and discuss the nature of communicative practices during oral, reading and writing lessons. The aim of this chapter is to describe the nature of communicative practices and deployment of linguistic repertoires by the students and teacher during the process of meaning making in a multilingual fourth grade classroom. I begin by presenting typical literacy practices in an English language arts classroom in rural Kenya. The second section is a presentation of the focal students' and school principal's views on the nature of language used during these literacy practices. Finally, I present unofficial literacy practices observed during English language arts lessons and outside the classroom. The recurring question in this chapter is: In what ways are children in a rural fourth grade classroom prepared to study in an English-only instruction at the beginning of fourth grade? A discussion of the nature of the discursive practices in language arts classroom leads to the conclusion that students have not yet acquired the English language skills needed to engage cognitively in the classroom.

Literacy Practices during English Language Arts Lessons

Mr. Jabari taught English language art lessons in a fourth grade classroom of twenty-eight students. As noted in chapter three, Mr. Jabari was an experienced teacher, who had been teaching for over thirty years. The teaching of English language arts consisted of three distinct sections (oral, reading and writing) that were built on each other. Each thematic lesson began with oral skills that consisted of the key vocabulary items in the topic, followed by reading comprehension, and then writing activities. Here, I will discuss how each of these lessons was presented in the fourth grade classroom and

the activities that the teacher and the students were engaged in. I begin with the oral lesson.

Oral skills. Each thematic lesson began with an oral lesson. The teacher's guide from the Ministry of Education outlined the procedures of teaching speaking skills. The teacher introduced vocabulary items to the students, and then read these vocabulary items aloud, and asked the students to repeat. The focus of this lesson as reported by the teacher, Mr. Jabari, was pronunciation, fluency, and sentence construction. The teacher then wrote these sentences on the blackboard. The meaning of the vocabulary items were explained through formulaic phrases that ended with "is called" for all items. The teacher emphasized pronunciation of vocabulary items and their spelling. Later, the teacher guided students to read sentences, one after another, repeating each student's reading, and asking all students to repeat. These were repeated at least twice. The initiation, response, feedback (IRF) participant structure and repetition was followed and continued for the whole oral skills lesson. The feedback was usually a one-word response by the students, or a repetition of a phrase that had been read. Samples of typical lessons on oral skills are discussed below:

The following excerpt that was taken from a fourth grade English lesson shows oral skills instruction in English classroom. The topic for the lesson was on people in the community. "T" indicates the teacher Mr. Jabari "S" indicates student.

Excerpt 1: English/ Oral skills: People in the community.

1. T: Let's turn to page 145. Question one, can someone read?
2. S1: A person who moves from one place to another is called a nomad.
3. T: Everybody?
4. S-all: A person who moves from one place to another is called a nomad.
5. T: Number two?
6. S2: A group of people living in an area is called a community

112

7. T: Everybody, let's go!
8. S-all: [students repeat the sentence together loudly] A group of people living in an area is called a community
9. T: Everybody let's go! Number three, a place?
10. S-all: A place where sick people go to be treated is called a dispensary.
11. T: Again!
12. S-all: [students repeat the sentence aloud]. A place where sick people go to be treated is called a dispensary.
13. T: So a place where sick people go is called a?
14. S-all: Dispensary.
15. T: A person who moves from one place to another is called a?
16. S-all: Nomad.
17. T: And a group of people living in an area is called?
18. S-all: Community.
19. T: Very good! Let's go to the next question; a place where a nomad lives is called?
20. Kitwana: Manyatta! [not following class protocol]
21. T: Who is that?
22. S: Kitwana, this boy!
23. T: Sit down! Ok. A place where a nomad lives, whom did we say a nomad is? Who is a nomad? Who did we say a nomad is?
24. S-all: Silence
25. Mahiri: A person who moves from one place to another [reading from the text].
26. T: So we know the person, now a place where this nomad lives is called a what? Is called a what? Now we want to know where this person lives is called a what?
27. S1: Manyatta.
28. T: Is called a?
29. S-all: Manyatta.
30. T: Can you repeat the sentence everybody?
31. S-all: [all students repeat] A place where a nomad lives is called a manyatta.
32. T: A place where a nomad lives is called a what?
33. S-all: Manyatta [a name for the Maasai people traditional houses]
34. T: It's called a manyatta. The next question, Kito!
35. Kito: A person who grows potatoes, maize, vegetables and other crops is called a farmer
36. T: [correcting students pronunciation] …and other crops is called a?
37. S1: Farmer.
38. T: Is called a?
39. S-all: Farmer [students repeat twice after teacher's prompt, again!]
40. T: Repeat the sentence everybody!
41. S-all: A person who grows potatoes, cabbages and other crops is called a farmer.
42. T: [Repeats the sentence] A person who grows potatoes, cabbages, vegetables, is called a what?
43. S: Farmer.
44. T: The last question.
45. S: A person who lives next to you neighbor.

46. T: [Correcting] A person who lives next to you is called a neighbor.
47. S: A person who lives next to you is called a neighbor.
48. T: Very good! A person who lives next to you is called?
49. S-all: Neighbor.
50. T: Can you repeat the sentence everybody!
51. S-all: A person who lives next to you is called a neighbor.
52. T: A person who lives next to you is called a?
53. S: Neighbor.
54. T: Today we have learned the terms dispensary, nomads, manyatta, farmer, doctor, and neighbor. [Students' noise level is high.]
55. T: Can you keep quiet! Who did we say a nomad is?
56. S-all: Silence.
57. T: If you want to answer a question raise up your hand, *sawa sawa?* (ok?) [The teacher reviews the lesson explaining the above terms, and calls for students' response by using, isn't it?]
58. T: Today we have learned about people in the community. We have learned about a nomad and said, it is a person who moves from one place to another…isn't it?
59. S-few: Yes. [The teacher reviews all the terms that were learned by prompting students' response with "isn't it?"].

The teacher-student interaction in this oral lesson appeared ritualized. The teacher requested one student to read a sentence as seen in lines 2,6,10, 15, and 35; the teacher prompted the students to repeat reading the sentence, repeated the sentence after the student as shown in lines, then asked the whole class to repeat it again and again. The whole class repeated after the teacher, some students were just murmuring while engaged in other unofficial activities.

The main objective for this lesson was oral skills and the teacher emphasized word recognition through repetition. The vocabulary items were taught through recitation of sentences containing the focal vocabulary word. Teaching vocabulary items has been considered critical for English language learners. Vocabulary development is critical for English language learners because there is strong relationship between vocabulary knowledge in English and academic knowledge (Echevarria, Vogt & Short, 2008). Herrera, Perez, and Escamilla (2010) point out that direct vocabulary development helps

students learn difficult words such as words that represent complex concepts that are not part of the students' everyday experiences. In this lesson, the vocabulary items taught were part of students' everyday experiences, but it can be argued that the language in which they were taught was not accessible to students, as both students and the teacher recited formulaic phrases to define vocabulary items such as farmer, dispensary, neighbor, and others.

There was a lot of teacher talk in this oral lesson. Students mainly kept silent, at times speaking to themselves, flipping pages; and, a few students responded chorally. Oral lessons appeared to be one-sided instruction with a lot of teacher talk and learners were directed to repeat phrases. In the conclusion section of the lesson we see the teacher repeat the sentence, leave off the word, and then pause for the students to say it. Some students responded with the right word, others mumbled the wrong word, and others did not participate.

While some scholars have suggested that oral language experiences aid literacy acquisition (August & Shahanan, 2006), some of the students in this class were passively repeating sentences. Additionally, it was my view that the teacher was not able to assess individual learner's progress in the lesson because most responses were done chorally. It did not involve students with intermediate or high cognitive levels because it was teacher centered. The distractions in terms of noise were many and students turned to forms of unofficial literacies such as those discussed at the end of this chapter.

There were no students' responses other than repeating or reading from the text. The teacher's feedback included repeating the phrases and reinforcing or correcting pronunciation; and, students did not have an opportunity and language proficiency to ask

questions. Their responses were limited to repeating, which I consider as an outcome of limited English language proficiency by the student and monolingual teaching ideology that pervades English language arts pedagogy in the multilingual setting. In the excerpt 1, students repeated factual knowledge. The teacher seems to take the role of transmitting knowledge to students through recitation. The literacy practices in this lesson are consistent with what Freire (2000) called a banking model that does not liberate. According to Freire, the rote pedagogy leads to inauthenticity of individuals and a high level of mimicry. Similarly, Vygotsky (2012) noted that memorization does not lead to concept formation.

A review of the students' assignments demonstrated that these oral skills and vocabulary items that were taught did not transfer to students' knowledge. Below is an example of a writing task by Almasi (Figure 1 below) after the oral lesson:

Use the words in the box to complete these sentences:

1. *A <u>hospital</u> is a person who goes to see a doctor to be treated.

2. When a person is in good_____that person is not sick.

3. We <u>vomit</u> when we throw up food out of the mouth.

4. *A typhoid is a place where people go to be treated.

5. *When we have <u>health</u> we go to the toilet many times.

Figure 1
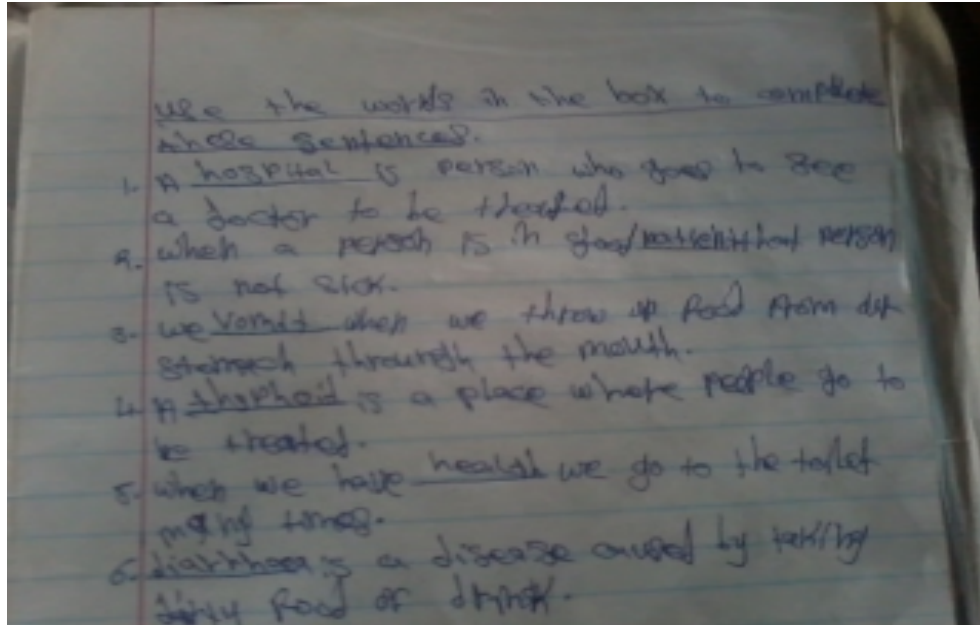
Almasi and many other students did not answer the knowledge gap/cloze

questions correctly, which is an indication that they did not understand the concepts they

repeated over and over again. The amount of time spent on repetitions and the outcome

raises concern for language level and pedagogical style. In the conclusion of the lesson,

the teacher ended with more teacher talk. The students' engagement was prompted by

words like "isn't it?" This strategy resulted in students saying something in the least

amount of words that they knew in English, mainly, yes and no. Vygotsky (2012) rejects

the pedagogical style above, which could be classified as an example of stimulus-

response method, which was originally developed by behaviorism.

The teacher dominated the lesson in excerpt 1, with students' voices only

repeating factual knowledge. We do not see knowledge construction among learners or

collaborative learning between learners and the teacher. The practice in this lesson goes

against social constructivist theories. Halliday (1980) has noted that mental construction

is not an individual process and a child is not an isolated individual; language learning is a process of construction. A child has to construct in interaction with others and the others are not simply providing model but are actively engaged in the construction process. In this lesson, however, there was no interaction observed apart from reading and repeating.

The goal of the oral lesson, according to Mr. Jabari, was to teach the vocabulary items and fluency. The oral lesson above was carried out almost completely in English with no notable student contributions. As Marzano (2004) observed and is corroborated here, the student's ability to remember vocabulary is enhanced when he/she has opportunities to practice and application can be tied to the specific cultures and languages of students' biographies. Herrera, Perez, and Escamilla (2010) argue that teachers promote the development of strong memory trace when they guide students to reflect and draw on their cultures, languages and prior experiences. Language restrictions in the classroom limited the attempts to connect the vocabulary to the students' languages.

Additionally, most of the class activities were done in a whole group; hence, there was limited student-student interaction. This process may have hindered students from realizing their thoughts, which is important for learning. As Vygotsky (2012) noted, "experience teaches us that thought does not express itself in words but rather realizes itself in them" (p. 266). Vygotsky further noted that "the relation between thought and word is a living process; thought is born through words." Thus, we can argue that repeating English phrases and sentences after the teacher is not cognitively challenging. In the lesson above, students were not allowed to use their first languages to help them benefit from the importance of speech in their thinking processes.

Reading. After the oral lesson, the lesson that followed was always on reading comprehension, usually a monologue. The teacher reminded students of the new vocabulary words encountered during the oral lesson through asking for spelling of particular words or by asking and consequently reminding them of the meaning of terms. Next, the teacher introduced the title of the passage for reading and wrote it on the chalkboard. Before each reading activity, there was a picture. The teacher guided students to examine the picture and describe it. The teacher also guided students to talk about the picture by giving a prompt, and the students were required to complete the sentence using their own words. Students constructed short sentences with the help of the teacher about the picture. After the discussion, students were given five to eight minutes and asked to read silently without moving their lips, after which volunteers were selected to read aloud to the whole class. Each student read one paragraph. The teacher interrupted often to correct pronunciation of words or to reinforce punctuation.

The teacher asked oral comprehension questions after reading aloud. The oral questions were provided in the teacher's guide, usually about four to five questions. Students looked up specific words from the text that were similar to those in the questions, and picked out the phrase to read back to the teacher as an answer to the questions raised, without rephrasing it to answer correctly. After those oral questions from the story, the teacher asked questions that were taken from the teacher's guide. During certain lessons, students could not find the key words in the question phrase; thus, they could not answer the questions correctly. In such instances the teacher realized students could not answer questions and offered to reread the passage; and, later, gave students the passage questions to write at home and hand in notebooks for grading the

following day. The teacher indicated to me that he often read for fluency or picked the best student reader to read while others followed. The teacher ensured that students followed the reading line-by-line, word-by-word, by asking a student to show the last word that had been read. Then students were required to write the questions from the textbook and answer them. The teacher walked around the classroom quickly grading work from fast learners and always left students with an assignment. The exercises were based on the comprehension and grammar patterns (sentence construction), use of vocabulary as expected, writing a summary and others.

The stories in the fourth grade textbook were mainly narratives and informational texts. The length of narratives ranged from one and half pages to two pages. Vocabulary instruction usually occurred during the oral lessons. The majority of students seemed to read without comprehension, as reflected in their responses to comprehension questions. To sum up, literacy practices during reading lessons included individual reading, reading aloud in classroom (often interrupted by the teacher to rectify pronunciation), comprehension questions that were asked orally, and later writing questions that were based on the passage. The teacher, Mr. Jabari, asked students to write using their own words, an admonishment that was ignored because students lifted sentences directly from the passage as the answers to the questions. Mr. Jabari also seemed to ignore the fact that students lifted sentences right from the book.

Reading comprehension followed oral lessons. Below is an excerpt of a reading lesson. The title of the reading was "Adventure in the Forest." This was a story of a boy who went grazing in the forest. He saw good-looking fruits and wanted to get some for himself. Suddenly, a giant appeared and the boy was so afraid.

Excerpt 2: Adventure in the Forest

The first five minutes Mr. Jabari asked students to look at the picture and tell what they

saw. The teacher guided students to create a story through speaking about the picture

60. T: Look at the picture and tell us what is happening.
61. S1: The boy was afraid.
62. T: Yeah, that boy was afraid.
63. S2-Mosi: The giant was laughing him!
64. S-many: Yes!
65. T: Very good. The giant was laughing at him [correcting students' phrase]. And shaking him [Teacher demonstrated holding and shaking…]. Now look at page 160 of your books. From the picture, fill in the gaps. Use this picture to complete these sentences. Who can complete these sentences? [The teacher read the beginning phrases for the students to complete using their own words.]
66. T: He looked very...very what?
67. S1: Huge.
68. T: Eeh…[agreeing] He held…held is past tense of hold…, so he held
69. S2: He held Awoi and started shaking him. [reading from the text]
70. T: What did Awoi do? He felt…?
71. S3: He felt …
72. T: He felt what? *Watu wengine wanalala* (Some people are sleeping). Wake up!
73. T: Then he thought…. Come on from the picture and the story.
74. S4: He felt afraid.
75. T: Yes, he felt afraid. Then he thought? Thought is the past tense of think.
76. S-all: Silence
77. T: [frustrate] *Ah! Ni kama nimekwambia* (Ah! it's like I have told you) the answer. *Nakupeleka pole pole hushiki kitu*? (I am taking you slowly and you are not getting anything?). Say something… [The students remained silent. Students were then asked to write the story and complete it using the pictures and the story. Students began writing the story filling in the guided composition. Students referred to the story to fill in blanks. During the first five minutes of writing and responding to the questions, three children in the first desk where I sat tried to answer questions together. In the next desk, children had not written anything. They had only written the question and left the blanks. The teacher walked around checking student's work and reminding them to write in their own words].
78. S: [Nuru, seeing the teacher coming to their desks shouts…] On your own words!
79. T: Yes, your own words
80. Nuru: *Mwalimu* (teacher) answer ya namba one ilikuwa hapa (was the answer to question number one here?)
81. T: Yes, good! Write the way it is written in your book then you complete.

Excerpt 2 demonstrates the beginning of a typical reading lesson. Students were often required to describe a picture and answer questions using their own words. Initially we see some students responded in lines 61, 63, 67, 69 and 74). When silence sets in, lines 75 and 76, the teacher shows frustration with the silence, and in line 77, he switches to Kiswahili to scold, *nakupeleka pole pole hushiki kitu*? (I am taking you slowly and you are not getting anything?), and consequently asks student to do individual work. During the teacher's round, I could hear him caution students on structure, spelling, indentation, title, date and other mechanics. He asked them to copy questions then write the responses. Although some children were speaking to each other the teacher emphasized individual work. Students, during this time, reported that their friends were copying their answers. While the majority of children in this class could decode English texts, they had difficulty comprehending what they were reading. This was reflected by their inability to fill in the gaps (blanks) with the correct answers. During this period, Almasi (focal student) copied phrases from the text without completing the sentences. Mosi (focal student) was busy drawing a motorcycle and the children near him were admiring his drawing skill. This is discussed in later in this chapter.

The following reading excerpt further illustrates that students read English with surface fluency but did not comprehend what they read.

Excerpt 3: A visit to the post office

Mr. Jabari asked students to open page 161 of the course book (Appendix attached). He continued asking questions.

82. T: Who among you has ever visited a post office? [No one responded]. I am asking you, how many have been to the post office? Visited there? How many have visited post office? Have you been there?

83. S1: *Hapana*! (No!)
84. S-many: Silence
85. T: What is a post office?
86. Pili: Where, a place where message…has… go to sent.
87. T: Yeah, to be sent. Good! He has tried. Clap for him! Post office is a place where message go to be sent. A post office is a place where we take parcels *ama mizigo ya barua ya aina ya barua*, (or packages of letter types) carton, write the address of the person, either uncle, aunt, then you give to the post officer, and it will go wherever you want it to go, it will go there. So we are now going to read a story "A visit to the post office" on your own, silently. Five minutes only. [During silent reading some sounds were heard. Some students were following with fingers or pens some others were teaching each other to read. Almasi read, Nuru repeated after her. Similarly Adila read aloud, and got oral rectification from the peers as she read. Children kept rectifying and giggling at those who pronounced words wrongly. The silent reading was not actually silent for the students. The teacher reminded students it was a silent reading.]
88. T: What are those voices there? [After eight minutes, the teacher asked students to read aloud. He asked for volunteers and assigned them paragraphs to read aloud. The teacher interrupted with pronunciation corrections. Students read the English passage quite fluently. After reading, the teacher asked comprehension questions.]
89. T: What new skill had Nzioka learned?
90. S: Silence
91. T: You seem to not have understood!
92. Nuru and Almasi: *Hapana mwalimu, tunatafuta* (No, teacher. We are looking for it). (*Iko wapi* (where is it?) [Students are looking for the word "skill", to lift the sentence as a possible answer.]
93. T: Yes, Fumo.
94. Fumo: Nzioka had often passed to the post office [reading from the text].
95. T: Is that a skill? That is not a skill…look at that one on page 161. [After short silence] I have learned that you have not understood the story properly. [The word skill seemed so difficult for students. Students try to pick sentences randomly from the passage...the teacher realizing they did not comprehend, he asked them to listen so he could read for them again to comprehend.]
96. T: Let's read the story again! [The teacher read the story aloud and asked students to follow word by word and to identify words.]
97. T: [After reading] Is the story now clear?
98. S-few: Yes!
99. T: Now what we are going to do, write those questions on your own in your exercise book. That is your assignment…

In excerpt three above, students transgressed teacher's instructions on reading

silently in this reading lesson. The silent reading was not actually silent for the students.

Students interacted with each other to model reading and pronunciation although the

teacher emphasized silent and individual work. Students used Kiswahili to direct English

reading among themselves and at times responded to the teacher in Kiswahili as seen in

lines 83 and 92. Two of my focal students, Mahiri and Almasi, volunteered to read during

this lesson. They read quite fluently without teacher interruptions for correction, and,

they paid attention to punctuation, although it was monotone, without expression.

However, none of the students in class was able to respond to the comprehension

question. Students relied on finding a word from the passage and picking the sentence as

a possible answer to the question, as seen in line 92, where Nuru and Almasi are looking

for the word "skill", and line 94, where Fumo picks a sentence he thought was the

answer. The practice in this classroom indicated a need for a collaborative space for

students to read and share their understanding. Herrera, Perez, and Escamilla (2010) point

out that when culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students are placed in

interactive learning situations they are encouraged to share and elaborate their existing

experiential and academic knowledge to support development of deeper understanding

about new vocabulary terms. The individual practice in the classroom is inconsistent with

sociocultural views of learning, (Vygotsky (1978; 2012). Although individual work was

emphasized in classroom, students did not adhere fully, they asked each other questions

in their home languages.

       The teacher did not define the word skill, but chose to read aloud to the students,

he gave individual questions as homework in line 100. In this lesson, the teacher's

reading demonstrated pronunciation; however it did not solve the comprehension of the

word "skill." The students' problem was the vocabulary base and not reading fluency.

The teacher's reaction may be linked to monolingual ideology that has penetrated

pedagogy of languages, or, the teacher may not know ways to help students develop comprehension skills in a foreign language. This reading lesson indicated that students had some control over the phonology (sounds), grammar and some meanings; they were able to decode without comprehension. Students did not infer the meaning of the word "skill." The reading instruction in this class suggested that students had developed surface fluency in English and their English language abilities were emerging, but not yet adequately developed to cope with the demands of English-only the curriculum.

Students in this classroom were able to answer literal questions that required a specific fact that had been explicitly stated in the reading, reflecting a superficial understanding of the context (McKenna & Stahl, 2009). The key word "skill" in the text was beyond students' language level. It was an inferential question that required logical connections in the passage to arrive at a fact that is not stated explicitly. Students kept looking up phrases from the text to answer the question and all their attempts were unsuccessful.

This reading lesson demonstrated that the ability to decode and reading fluency in English did not predict comprehension in it. The students could readily recognize English words but their English understanding remained very limited. They had attained decoding skills but lacked the vocabulary necessary to understand the meaning of words. This may be explained by increased instructional time in oral skills where students repeated after the teacher, which helped them to unlock the orthography challenges of English and gain some basic fluency in English. However, students did not seem to be gaining proficiency in spoken English nor mastering English academic vocabulary. Students had acquired the alphabetic principle (ability to blend letters into sounds) as revealed through use of the

letter cues for word recognition but had not developed skills to understand English-only instruction and make necessary inferences. A study by Piper et al. (2015) on fluency and comprehension among 2000 third graders in Kenya indicated that children could read English words more readily than in MT and Kiswahili, but their comprehension was significantly lower in English than mother tongue (MT) and Kiswahili. Oral fluency may be mistaken for comprehension for students but as the lesson above indicates, students were not able to make sense of the passage and relied on looking up specific words on the passage to answer questions. The teacher's remedy was reading again for students, which made me think that the teacher related fluency to comprehension. Literacy research in North America and other parts of the world has demonstrated that there is a relationship between fluency and comprehension (Calet et al. 2013; Veenendaal, et al. 2014). However, other scholars have demonstrated that the predictors of reading comprehension are similar but not identical in English language learners and English as first language learners (Geva & Farnia, 2012). The relationship between fluency and comprehension in this multilingual classroom needs further exploration.

Research studies on literacy in elementary schools in Kenya indicate overemphasis on oral repetition (Dubeck, et al. 2012; Piper et al. 2015). These studies indicate the prevalence of whole word reading with extensive oral repetition, and emphasis on word recognition skills through repetition in Kenyan elementary schools. The English teacher indicated that the established curricula framework included oral work vocabulary, oral sentence patterns, and, reading passages that emphasize the new words in a sentence pattern. During these activities I observed that the teacher

emphasized use of English, and students who deviated from English were reminded to speak in English.

I followed up with the English teacher, Mr. Jabari through an interview to ascertain my observations and learn more about the nature of language use, silence and repetition of English phrases in this classroom. He indicated that students do not understand instructions that are in English. He noted:

> For these children, the most difficult area is comprehension. They don't understand how…because they are fluent in reading, they don't read to proper understanding. They cannot answer those questions. They are not able to trace or find the facts they are getting from the story from the comprehension. That area is a bit hard for them. The other area is about the tenses and spelling. Those are weaknesses from the learners.

Mr. Jabari's responses are in line with my observations in English language arts and the oral repetition in the classroom. A lot of time was spent on teaching one concept because of the repetition. The low language levels coupled with lack of appropriate pedagogical strategies may have forced the teacher to take some pedagogical measures that are equivalent to banking model. In situations where the teacher realized that students have not understood instructions, he gave remedial a lesson. He noted:

> Mr. Jabari: I give another lesson, a remedial lesson. We can read the story again; we answer the questions together as a class. I help them to trace the answers from the story and show them how to write answers. And then we rub the chalkboard and ask them to rewrite again. We repeat the exercise again all of us with the help of the teacher. We practice until they catch up. So when we move to the next one, I can ask them to do as we did the previous one. Writing and doing corrections is very important.

Mr. Jabari's pedagogical strategy after students' failure to understand is repetition, which may serve as a demonstration of pronunciation. Considering that the passage questions required a set of answers, there is a risk that students may memorize phrases that they do not understand in order to answer the questions. McKenna and Stahl

(2009) have warned that when children are given extensive phonics instruction without attending to meaning they may not focus on meaning. Further they posit that children's knowledge of words are the predictor to comprehension, and, reading problems tend to worsen as the child progresses with school. This assertion raises concern over repetition instruction taking place in this classroom.

Writing. Writing tasks were mainly a follow-up to topics that had been taught such as grammar, vocabulary, comprehension passages and guided compositions. Guided compositions were based on comprehension passages and pictures. The course book was the main source of writing activities. English grammar topics and language conventions such as adverbs, punctuation, etc., were covered under writing topics. During grammar lessons, a grammatical element was introduced, and was taught through examples and repetition. Then, students were asked to construct their own sentences using the grammatical element, or to copy questions from the course text and answer them or rewrite them. During these writing sessions the teacher emphasized punctuation, date, title, and other mechanics of writing, including handwriting.

The most common writing practices observed in this class were copying from the board and from the text. Copying from the text included knowledge gap exercises where sentences were provided with a missing word for the students to fill in, writing answers to the reading questions and guided compositions. Students were often asked to "write as it is" in their exercises books and fill in the gaps using their own words. Students relied on the picture and the passage to complete these tasks. They copied sentences from the text and filled the gaps. The teacher walked around grading. I often heard the teacher asking students to write the date, skip a line, punctuate, etc.

There was occasional essay writing in English language arts. Essay writing in the English classroom was mainly focused on the product, and not the process. Students were given a particular topic to write on, and the teacher collected books for grading after forty minutes of writing. This writing was done individually. The only interactive writing that was experienced in this classroom was during the use of grammatical elements to construct meaning. Even then, however, the emphasis was on the form: spelling, indentation, etc. The teacher indicated to me that the emphasis was to train students on good handwriting, like shaping the letters, writing neatly, use of capital letters, punctuation, question marks, and arranging work in paragraphs. Mr. Jabari viewed these as basic fundamentals for writing. During grading, Mr. Jabari mentioned his focus on the writing mechanics mentioned above, together with the organization of the story.

Essay writing was tested in English and Kiswahili languages and the topics were intended to relate to student's experiences. Although students always asked the teacher for clarification of instruction in Kiswahili during English lessons, Mr. Jabari did not offer any content instruction in Kiswahili. The few instances in which he used Kiswahili were to admonish or warn students about their behavior. Below is a presentation of sample lessons for writing.

As noted in the earlier paragraphs, writing in fourth grade seemed to emphasize mechanics: The correct formation of letters/handwriting, words and phrases and sentences. This was achieved through copying. Grammatical features were taught as part of writing, where the teacher wrote sentences, and asked students to construct their own sentences using the grammatical features that were taught. Even in teaching grammar, the meaning of words was critical to understanding the sentence structure and correct

placement of words in the sentences. The lesson below typifies the grammar-writing

lessons that I observed. The teacher began the lesson by asking the meaning of adverbs:

Exceprt 4: Writing-Adverbs of reason

100. T: What are adverbs? [The teacher repeats the question twice.] Yes?
101. S-all: Silence
102. T: Yes, Nuru!
103. Nuru: [Nuru reading from the book, but the definition is not directly stated but implied through examples]. Eeh, it is a…it is a…why…
104. T: [The teacher intervenes without defining the adverb]. Ok. Look at this sentence [writes on the board]. Who can show me adverb in this sentence! Michubu nodded slowly.
105. S1: Slowly.
106. T: Very good! Can you repeat the sentence?
107. S-few: Michubu nodded slowly.
108. T: Again!
109. S-all: Michubu nodded slowly.
110. T: So the word "slowly" tells us how the nodding was done. Adverbs tell more about the   action; how the nodding was done [definition]. When do we nod?
111. S-all: Silence
112. S2: [Kim shouts] *Hatujui!* (We do not know!) [Mosi, who sat next to me is singing: *Amenitendea amenitendea, Imannueli Amenitendea…*] (He has done (good) for me, He has done it for me, Emmanuel, He has done (it) for me).
    [Kim who sat in the desk besides mine has no book on his table; he is singing on a small voice and rolling his pen between his palms. After this song, I can only hear him humming].
113. T: Today we are learning about adverbs of reason. Say, Adverbs of reason!
114. S-all: Adverbs of reason.
115. T: [Writes a sentence] A teacher is better than a farmer.
116. Have you ever held a debate like this? You would say a teacher is better than a farmer because…. Judy, I will cane you! The word *because* is an adverb of reason. *Because* is one example of adverbs of reason.
117. T: Lets turn our books on page 153. Look at this.
    [Mosi who has been singing opens another supplementary book; English aid. He keeps flipping pages, singing silently and viewing pictures. Kitwana is drumming on the desk. Almasi warns him, he will be caned. Kitwana! Kitwana! Kitwana! Almasi calls Kitwana three times to warn him.]
118. T: In debates we say; a teacher is better than a farmer because… This is what I want us to learn today. Turn to page 153. [Teacher writes on the board]
119. S: *Tuandike*? (Can we write?)
120. T: [Ignoring the question] Look at this sentence. Can you read that sentence everybody?
121. S-all: The judge jailed him for ten years because he was guilty.
122. T: Who will show us adverb of reason in this sentence?

123. S1 Mahiri: Jailed.
124. S2: Judge.
125. T: Really?
126. S-few: Yes!
127. S3: Guilty.
128. S4: Yes? Yes? [Guesswork?]
129. S5: Because [gets the correct answer but others still continue raising hands and calling on the teacher for an opportunity to show, to try out.]
130. T: [Writes another sentence on the board] Read the sentence everybody…
131. S-all: They died since they did not protect themselves. [Student read the sentence twice as teacher prompts them with "again!"]
132. T: What is the adverb of reason in this sentence? The students underline on the board as follows:
133. S1: Protect [misses].
134. S2: Since (teacher calls for applause).
135. T: The word *since* is giving us the reason. Let us look at the third sentence. Read the sentence…
136. S-all: The class laughed as the story was very funny.
137. T: Again!
138. S: [Students read together and repeats as the teacher admonishes].
139. T: Who can show us adverb of reason?
[Students underline adverbs of reason as follows]
140. S1: Laughed.
141. T: Really? Is that the right answer?
142. S-few: Yes.
143. S2: Story.
144. S3: Funny.
145. Students: No! Yes! [Agreeing and disagreeing with the underlined answer]
146. T: Yes, Zuri,
147. S-Zuri: Class.
148. S-few: Exactly! *Enyewe!* (Exactly!*)*
149. S-few: Yes/No!
150. T: Yes, Adila
151. S5 Adila: Very.
152. Almasi: *Mimi naijua* (I know it) [a student who has not been picked]
153. T: Ehee!
154. S-many: Yes, yes, yes teacher! [It seems like guess work at the moment, students are underlining a word that has not been underlined by the predecessor.]
155. T: Sit down everybody! Don't call me! What is making the class to laugh? …the story, which was very funny! What is giving us the reason as to why the class was laughing?
156. S: Yes! [Nuru raises hand]
157. T: Nuru, come!
158. S: As [Nuru underlines the correct word, but that was the only word that had not been underlined.]

159. T: Can you clap for Nuru. [Nuru only chose a word that has been left out by everybody, she did not necessarily understand the concept of adverbs of reason)
160. Almasi: *Nilikuwa najua hiyo*! (I knew that one!)
161. S-all: [clapping for Nuru] That is better, better, another better, better, marvelous!
162. T: Look at this! [Writes a sentence on the board] Afandi won the price because of hard work. [All students identify because]
163. T: I want us to now to do the following [teacher writes a task on the chalkboard]
164. S1: *Mwalimu tufanye*? (Teacher, should we do?) [It seems this student did not understand the English instruction given above]
165. S2: *Mwalimu tufanye*? (Teacher, should we do?)
166. T: Yeah! Take out your books and write these…

During this lesson, Mosi, Kim and Kitwana and few students were not following the lesson, they were busy singing, drumming on the desk and looking at pictures in books as seen in lines 112, 117. Some students read together aloud, and others remained silent looking at the teacher. Student attempts to respond to the teacher's questions were mere guesswork as demonstrated in lines 122-158. After the teacher's evaluation of each response, students raised hands waiting to underline another word that had not been underlined before. Due to lack of comprehension on the part of students, some lost interest and engaged in other activities such as drumming on the desk, humming and flipping pages.

Students were not allowed to form the concept of adverbs in their daily language. Although we see the teacher's attempt to relate the lesson to students' experiences by asking, "when do we nod" in line 110, students did not have an opportunity to respond in their home language and they had not acquired English proficiency needed to explain when nodding is done. Students also did not show an adverb in the sentence since they do not know what they were looking for. Those who got the correct word did so either through guesswork, or probably experience/exposure to the word used. A student responding *hatujui* (we do not know) in line 112, after a long silence, and moving on with

132

his unofficial activities indicated to me a sign of despair in this lesson. In this class of twenty-eight students, the individual differences were not taken care of either linguistically or pedagogically. There is a possibility that students did not understand instructions given in English only. For example, one student asked, *mwalimu tufanye*? in line 119, (Teacher, should we do?) And the second student followed up with a similar question, after the teacher had given instructions in English. It is notable that all student initiated questions were in Kiswahili as shown in lines 119, 152, 160, 164 and 165, and these questions were not on content but on instructional directions, questions that were neither cognitively engaging nor making a contribution to the lesson. It seemed to me that students wanted to engage in a task, which in this lesson would be writing phrases on their notebooks. Students did not have opportunities to complete sentences, e.g., responding with adverbial phrases, which would show comprehension.

The English language competence levels in this classroom raises important questions for multilingual students. Although teachers emphasize language rules, there is a need to lay out what we believe to be correct or incorrect use of language depending on the diversity of our students and the needs of the students. This is possible by validating the knowledge of the students in literacy practices. Genishi and Dyson (2009) point that there is a need to reimagine language standards in the absence of standard or generic child by respecting children's inherent powers as language learners, recognizing that language is tool for social, intellectual participation and personal expression. In this lesson, failure to draw from students' repertoires limits engagement and creates a lot of side talk. For example, a student who had lost track of the lesson got engaged in other activities as discussed in the next section on unofficial practices.

To demonstrate further what happened during English writing tasks, below is another lesson that included writing. It was part of the prescribed curriculum for fourth grade.

Excerpt 5: Writing: Use of "very… but".

The teacher wrote the following sentence on the board: "The train is very far away but I can see it." He asked students to read the sentence and guided them to identify the use of "very" and "but". The teacher then asked students to construct ten sentences using "very…but…" The teacher walked round the class grading student's sentences, and kept cautioning students not to copy from friends. As the teacher graded students' work, I could hear him asking a student, "Do Land Rovers walk? What is this? Don't do the same pattern, think of other words. What is this? Don't copy from your friend!"

167. S1: *Mwalimu huyu anaangalia yangu* (Teacher this one is looking at mine (sentence)). [Copying and silence reigned. Almasi and her seatmate have similar sentences; they have copied from each other.]
168. S-many: Yes! Yes teacher! [Students raise hands asking the teacher to come over to see what they have written; others were snapping fingers producing a clicking sound to call for teacher's attention.]
169. T: Sit down! There is something I want to correct. When starting a new sentence, for example someone has said, the tea is very hot but I can drink. You should start with capital letter and finish with a full stop. [The teacher also cautioned students on spelling. She wrote a sample of mistakes witnessed during the walk around]. There are people who don't know to write the following…
    Martha –mother
    Elevant –elephant
    Brather- brother
    [Kitwana is busy drumming on the desk. The students who have scored some sentences right have used the same expression as the examples given by the teacher. For example, elephant is very far away but I can see it. The teacher cautioned students not to use the same expressions but be creative.]
170. T: Also note, when using "I" it should be capital because it refers to a human being. [Teacher starts walking around and realizes students are writing sentences similar to the example given earlier.] Excuse me, I won't mark a sentence like this "The elephant is far away but I can see it". Don't use this. There are many things you can write about!

171. T: Also do you write the aeroplane like this? *Aerloplane...* [spelling issues abound in classroom], *rolly* for a lorry...
172. [Teacher calls for attention. Shares a sentence one student had written] look at this sentence! Can you read the sentence?
173. S-all: "*The hyena is very king but I can see it."
174. T: Read again! [The students read but they could not realize what the mistake was.]
175. T: Is the sentence correct?
176. Ss: [Mixed reaction] Silence/ yes! / No!
177. T: [Writes another lesson] the lion is very king...? What is this class fours? (Reading another sentence by another student) *The dog is very thin but I can solve it. (Teacher writes these sentences on board).
178. T: Does it have a meaning?
179. S: [Mixed responses] No! /Yes!
180. T: What could he have said?
181. S-all: Silence [The teacher shares all the wrong sentences on the board in this class, but the fellow students barely see the mistakes the teacher want to them to identify as demonstrated by silence].
182. T: What could he have said?
183. S-all: Silence
184. T: He could have said; the sum is very challenging but I can solve it or the dog is very thin but can walk for a long distance. [Students do not seem bothered with collective corrections on the board, they want teacher to attend to their sentences]. Collect books for marking! [The teacher requested of the class prefect.]

In this lesson, the focus was on the use of "very...but" correctly in sentences. Although these are common phrases, there was no attempt to draw from students' knowledge or multiple repertoires. The teacher shared coded knowledge from the text and asked students to use this knowledge to generate their own phrases. The examples of sentences constructed by students demonstrate that students have not understood the concepts and their English language levels are not at par with the cognitive competence required in this class. The sentences created such as *The dog is very thin but I can solve it; line 177, *The hyena is very king but I can see it, line 173, indicate that students had mastered the sentence structures, but not the meaning of the specific words. They focused on mechanics and wrote meaningless strings of words that were syntactically correct.

Students who might have gotten the sentences right had similar structures with the teacher, so it is difficult to confirm mastery of the concept. Learners lacked vocabulary to construct correct English sentences. The learners in this English lesson were not taught to comprehend the meaning but the structure seemed very important to the teacher. Due to language restrictions in this class, the teacher as well did not draw on the similar concepts from students' daily languages. The teacher also focused on spelling by writing the spelling errors that were spotted in children's notebooks in line 169. Use of their semiotic tools would have encouraged learners to get the concept through experience considering that these students do not use English outside school. The fact that students did not notice errors in the sentences means they may not have understood the concept taught, and should give a clear message to the teacher to change either style of teaching or language to increase understanding in class, and/or, they lacked the language skills and the teacher did not know how to bridge the gap.

The teacher's interaction with students seemed authoritative. There was no space for student talk and individual work was emphasized. The teacher's feedback evoked guilt among students, as teacher used phrases such as, really?, after a wrong response, and in most instances silence reigned in classroom. Literacy scholars have cautioned that it is important not to judge the children's voices because these judgments may erase the breadth of children's communicative experiences, (Genishi & Dyson, 2009). Genishi and Dyson have argued that insisting on the importance of grammatical elements that occur in a fixed controlled relationship may be counterproductive. The students may develop a negative attitude towards the language and may find the exclusion of their home language as degradation to that tongue.

Copying from the board was common and was thought of as a practice to help the children to develop writing. Implicit in this notion is that children are delayed from expressing themselves in the written form until they have mastered the technicalities of English language writing and spelling rules. The literacy practices in this English language arts lesson raise important pedagogical and language issues for linguistically and culturally diverse students. Adherence to English-only does not seem beneficial for students' language and vocabulary development. The teacher was implicitly or explicitly imposing power in this class though language use and the creativity of student was curtailed. Students were not able to recognize semantic mistakes in their peers' sentences, an indication that a high percentage of the fourth grade students do not have the vocabulary knowledge necessary for English only instruction. Arising concerns from this observation is whether the teaching approaches are appropriate for the English language learners, or whether the curricular materials are prepared for native speakers. The question of whether the lesson is aimed at L2 learners raises issues on the teacher preparedness for multilingual ESL learners. At another level, considering the history of language-in-education policy in Kenya presented in chapter one, the current curricular may be implicitly meant to be a filter, stopping most of the students from advancing in education. The next section presents focal students' and principal's view of the communicative practices observed in the fourth grade classroom.

The Nature of Language Use in Fourth Grade Classroom

I followed up with the school principal, Mr. Kibwe and the focal students to document their perspectives on literacy practices and language use. Mr. Kibwe had been a teacher for twenty years. He taught Kiswahili and social studies. He had served as a

principal since the year 2005. Interviews with Mr. Kibwe were conducted in English. Sometimes he mixed codes and I followed in either of the languages that he used in the response.

Mr Kibwe. Mr. Kibwe acknowledged the low language proficiency levels for English-only instruction in the school. He explained that one of the challenging goals to meet for the school was the ability of students to use English as required to answer examination questions. He explained the hardest goal for the school as:

> Being able to use the language to answer, to write their exams. Because at times they must know how to write words correctly…but at times you find that even a child in class eight cannot spell words properly, communicate properly, write; its a challenge when they are doing their exams. It is a very big challenge; challenge in writing what they communicate effectively to do to pass exams.

When asked his thoughts regarding what needed to be done to enhance the successes and improve on the weaknesses in the teaching of content areas and reading, writing and speaking in English, Mr. Kibwe articulated:

> You can see the problem with English is not only the children, it is even with the government, even myself. You can see most of us our background has been so poor. We have so many teachers who have gone to these Harambee schools, and in those Harambee schools, or these days schools even now a days you can see they learn very little, or you realize most Harambee schools rarely communicate in English…most of them they communicate in the catchment area language. So you get this teacher is not very much fluent in that language. And he is the person who is supposed to teach it. How do you expect the children to excel? In fact it is a problem… So sometimes we give them English subject to teach, they don't want to teach it, sometime teachers shy off from teaching English. That one is my observation.

Mr. Kibwe's thoughts on the English language issues in the rural school may be true to a certain extent; however from my observation, the teachers I interacted with had adequate English language levels relevant for teaching primary school children in English. The challenge that faced most of these teachers was lack of professional development on pedagogical strategies for teaching English as second or foreign

language for teachers. Additionally, these views raise important questions for language policy in Kenya.

Although it was clear that students did not comprehend most of the English language arts instruction, the principal discouraged language mixing in language subjects. On language mixing, the principal had the following to say: "There are some areas where you can mix but not all areas. In Kiswahili, make sure you use Kiswahili throughout. The same with English even in class one." The principal pointed out that according to the syllabus they are supposed to use solely English because class four students should have understood English and there was no need for interpreting. The syllabus indicated that where students did not understand, a remedial lesson should be given. It also stated that by the time students get to class four, they should be taught in English and not any other language. My observations supported the fact that the mandated policy was observed in English language arts classroom. However, the participation patterns in English-only instruction presented above show that students were struggling to engage in meaningful literacy practices in English language arts lessons. The students articulated these struggles, but they had already internalized the power of English for their academic excellence. The next section is a presentation of my focal students views on their English language competence.

Focal students. I had no control over whom the teacher selected to respond to questions in class. I however observed literacy practices in which my focal students engaged. Four out of five focal students remained silent during English-only lessons. They, however, had small talk with their colleagues in Kiswahili or Kimeru. The focal students acknowledged that English only instruction was challenging and hindered

comprehension. As indicated earlier in this chapter, students read fluently without

comprehension. Here, I share the views of three out of the five students that I interviewed

for this study on English comprehension.

Almasi indicated her love for English but cited the difficulties and challenges she

faced in learning English:

> Almasi: *Ni mahali ni pagumu hata ukipenda kujifunza hapo unalemewa kabisa.*
> *Sasa naendea mwalimu kwa ajili, hata marafiki zangu hawataki kunisomea. Kwa*
> *ajili mimi nimejaribu kwa njia zote. Na mengine ni magumu hata ukisoma hutajua*
> *ni nini umesoma. Kwa hivyo naenendea mwalimu. Naambia mwalimu nilijiunza*
> *but sikuelewa vyenye kunasema. Halafu mwalimu anatueleza sisi wote kwa*
> *Kimeru au Kiswahili kwa ajili akitueleza kwa Kiingereza wengine*
> *hawatasaidika., na wewe ulikuwa unataka kusaidika hautasaidika.*
>
> It's a difficult part even if you want to teach yourself; there you are completely
> overwhelmed/defeated. Now I go to the teacher because even my friends do not
> want to read for me. For I have tried by all means. And others (sections) are
> difficult even when you read you will not know/understand what you have read.
> So I go to the teacher. I tell the teacher I read but I did not understand what it is
> saying. Then the teacher explains to us all in Kimeru or Swahili because if he
> explains in English, others will not be helped, and you, who wanted help will not
> be helped either.

Almasi pointed out that her English performance was low because it tests things she did

not know and left out what she knew. She reiterated:

> Almasi: *Pahali pagumu pekee ndipo ninajifunza nijue, ndio najifunza kwa ajili ile*
> *ngumu kabisa ndio inakujanga kwa mtihani wa Kiingereza. Ile ngumu ndio*
> *inakujanga kwa mtihani. Hii najua kusoma haikujangi.*
>
> The difficult parts only are where I teach myself so I may know. Because the most
> difficult areas, are what comes in English test. The difficult ones come in the
> tests. This that I know how to read does not come.

Learning and doing English tasks seemed like guesswork where students did not

understand instructions and the concepts as indicated in the lesson discussed above on

"adverbs" and use of "very…but". Mahiri, one of the focal students described the process

of learning English as one that involved a lot of thinking and going back and forth to the

teacher to check whether it is correct:

> *Kama hatujahi funzwa hicho kitu, inanitatiza, inanisumbua kutafuta ni nini
> answer ya hiyo. Kuna stories zingine unasoma ukitarajia ni hiyo ukipeleka kwa
> mwalimu anakuambia si hiyo sasa unakaa ukijiuliza ni gani, unafikiria,
> unafikiria, mpaka saa ile utakumbuka…*

> *Saa ingine nashindwa kuelewa: Zingine sielewi, nasema nitaandika ile tu
> nafikiria, nikienda nikipotea mwalimu anaweza niambia sio hivyo aniambie ni
> hivi na hivi halafu najua…halafu anipe nyingine kama hiyo lakini si the same
> halafu sasa najua.*

> If we have not been taught about something, it confuses me; it bothers me finding
> what the answer to it is. There are other stories you read, expecting you have got
> the right answer when you take to the teacher he tells you its not that one, now
> you keep asking yourself what the answer is, you think, you think, until the time
> you remember...

> Other times I cannot understand. I do not understand others, I say, I will write what
> I am thinking, if I get it wrong the teacher may tell me not this way, will tell me it
> is this way then I know ... and then the teacher will give me another similar but not
> the same and then now I know.

Students' responses to the interview questions indicated that they were struggling

with comprehension of English in the classroom. Students indicated that they had

challenges in understanding English only instruction and would have wanted the teacher

to translate the difficult words into Kiswahili. For example, Fumo "possessed" Kiswahili

and reported that although English was difficult, he read Kiswahili stories. When asked

about reading he noted:

> *Fumo: Tunakuwanga na vitabu. Tunachukua kitabu ya Kiswahili kwa sababu hata
> kama hatujui Kingereza inasema nini tutajua Kiswahili. So Kiswahili ni chako
> unaelewa.*

> We usually have books. We take a Swahili book because even if we do not know
> what English books say we will know Swahili. So, Swahili is yours, you will
> understand it.

The focal students' responses show some of the challenges that English language learners face in English language arts and English-only instruction. These responses coupled with silence and repetition in classroom demonstrates that students have not mastered academic language.

Generally, reading in this classroom was translating into memorizing sentences. Learners spent time in memorizing or drills. Unofficial literacies set in during these activities. Some students were engaged in other duties such as: drawing, humming and drumming on the desks; yet, they could repeat after the teacher. The knowledge repeated was considered important and teacher reminded them that they needed it to pass exams. Most writing activities involved learners in copying from text, board, and filling knowledge gap questions.

In summary, when students were given opportunities to write, they constructed structurally correct sentences that were semantically wrong. Other challenges included spelling of different terms. Writing texts remained monolingual in English language lessons. Translanguaging to meet the communicative needs was not allowed, although students communicated orally between themselves in other languages. In English class, therefore, students spent time working on the conventions: writing the dates, heading of exercises, emphasis on good handwriting, punctuation, etc. After four years of schooling, focus was on formal accuracy rather than creativity. It seemed that students had lost the real meaning of writing because they did not understand the language of writing and viewed writing specifically in English as copying from various sources. Both teachers and students had limited opportunities for learning English informally. As seen through oral, reading and writing practices above, free primary education in Kenya is still

inaccessible in the marginalized areas due to various factors including language of instruction and teacher preparation. Following the silence in English language arts and what seemed to be lack of comprehension during English language arts lessons, some students engaged in other literacy practices in the classroom. The next section presents some of the unofficial literacies by the focal students.

Unofficial Literacies

In the previous section, I discussed literacy practices in classroom, and indicated that students switched to unofficial literacy practices often during English language arts instruction. This section focuses on unofficial literacies in and outside classroom settings. Out of classroom tasks included playing with stones, storytelling, and, younger students participated in imaginative literacies such as building houses and designing the different rooms in the house. In the classroom, there were different unofficial literacies such as singing, drumming on the desks, and drawing. I discuss the unofficial literacies with a focus on the nature of language used and other communicative repertoires during these activities. My goal is understand how students appropriate their multiple communicative repertoires in official and unofficial spaces.

The unofficial spaces include any space at home or school where the activities are student controlled. Outside the classroom, children used the unofficial literacies to display knowledge that was gained during classroom reading and general engagement with school tasks. Out of the classroom, I organized story telling with my focal students, with a goal to learn more about their language use. I consider these as unofficial spaces and literacies because I did not control their activities, although I requested them to narrate stories in English in accordance to the language policy of the school.

Considering the limited student input in class settings as discussed in oral reading lessons above, unofficial literacies gave me a space to learn extensively about students' communicative repertoires and literacies outside classroom. Their unofficial literacies indicated their daily experiences, their interaction with English and Swahili books and imaginations made from the pictures they observed. The storytelling was an act of retelling and recreating stories that had been read or narrated to them. Each of my focal students participated in unofficial practices at varied levels during classroom period, outside classroom, and at home. Here, I give description of some of the unofficial practices captured in and out of classroom for the focal students.

Mosi. Mosi, a twelve-year-old fourth grader, was labeled a silent student in classroom. He had been retained for two years in second and third grade because he was labeled a struggling reader. He did not respond to questions posed by the English teacher unless called upon by name. During a lesson on "adverbs of reason," Mosi sat silently looking at the teacher and listening but not responding nor repeating after the teacher. The teacher required students to identify adverbs and read the sentences written on the chalkboard. By ten minutes into the lesson, Mosi was already yawning and flipping pages of the textbook. He began singing a Swahili gospel song in a small voice "*amenitendea, amenitendea Imanueli amenitendea".* (He has done it for me, He has done it for me, Emmanuel, He has done it for me). His singing came amidst what seemed like guesswork by students in identifying adverbs of reason from a given sentence on the chalkboard (discussed in the lesson on adverbs above). After fifteen minutes, he picked an English aid text and began flipping pages. Kitwana who sat next to Mosi joined him in the singing, and after a minute Kitwana began drumming on the desk rhythmically to go with

144

their song. Almasi, who seemed to be listening to the teacher's instruction and grappling with identifying the adverbs, warned Kitwana that the teacher would hear them singing and cane them. Mosi and Kitwana were scared of being reported and they started humming as Mosi viewed pictures. Shortly after, the teacher wrote a sentence on the board and Kitwana, in fear that the teacher may have realized his lack of attention, asked the teacher, *mwalimu tuandike*? (Teacher, should we write?). The teacher ignored the question and moved on asking students to identify the adverb of reason. Kitwana and Mosi continued with the humming, viewing pictures and drumming the lockers; at the same time responding to the choral responses, e.g., when the teacher asked, "Is it correct?" They responded with yes or no with the rest of the members of class.

Mosi's unofficial practices extended through all English lessons. During English lesson on "Adventure in the Forest", the teacher began a lesson with guiding students to describe the pictures before reading and filling in the guided essay. A few students tried to describe the pictures. Two minutes into the lesson, Mosi began singing a gospel song, "*sisi wana wako tumekusanyika angalia bwana*" (we your children are gathered before you, look upon us Lord.) At the same time, he was flipping pages of his course book and viewing pictures. Six minutes later the teacher asked students to write and fill in the gaps using their own words. As students copied the phrases leaving gaps, Mosi took out his notebook and began to draw a bicycle. Within no time, the neighbors stopped copying the phrases from the text and started staring at Mosi's drawing keenly and telling him what he needed to add.

Fumo: *Weka taa na mtu akiendesha* (put the lights and a person riding it)… (Mosi did not heed friend's suggestion, and so Fumo began to draw his own motorbike.)

145

Fumo: *Hata hujui kuchora vizuri! Yangu itakushinda* (even you do not know how to draw well! Mine will be better than yours.) Fumo took out a different notebook and began drawing a motorbike as well.) Then, Mosi and Fumo were drawing motorbikes and their friends were busy admiring their piece of art.

Figure 2

A Picture of Mosi's motorbike

Mosi described this motorbike as a "boda boda" person carrying a passenger at the back seat. This was a common mode of transport for short distances in the area.

Outside the classroom, Mosi was known as the best football player and was good in swimming too. Students knew his prowess in extracurricular activities in the school. He conversed with his friends in the field in Kiswahili and Kimeru and to his cousins in Kikuyu.

At home, Mosi lived with his grandmother. Grandma indicated to me that Mosi had made a lamp that used the bulbs and torch batteries, so she did not buy kerosene anymore. She noted that his education was helping him to connect wires and make lighting in their rented room. Mosi spent most of his free time drawing. He did not have books at home and his drawings were based on his environment and experiences. For example, he drew a picture of his dog.

Figure 3
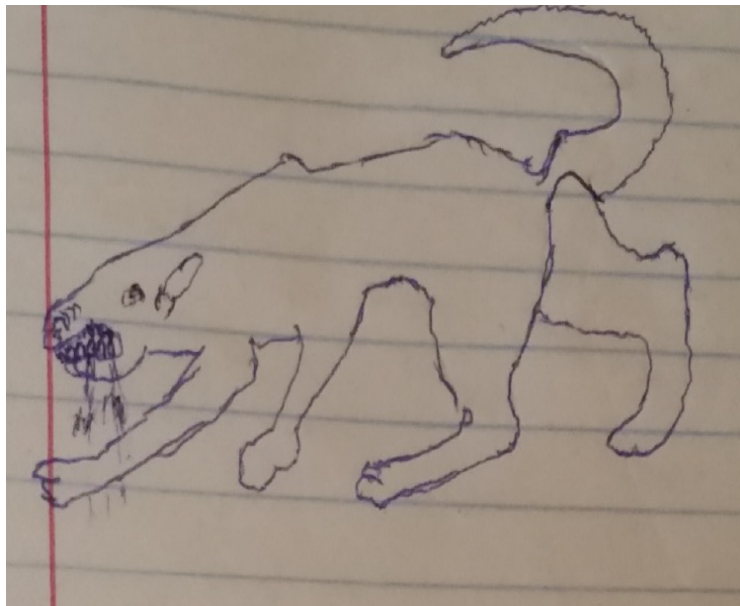
Mosi also repaired broken down spotlights, his neighbors knew and sometimes brought to

him spotlights to repair for them. He also spent most weekends doing the casual jobs with

his grandmother.

Fumo. Fumo was an attentive student but often deviated to unofficial practices

during English lessons. He often joined Mosi in singing in class and loved to draw

pictures. In an English lesson discussed above about "Adventure in the Forest", Fumo

was drawn to Mosi's drawing and suggested to Mosi to add a person riding the

motorbike. When Mosi remained silent, he began drawing a motorbike below:

Figure 4
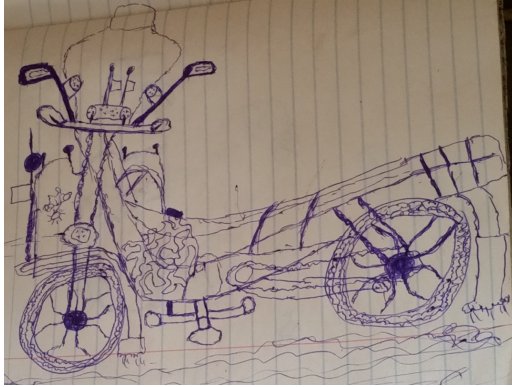
When I asked Fumo why he drew during English lesson, his response was simple:

Naonanga ikiwa nzuri, huko kwa barabara (I usually see it looking good on the roads).

He told me that he liked motorbikes and he saw them on the road daily.

Besides this drawing during English lesson in classroom, he drew many more pictures during his free time. For Fumo each picture was meaningful; they were either a summary of story that he had been told, pictures lifted from English text and other textbooks, etc. His drawings included elephants, houses, cars; etc. He described his drawings to me in Kiswahili although they were labeled in English. Below (Figure 5) is a picture of an airplane that he saw during a school visit to Nanyuki.

Figure 5

He described the clouds above and below the airplane. He said:

Fumo: *Naonanga (ndege) huko juu, na kuna siku ilikuwa hapa. Pia tulienda Nanyuki tukaiona ikiwa juu na chini. Halafu hii ni* clouds (I usually see it on the sky and there is a day it was here. Also we went to Nanyuki and saw it in the sky and on the ground. Then these are clouds).

The next picture (Figure 6) Fumo shared was based on a story he learned from his Christian Religious Education (CRE) lesson about Abraham and Isaac in the Bible. He described the man holding the knife as Abraham ready to sacrifice his son Isaac as God had commanded him. The twigs/sticks were described as the firewood for burning the offering. His description of the picture was as follows:

Figure 6

Hapa Abraham aliambiwa na Mungu amtolee akiwa sadaka. Huyo ni mtoto wake.

Nilisoma kwa kitabu cha CRE (Here, Abraham was told by God to sacrifice his child as

an offering. That is his child. I read in CRE book).

Fumo loved dancing as well. Whenever the teacher was absent from class, a

volunteer student would bang the lockers rhythmically and Fumo would go to the front of

class and begin dancing. Below he described a picture of leopard drumming (Figure 7)

during animals' dance. He had read a story called "The dancing competition" about

animal celebrations, and, and another story about frog and the hare.

Figure 7   Figure 8

Hapa ni (Here is) frog and the hare. Ilikuwa kwa kitabu kingine, ilikuwa ya Kiswahili (it was in another book, it was a Kiswahili story). Walikuwa wanaenda kwa mkutano (They were going for a meeting).

Fumo evidently self-authored through unofficial literacy practices. His drawings were based on daily experiences and reading and used multiple repertoires and multimodalities. At home, Fumo attended to home chores assigned by his mother and he attended a nearby Methodist church and watched television at the nearby shopping center during weekends.

Almasi. Almasi loved English lessons and was mostly attentive and followed the teacher's instructions. She cautioned other students to speak English whenever she heard them speaking other languages, while she kept silent most of the times and asked her questions in Kiswahili. During a lesson when the teacher was absent, Almasi and Nuru engaged in reading a comprehension passage. She took the role of the teacher while Nuru was a student. Below is their conversation from a passage they had read, "Adventure in the Forest," and now they were trying to answer the comprehension questions.

Nuru: Uni (me)…[unintelligible]

Almasi: No! Don't speak Kimeru!

(To respond to question, Nuru reads a phrase from the passage. *Hiyo ndiyo* (is that the) answer? *Nimesoma kutoka hapa* (I have read from here up to here*)*!

Almasi: Read here! "And then their mother said…"

Nuru: (Reads a phrase again)

Almasi: *Aaih! Hapana*! (Aaih, No!)

Nuru: [Nuru reads another sentence.] The journey started. *Si ndiyo*…(isn't it?)

Almasi: *Uko karibu kupata*! (You are almost correct!)

Nuru: [Reads another sentence]

Almasi: Good!

Nuru: [She is distracted by neighboring students…]

Almasi: *We thoma we rekana nabo...* (You, read leave them…)

Nuru: [Nuru continues reading] They go to see…

Almasi: Wait I ask you!

Although Almasi loved English and admonished others to use English, here she is using both Kimeru (*We thoma we rekana nabo...* (You, read leave them…) and Kiswahili during the paired reading. The conversation indicates that both students do not comprehend the passage and responses. Both are picking up random phrases from the text. Almasi who had adopted the role of competent other is reinforcing using Kiswahili, with words like; "No!" "You are almost t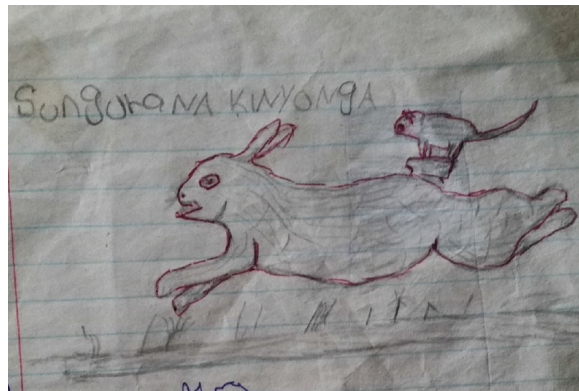here", and the third attempt was always correct. At 10:12am, Almasi and Nuru were reaching a frustration level with the guesswork. Almasi stopped the shared comprehension reading and began to draw a hare (Figure 9) and Nuru began to draw a monkey. Almasi drew the picture below:

Figure 9

The picture of chameleon and the hare

I asked her about this picture the following day. She said that she had read a story of

"Chameleon and the hare" in a Kiswahili storybook, and she narrated the story as

follows:

Hii ilikuwa hadithi. Ilikuwa sungura na kinyonga. Sungura alikuwa mjanja sana. Sasa akakuta kinyonga akitembea polepole vile anavyotembea. Sasa sungura ikaanza kumdharau kinyonga. Sasa sungura ikaambia kinyonga, tutakimbia siku tatu tuone nani atakuwa mshindi. Wakasema "on your marks, set go!" Saa ile sungura ilikuwa inakimbia kinyonga ikapandia kwa "tail" yake, ikaenda mpaka kwa mgongo wake ikanyamaza zii!, saa ile sungura sasa kwa siku tatu akiwa anakimbia sasa alikuwa amefika, akiwa anaketi akasikia: Usinikalie, nilishafika kitambo. Watu walishangilia kinyonga, kinyonga akapewa zawadi, sungura akaenda akiwa na aibu.

English Translation

This was a story. It was hare and chameleon. Hare was cunning. Now he found chameleon walking slowly as he usually walks. Now hare began to despise chameleon. Now, hare told chameleon, we will run for three days to see who will be the winner. They said; on your marks, set, go! When the hare was running, chameleon got on her tail, and slowly walked to his back and kept silent. Now after three days of running, the hare reached the destination/arrived, as he sat, he heard: Do not sit on me, I arrived long time ago. People celebrated chameleon, chameleon was given a gift, hare went away ashamed.

Almasi's picture was a cue for a story or a summary of a story she had read, as she used

the picture to retell the story. After school, Almasi went to sell tomatoes in the nearby

village market until 8pm.

As demonstrated in the descriptions above, the unofficial literacy practices such as singing and drawing took place mainly during English language arts lessons. The songs by a few of the students indicated their religious affiliations and displayed their language use in the community. The students' drawing were either a summary of a story that had been read or narrated to them, for example, the picture of Abraham and Isaac was read from a CRE book; the drawings on leopard singing, frog and rabbit, and, hare and chameleon, were all derived from short stories that students had read. Students used these pictures to retell these stories using multimodalities and different languages than those that the stories were read in. The narration about these pictures was in Kiswahili and English although they were read in either of the languages. The students also displayed their daily experiences through pictures such as the motorcycle and airplane. These pictures and the students' description of pictures display the nature of students' multiple communicative practices.

The in-class unofficial literacies in the fourth grade classroom may be a result of several factors. From my observations, in-class unofficial literacies were prevalent during English language arts lessons compared to other subjects. I concluded that these were a result of lack of interest in the subject due to lack of comprehension. The unofficial practices often began after silence began to set in, because students could not respond to questions that were posed by the teacher. Thus, I consider the in class unofficial literacies as small acts of resistance, and this may require further exploration to determine why students chose to engage in other practices during English lessons. Literacy research on student's resistance indicate that students resist due to the nature of teaching and learning in the classroom that contradicts the mental models and beliefs that students bring to the

classroom (Brookfield, 2006). Students are likely to oppose assignments that they deem irrelevant or do not understand as a way to reclaim ownership and expertise (Benson, 2010; Bryant & Bates, 2010). I did not observe unofficial practices during science or math lessons where the teacher used translanguaging to bridge the gap from home language to school language.

Unofficial Literacies: Story Telling

Further use of language in unofficial spaces by the fourth graders was observed during story telling sessions with the focal students. To understand students' deployment of communicative repertoires in speaking, I organized storytelling sessions with students during lunch break. The focal students and other fourth graders were invited to narrate stories that they had read and or had been narrated to by their guardians. The majority of students wanted to share stories in Kimeru, their mother tongue. I was cautious, however, with the school policy not to emphasize use of mother tongue in the school compound, a space where only English and Kiswahili were allowed. I, therefore, asked students to share stories in English. Students had read these stories either in English or Kiswahili, or stories were narrated to them in mother tongue; but retelling was done in both languages, and some students indicated that they were not comfortable narrating in English. Although I did not ask for Kimeru stories, students often switched between languages during the process of narrating. Thus, students received input in one language and output in multiple repertoires including drawing.

Translanguaging in speaking was the order of the day, in class, in the playground and on their way home. The stories below demonstrate how my focal students used their linguistic repertoires to meet their communicative goals. The lingering questions in this

section are: What happens when schools emphasize English-only in classrooms in a

community like this? And, what impacts do the language separation ideologies have on

creativity and expressivity of the students? The examples from my focal students from

our story telling sessions demonstrate the nature of English used.

Almasi. Below is Almasi's story that she narrated on 10/3/2014 in English, but in

the process she used different codes. She had read it from an English storybook.

Once upon a time, there was a giraffe and aa and..a…lion. He was a good friends. One
day he go where is a big stream. The giraffe go into that stream. Then the lion say, My
friend, I wanted to sing one song.
Then the giraffe tell him, No! let we eat first then you will sing for me that song.
Then the *simba* (lion) tell him again. I want to sing that my nice song. Because that song
is very very good.
Giraffe tell him again. When…before you sing that song, eat, you sing for me and then, I
sing for you!
The lion say, my friend! Wait I sing before I eat, wait I sing oh, before I eat!
Giraffe tell him no! no! no! I don't want to sing first. Before you sing, eat first, you sing
for me and I sing for you a nice song. Who will sing the nice song, he will sing a nice
song, he will be number one and another one number two.
Then the giraffe eat and the lion. When the lion eat, says, is me the first to sing! Giraffe
said is not you is me. Is me the first one to sing, is me the first one to sing!
Then the giraffe said, I will sing for you then you will sing for me.
Simba…lion said no! no! no, I tell you, when I finished to eat, is me, I will sing first.
Giraffe said, you can't to tell me like that. Is me who am tell you like that to sing before
you sing for me.
Then the lion say, wait I eat again. Who will finish to eat faster is him who he will sing.
Giraffe finished and lion finished. *Walimaliza mara moja. Sasa,wakaanza wote kupigana.*
(They finished at once. Now they both began fighting). *Simba* (lion)…mmh, lion,
akasema, unataka nikukule kama hutaki mimi niimbe mimi mbele yako?(said, do you
want me to eat you if you don't want to let me to sing before you?) *Akasema* (He said), Is
me I will sing before you sing for me. Let we eat again! Then she eats.
Who will finished now faster before me or before you, is him he will be sing a nice one
song.
The the ee lion finished… first. The lion said.
Giraffe!, giraffe!, *jirafu, alikuwa amevuka stream akiwa sasa yuko mbali kabisa…saa ile
simba alimaliza mbele ya* giraffe *na jirafu alitoka hivi, simba alikuwa anataka kuvuka
hapo na kwenda kumwimbia.* (Giraffe had crossed the stream while very far
away….when samba finished before giraffe and giraffe left, lion wanted to cross there
and go to sing for him).
Simba, stream and giraffe *pia* (also).
Simba said, giraffe, giraffe! come I sing for you!

Then giraffe said, no! come here I am, then you sing for me.
Lion say, *sitajua kuvuka mto* (I will not know how to cross the stream). I will not know to jump over the stream.
Then the Giraffe said, you will jump over, you will jump over the, across the river/ across the stream.
The lion said, come, come this side I am, then I sing for you. Giraffe said, no! no! no! no! no! whether you can't to come where I am, I could not come where you are.
My story finished there.
[claps]
Then the *simba* (lion) sleep there and the giraffe go far away when he… he is laughing (not clear)

Mosi. Mosi was not available for story telling sessions; but, he however participated some times when talking about a nature walk. He narrated to me his visit to the forest below:
One day, I was going with goat.
I enter with it there, with this goat, now I go, then the elephant she was hear the goat, she was coming, when she was doing like this ear, and me I go and go up in the tree, I was carrying the…the...that *bada,* I was a stone in the pocket, now I start to beat the elephant, the elephant she was go coming very fast to that tree, and me I go down, I go the other side, she was go, and me I go down the side I start to be beat him, she was go and me I go the home.

Fumo. Fumo indicated to me his love for writing in his mother tongue and

Kiswahili. He felt that he was a good speaker and writer of both languages. He shared the

following story on 10/3/2014. It was supposed to be an English story but he used three

languages, English, Kiswahili and Kimeru to narrate it.

One day there is/there was lived man called Machioka had all animals at home. He one day that animals, all animals said, because we don't have food in the house we can go to collect. There was hen, cow, *mbuzi* (goat), sheep and camels. One day all animals all say, because we don't have food in the house we can go to to collect. When he was going there is old grandfather there. Grandfather said, why have you cut…your house?…I give them… baby, and not give me money….(*mwalimu labda niseme kwa Kiswahili*)(Teacher, may be I narrate in Kiswahili)…*sasa huyo mzee akauliza* (now that man asked), mmmh, cat *ni kwa nini umetoka nyumbani* (why have you left home?), cat *ikasema* (cat said), *mimi nina* (I)..*ninaaa* (I)...[changing to Kimeru the mother tongue] mbweeejaga twana na mutindiaha (I give you children and you do not pay me), *ntigiri yeja, yaurua atiri, niki wauma nja, mbwendaigiria kenda bwona twana na butindiaga …yabauria atiri…batindiaga..cieja ciothe…ciatonya kinyumba kimwe. nandi amba beya kuiya into nau. umwe aringwa teke, aumara…Aringwa aumaara, thenge yamuringa teke aumaara, boumaara ou ou; bothe bakuumara…naigua teka ndaringwa na muchinka!* [Laughter]. End of the story

157

(Donkey came and was asked, why have you left home? I sell for you so you can get children and you do not pay me. They all got into one big house. Now thieves came to steal things there. One was hit by teke and got out. The he goat hit him, and he got out. All of them were kicked out. After all of them got out out, one said, I have felt as if I have been hit by machine gun! (Laughter)

Adila. On 8 October 8, 2014, Adila narrated the story below, she had read it from English course text.

Once upon a time there lived a giant and a boy who goes to grazing to the forest. One day that boy. A boy came to the forest. The giant was hearing what the boy said. He go to the forest. And the boy was very very small. The boy sing.

I want to eat the fruit but I don't want to…to ...) [Another student helps with a vocabulary to cut it]

Adila: No! Eeh, *Gutua*!) too… to turn up to the tree.

And I say, I go up up up. I jump! I take one fruit.

One day that boy came. Was grazing. Go to take fruit. A giant was hearing where is going. The giant take that boy. He go with that boy to the forest. And the boy was very very small

That boy giant say!

I want to eat this boy*2 but I cant it eat it. Cut it!

One day that boy came again. And go. I want to eat this*2 but I

One day I come with the big tree. That tree, I come with this tree one. Come. I come with this tree one day. The boy go home. He come

The boy go home.

Come to take that fruit

The boy come. Was coming to take that tree

He

I want cut tree and eat all fruit.

Yes, I come and take this fruit.

I …tell my friend, come here and graze my cows

I came with a knife. And the knife was not cutting the tree.

But I couldn't cut this tree.

I come, I come and I cut tree and eat

The giant

I want to eat this fruit*2

I come yesterday

This time I want to eat yellow fruits. But I couldn't eat*2

He come again to graze.

I sing! I am grazing to the forest! Am grazing to the forest!

My story if finished there!

Adila's story was based on a story that was read in class about a character named

Ewoi and Giant. However, she is not able to retell the story clearly. She kept repeating

the key points of the story, that is grazing, fruits, and giant, but we do not know what

happened with the boy, nor the animals. The story also comes to an abrupt end.

Mahiri. Although Mahiri was ranked high in English language arts, he was

uncomfortable narrating his stories in English. He requested to narrate them in Kiswahili,

but in the process he mixed the two codes as seen below. Here he retold a story he had

read in English.

A story of elephant, hare na hippopotamus
Hare alikuwa ana…amehind kwa bush. Sasa elephant na hippopotamus walikuwa
wanaongea. Elephant akasema. Mimi nitakuwa the judge of the land na wewe ukuwe the
judge of the water. Sasa yeye akasikia akawashtua halafu akajificha. Wakakimbia wote.
Hippopotamus akaenda mwisho wa maji, Naye elephant akaingia kwa msitu. Sungura
akatokea hapo akaita hippopotamus akiwa huko mwisho. akamwambia kuna ngombe
mwingine ameingia kwa matope wangu hapa tu. Nataka umtoe, na ako na nguvu hata
hutaweza kumtoa. Hippopotamus akasema ndio nitamtoa. halafu hare akamwambia
ngojea.

Halafu hare akaenda akaita elephant tena. Akamwambia kuna ngombe wangu ako na
nguvu ameingia kwa matope, na ninataka unitolee yeye. Nitakufungia kamba wewe
halafu nimfungie yeye shingo, halafu umvurute umtoe kwa matope
Ndovu akasema mimi naweza kutoa hata ngombe watano kwa matope kwa dakika moja.
sasa sungura akaenda akamfungia elephant kamba hapa (showing) na akaenda side ile
ingine kwa bush ile ingine akamfungia hippotamus. akamwambia nikikwamba start
uvurute. Akaenda akaambia hata elephant hivyo. Sasa akasema start!

Wakaanza kuvurutana kuvuratana…kamba ikashika moto ikakatikia katikati
Hippopotamus akaakunguka kwa maji splash, elephant akaanguka huko kwa mchanga
thud. elephant akakimbia kwa msitu halafu hippopotamus akakaa hapo tu alikuwa
anavuruta. halafu sasa hare akawaita wote wawili. akasema, Saa ile mlikuwa mnasema,
ndovu alikuwa anasema akuwe judge of the land Ndovu hawezi, kwa nini kamba ilikatika
akakimbia akatoroka? Na yeye hippopotamus naye anaweza kuwa the judge of the water.
Story ikaishia hapo.

English Translation
Hare had a ... he had hind in the bush. Now the elephant and hippopotamus were talking.
Elephant said, I'll be the judge of the land and you there the judge of the water. Now he
heard, he scared them then he hid. All fled away. Hippopotamus went to the end of the
water, and the elephant went to the forest. Hare came out (of the hiding place) he called
hippopotamus at the end there, he told him that there one of his cows that has sank into
mud near here, I want you to remove him, and he is very strong you may not be able to
remove him. Hippopotamus said, yes, I will remove him. Then told him to wait.

159

Then the hare went and called the elephant again. And he told him there is my cow who is very strong and has stuck in mud, and I want you to remove him for me. I will tie a string on you, then I tie it on his neck, then you will pull him out of the mud
Elephant said I could remove even five cows from the mud in one minute.

Now hare went and tied elephant rope here (showing) and went to the other side of the bush and tied the rope on hippopotamus. He told him when I tell you start, begun pulling. She went and told even elephant so.
Now he said, start!

They began pulling each other, pulling each other, the rope got heated and cut at the middle...
Hippopotamus fell on water splash, elephant fell in the sand thud. Elephant fled to the forest and then hippopotamus stayed where he was while pulling. Then the hare now called the two of them. He said, when you were saying, when elephant was saying to be judge of the land, he cannot, why when the string cut he ran and escaped? And the hippopotamus can be the judge of the water. Story ended there.

Discussion on oral stories. The nature of English language use differed for the five focal students. One key feature in all the stories is the mix of languages. All the students used different codes in the process of story telling. Drawing from Dyson's (2008) definition of unofficial practices, students here have reworked the official reading practices, through retelling using their multiple communicative resources, to a language that is more familiar to the audience (peers). A dialogic approach to utterance (oral or written), considers language as always situated, and, it is dialogic along three planes; it responds to past utterances, it is oriented to immediate contexts and situation, and it is addressed to future utterances and situations. And, considering the fact that any utterance is never neutral; but, rather is infused with indexical traces of all kinds (Bakthin, 1981) and affective colorations (Prior, 2001); then, the students' narrations present sociohistoric forces in a situated moment of the literate activity. Thus, the narration is not only an individual creativity of the child, but also a stabilized effect of sociohistoric forces (centripetal and centrifugal forces); both are infused in the activity. The five focal

students bring in their voices in their languages through translanguaging. Voice is linked to identities of students as Kimeru and Kiswahili speakers, as well as their ethnicities. The students also envoice their narrations by using words from the written stories (adopting the utterances of others) and combining those words with their own for coherence of the story. Students' voice is also evident in the ways the narrators interact with the audience, through the use of socially acceptable languages. In line with the language uses in students' daily communicative lives, situated dialogic perspectives argue for viewing pedagogy as situated practices, and utterances as acts within social life. The language use in the narrations indicates real communicative lives (probably this could be a little different outside the school compound). The dialogic approach suggests that attention should be paid to practices of pedagogies in use. This has implications for the emerging multilingual learners, whose languages in use are problems in school. I think that the language use in unofficial settings represents the literate lives of the students. Attempts to shun these forms of communicative practices silence students' participation in literate activities that are appreciated in school. It is important for educators to appreciate students' experiential and social language practices to reconnect education with the children, and guide them acquire the school codes. An emerging question is how could teachers do that? These observations suggest a need for dialogue among the educators of multilingual and multicultural students, about the best culturally responsive practices to meet students' needs. I am ending this section with words of Prior, (2001):

> … teaching and learning language can never be simply about transferring or acquiring skills, codes, and rules. All activity, including the teaching and learning

161

of literate practices, involves political, social, and ethical responsibilities for (re)making ourselves and our worlds that we cannot elide, that we should be aware of and decide how to address. (p, 78).

Appreciating the communicative lives of emergent multilingual students in classroom activities, even in English language arts lessons could be a beginning point to engaging students in school literacy practices and helping students to develop their voices.

Summary and discussion on unofficial literacies. The unofficial literacies in class indicate that students display their multiple communicative repertoires in the classroom. In a paired reading conversation, we see Almasi and Nuru reading and trying to respond to questions. Almasi takes the position of the teacher and admonishes Nuru in Kiswahili, *Aaih! hapana*) and Kimeru, *we thoma tigana nabo* (you read, leave them alone). We see all students demonstrate their knowledge through drawing different figures; some of those are three-dimensional. Although figures were labeled in English, explanations were done in Kiswahili. Also, it was noted that in-class drawing took place during English language arts lessons.

The story telling sessions were considered unofficial and we see students display their multiple repertoires. The goal was to narrate stories in English but we find that Mahiri, Almasi, and Fumo use different languages to narrate their stories. Adila tries to use English only but we find a lot more problems in the flow of the story, and the story comes to an abrupt end. The language display in unofficial spaces indicates the reality of students' language use in a multilingual setting. Vygotsky (1978) indicated the inseparability of individual and the society, hence, the role of social mediation in individual higher mental processes. In a multilingual fourth grade classroom, multiple

162

communicative practices mediate learning and, thus, the focus on English-only instruction separates individuals from the society; and, in Ngugi's (1986) terms, separates the body and the soul. The oral narrations in English may suggest that students have not developed the requisite academic language for studying in English only at the beginning of fourth grade.

The multilingual oral narratives attest to the fact that students draw from multiple repertoires to meet their particular goals. It is important also to note that these stories were read either in English or Kiswahili, and narrated using multiple modalities. Students' English language practices indicate that separating languages limits knowledge production by the students. Vygotsky (2012) has noted that thought is realized through words. Students cannot realize their thoughts in a foreign language; and, thus, this constrains not only concept formation but also language development. The unofficial literacies above raise concerns and questions for embracing the multilingual resources in terms of translanguaging practices for multilingual population. The unofficial literacies show that, although English-only was advocated in school, students did not speak English beyond the classroom responses to teacher's prompts. Students used translanguaging practices in both official and unofficial spaces or remained silent.

Discussion and Chapter Summary

This chapter was structured to present the official and unofficial literacy practices in the fourth grade classroom, with a goal of discussing the communicative repertoires and the nature of English used in the process of constructing meaning. The data has demonstrated that the IRF participatory pattern prevailed in English arts lesson with a lot of repetition in the classroom. Students' initiated responses or questions were in

Kiswahili, and were mainly request for instructions. Unofficial literacies emerged during English only instruction, which included drawing, singing and banging the lockers. During this period, students demonstrated their knowledge and experiences through multimodal means.

The prevalence of repetition for fluency in the classroom raises a several concerns for socio-construction view of language learning. According to Vygotsky, (2012), "memorizing words and connecting them to the object does not in itself lead to concept formation" p. 107). Bakhtin (1981; 1984) and Vygotsky (1978; 2012) would argue that education should not be seen as transmission of knowledge, retention, recall and transfer. Rather it should include co-construction of knowledge and participation in classroom. In Bakthin's words, the practice taking place in the classroom can best be described as monologism, which shuns dialogue. Bakthin (1984) points out that monologism "denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and responsibilities" (p. 292). Monologism ignores other voices and wants to transmit their understanding and knowledge. Failure to allow dialogue in classroom leads to fixed routines that Vygotsky (2012) and Freire (2000) called fossilization. Students may develop one way of thinking that rejects whatever else that does not conform to the existing knowledge. This may hinder students' abilities to develop various skills in dealing with tasks that require complex thinking. Students should be taught how to create, adjust their strategies and assimilate learning activities into their own personal world.

The teacher-centered approach was dominant in all lessons; with students' participation limited to one-word responses or reading, and safe talk. This practice

164

hinders students' interactions, which is encouraged by Vygotsky, (1978; 2012). The literacy practices in language arts lessons indicate that students in the rural setting are not ready for English only instruction by the beginning of fourth grade as might be expected given the limited English use at homes and communities coupled with pedagogical limitations. This is evident from the fact that most students cannot create a correct English sentence, cannot write a coherent prose in English, and the prevalence of safe talk in classroom. Some student in fourth grade have developed fluency in reading English text due to the emphasis on oral repetition, but their reading does not predict comprehension. They have developed surface fluency of the language. How then do content area teachers make meaning of English-only instruction? The next chapter discusses meaning making practices in a science classroom.

Chapter Five

Translanguaging in a Science Classroom

This chapter presents the communicative practices observed in a fourth grade classroom during science lessons where students were learning in and through English as a foreign language. I present the data obtained from classroom observations and interviews with the science teacher (Mrs. Tabasamu) and focal students to discuss translanguaging as pedagogy in a multilingual classroom, pointing to the ways in which it is used to support both curricular and learning development of students. I draw from the sociocultural and dialogic theories presented in Chapter Two to analyze data in this chapter. The data show how the science teacher (Mrs. Tabasamu) and students interacted as they drew from their multiple communicative repertoires. Through heteroglossic lens (Bakthin, 1981), I discuss how learning took place by analyzing the language and literacy practices as enacted during science lessons by both Mrs. Tabasamu and students. I discuss the implicit tensions and ways in which Mrs. Tabasamu and students resisted the monolingual view of literacy imposed on them by the language policy to a more flexible use of language to make sense of their communicative lives. The multiple voices that are enabled and/or constrained by language use in the classroom are explicated. I use the authoritative discourses and persuasive discourse models (Bakhtin, 1981) to discuss the opportunities that students are given through translanguaging. The practice of translanguaging includes translations, and bridging discourses; practices which gave students an opportunity to self-author themselves.

Translanguaging in a Science Classroom

As noted in chapter two, translanguaging refers to the process in which bi/multilingual students and possibly teachers make sense and accomplish their communication goals using their linguistic repertoires in the literacy practices (Sylvan & Garcia, 2011). Despite the language restrictions placed on fourth grade multilingual children by institutional monolingual ideologies, Mrs. Tabasamu and the students transgressed the restrictive monolingual landscapes in classroom. Mrs. Tabasamu had sixteen years experience teaching in grades 1-8. She taught science and Kiswahili in Tumaini primary school.

Translanguaging as Pedagogy

Below is a lesson that shows translanguaging as it occurred in the fourth grade classroom. It shows how teacher-student talk in science lessons appropriated translanguaging practices to mediate between students' current linguistic levels in the language of instruction to access knowledge and bridge the discourse between their everyday knowledge to theoretical science knowledge. It also shows how the teachers and students negotiated meaning using students' repertoires. Through translanguaging, the teacher and student were active participants in knowledge construction and language learning. Mrs. Tabasamu used three languages: English (required), Kiswahili and Kimeru, to keep students engaged and active in classroom. She drew from students' knowledge of home languages, and then guided them to respond in short sentences and phrases in the lesson. She translated the key points of the lesson into three of the students' languages and checked for comprehension from different individuals in the classroom who seemed silent. The teacher repeated students' responses using the

language of instruction (LOI). T in this chapter refers to the science teacher, Mrs.

Tabasamu.

Excerpt 1: Factors affecting floating and sinking

1. T: Factors affecting floating and sinking. These are material, shape, and size [writing on the board]. Shape, *fafanua kidogo* (explain a little) shape, shape *ni* (is)?
2. S: Silence (students write silently the topic for the day and the three factors on the chalkboard)
3. T: Eeeh! [Explaining] Ni vile kitu kimeundwa. Unawezakuta vingine vina (It is the way things are made. You will find some have) corner, *vingine viko* (others are) straight, *vingine* (others)? [Probing students to contribute]
4. S1: Triangle
5. T: Vingine (others)?
6. S2: Square
7. S3: Rectangle
8. T: Rectangular, Eeeh, someone else, any other shape that you know?
9. S4: Diagonal
10. S5: Zigzag
11. T: Mosi? [calling on a silent student to check if he has understood the shape]
12. Mosi: Sphere
13. T: So you are telling me all the shapes that you know [another student raises hand and teacher acknowledges] Yes, Adila!
14. Adila: *Mche* (prism)
15. T: ehhm?
16. Adila: *Mche* (prism)
17. T: *Mche* (prism) [teacher repeating Adila's word in Kiswahili]
18. Now when we talk of a shape, that what we are talking about. *Muundo wa kile kitu* (shape of that object). How that object looks like. That is the shape. The other factor is size. Size, *nani hajui* (who doesn't know) size? *Kuna mtu hajui tunazungumzia nini* (is there anybody who doesn't know what we mean) when we talk of size?
19. S: *Hapana* (No)!
20. T: Whether something is? [repeats]
21. S: Silence
22. T: *Kama* (if)? [Translating]
23. S1: [referring to objects on the table] Small book and bigger one; *ile na ile* (that and that).
24. T: Kito *anatuonyesha pale* (Kito is showing us there.)
25. Adila: *Hizi si* (these are not) the same size. [Demonstrating using two different objects]
26. T: [Echoing student's words, and translating.] That one is not the same size.
<center>***</center>
27. T: Ok. So what do we mean by material? [The teacher picks a wooden chalkboard ruler and a book ruler.] The material of this one is, and this one; *zote mbili ni* (both of them are) ruler. *Lakini ukiangalia moja imeundwa na mbao, nyingine plastiki*

<center>168</center>

(but when you look at them one is made of wood and another one plastic). So that what we mean when talking of material. [The teacher refers to student's background knowledge; soda bottles to explain the material, she uses Kiswahili to check students' understanding. Repeating,] these are rulers. Si ndio? (Isn't it?) [There is no time for students to respond.] Zote mbili ni? (The two are?)

28. S: Ruler
29. T: Lakini ukiangalia hii imeundwa na plastiki (but if you look at this one it is made of plastic). So that what it means when we are talking about material. Now I am coming to the size, are they of the same size?
30. S: No!
31. T: What can you say about the size? [repeats the question twice]
32. S-all: Silence
33. S1: One is big, another one is small.
34. T: How? One is big and the other one is small, it is big in which way?
35. S: Silence
36. T: Mahiri! [calling on a student]
37. Mahiri: The wood one is longer than the other one.
38. T: That is what I wanted...the size of the wood ruler is longer than plastic one. So when we are talking of size, that what it means. And then apart from being long and short, another may be thick another one may be thin. *Kimoja kiwe kikubwa kingine kidogo/kikonde* (one may be big another one may be small or thin). We can also be talking of size there. [Now the teaching is checking students' knowledge about sinking and floating]

<center>***</center>

39. T: Let's take a stick [repeats]. A piece of stick [translating into Kiswahili] *Kijiti ambacho kimekauka, kimoja kiwe kirefu hivi, kengine kawe kafupi; vyote ni vijiti vimekauka* (a wooden stick that is dry, one long like this, and another one short; both are dry sticks). Am talking of *gakoomu* (a Kimeru word for dry). When you put all these sticks in water. The short stick and long stick, remember we said that sticks float. If we put them in water, will the longer one sink and the other one float?
40. S-all: No!
41. [Teacher continues] Even if it's small or big, if the material is a sinker, it will sink. What matters, one, *itadepend na kile kitu kimeunda* (it will depend with what its made of). The material matters a lot. *Tumeelewanwa hapo* (have we understood each other there)?
42. S: *Ndio* (yes).
43. T: I want to explain to you how materials affect floating and sinking. [teacher gets a plastic bottle and glass bottle] They are all bottles but made of different what?
44. S: Materials…
45. T: *Hii chupa imeundwa na material gani*? [This bottle is made of which material?]
46. S-all: Plastic.
47. T: *Kuna hii nyingine ya soda* (there is this other soda bottle). This material is different from this. They are all bottles but made of different material. This plastic what do you think will happen when you put it in water, in a basin of water? They

<center>169</center>

are bottles made of different materials. When you put them in water what do you think will happen? It will?
48. Kitwana: Float
49. T: What about the other soda bottle,
50. Kito: Sink
51. T: It will sink. *Italingana na kitu kinaundwa na nini* (It will depend on what it is made of), material; it will make it sink or float.
52. *Pia* (also) shape also matters a lot. *Ule muundo wa kitu* (the shape of an item), *ile* (that) shape, *itadetermine* (it will determine) if that object is going to float or sink. So the two, material and shape determine the sinking and floating. [Translating into the third language [Kimeru] Shape *nitumaga gintu kigasink kana kigeta atia*? (Shape makes a thing to sink or?)
53. S: *kigafloat* (to float) [Kimeru and English].
54. T: Now the last one, size, does it matter?
55. S-all: No!
56. T: Does it matter whether something is long or short?
57. Ss: No!
58. T: *Kethira gintu ni kia gusink, kinya kiethirwa kiregi, kana gikuigi gikagita atia*? (If some is a sinker, even if it's long or short, it will?)
59. S-all: *Kigasink* (it will sink).
60. *Na kiethirwa ni gia gufloat, kinya kethirwa kanyigi, kana karegi, gakagita atia*? (And if it is a floater, even if it's small or tall, it will?)
61. S-few: *Gikafloat*. (It will float.)
62. T: So these are the three factors; that affect the sinking and floating and which one does not affect. Is that clear?
63. S-all: Yes!
64. T: Bottle top, you know it. We said it does what? Does it float or sink. *Kulingana na vile ilivyo* (depending on how it is). It will?
65. S-few: Float
66. T: ?And when we take it and crash it, it will sink. That is because shape *yake imebadilika* (has changed). Shape *yake sasa imebalika* (its shape now has changed). *Na ndio unaona* (and that's why you see) the same *ambayo ilikuwa inaelea itaenda chini* (that which was floating it now sinks), it will sink because the shape now has changed. Isn't?
67. S-all: Yes!
68. T: So write these notes before the bell goes [Mrs. Tabasamu writes notes on the board and students begin copying into their note books.]

The lesson above shows varied communicative practices during a science lesson. The teacher changed across languages to transmit knowledge. Mrs. Tabasamu was teaching about factors affecting floating and sinking. Mrs. Tabasamu introduced the lesson in English as shown in line 1, and then she probed students' understanding of

170

shape in Kiswahili line in line 1 (Shape, *fananua kidogo*). She explained the meaning of shape in Kiswahili in line 3 and probed students to give examples of shapes that they know of, lines 4-17. In line 18, Mrs. Tabasamu mixes English and Kiswahili back and forth. She uses TL to engage students thinking through repetition of information already presented in English into Kiswahili and vice versa as shown in lines 18, translation in lines 22, 27, 38 and 39, and code mixing in lines 41 *itadepend* (Swahili/English; It will depend), 52 *itadetermine* (Swahili/English; It will determine), 58 *gusink* (Kimeru/English; to sink), 59 *kigasink* (Kimeru/English; It will sink) and line 61 *gikafloat* (Kimeru-English; It will float). Students' understanding is indicated by their responses on different shapes and sizes. Mrs. Tabasamu predominantly uses English in this lesson. Students' silence gives her a cue that there is misunderstanding or students are not following as shown in lines 2 and 20, which triggers translation into Kiswahili or Kimeru. The teacher moves back and forth using three different languages. All languages are meant to clarify lesson content and move the lesson. In lines 27, 29, 38, and 41, Mrs. Tabasamu uses English to instruct, then translates the same information into Kiswahili to include all students. Further in lines 52-61, Mrs. Tabasamu concludes the lesson using the students' mother tongue to emphasize the key points of the lesson.

As viewed from excerpt 1, English is distanced from the students. In Bakthin's (1981) terms, Mrs. Tabasamu is using authoritative word. Mrs. Tabasamu's use of English indexes power and authority in this classroom, and the students cannot access it. Bakthin notes that, "The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher" (p. 342). Mrs. Tabasamu recognizes the language barrier, but the powerful institutional and political forces lead

her to continue using the English language, with a few translations to bridge the discourse and make the lesson meaningful to students. During a follow up interview with Mrs. Tabasamu on her use of students' languages in science classroom, she indicated the following:

Student languages assist in understanding of some science terms. It helps them to relate what is learned to reality, makes it real in their minds. It makes them see something real in their minds...clarifying some things...terms so they can understand... (Laughs) although we don't encourage so much… *Unaona* (you see) you are not supposed to go out of English now, you have talked and you have talked and talked *na unaona hakuna kitu wamepata* (and you find they have not understood anything). So do you really leave them like that? It's not in order. So you just get some words to try to make them get what you wanted them to get. Although they do understand more when something is put in their MT, we don't encourage that one. If we encourage that one they can give you very correct answers. But we discourage it…

Mrs. Tabasamu's response best describes the choice of language use in classroom. There are socio political forces that encourage her to adopt English as the voice of authority during science lesson (Wertsch, 1991). Mrs. Tabasamu followed the language policy; however, the reality in the classroom forced her to shuttle between languages. The inherent tensions in language use are explicated by her response above. However, she takes an agentive role to bridge the language competence barrier by using and allowing students to use their languages for social justice. Her response indexes broader political social tensions as they play in the heteroglossic classroom. In Bakthin's terms, these

172

forces are the centripetal forces that pull towards unitary language, forces of

homogeneity, standardization and correctness in use of English only (Bakthin, 1981) and

the opposing centrifugal forces of decentralization, and realities of heteroglossia such as

code mixing and other linguistic repertoires present in classroom. Mrs. Tabasamu is in

conflict over the institutional choices and realities of the students as she notes; "You have

talked and you have talked and talked *na unaona hakuna kitu wamepata* (and you find

they have not understood anything). So do you really leave them like that?"

Incorporation of home languages in the science lesson can be regarded as an

attempt to create a space for social justice. Nieto (1998) noted that successful bilingual

education entails respect for children's home languages, and that scorn for the language

of others is scorn for those who use it. It amounts to a form of social discrimination.

Nieto further noted that when children's language and culture are reinforced in school

students seem to develop less confusion and ambiguity about their ability to learn. Mrs.

Tabasamu's use of language to engage and clarify points in the lesson was always

checked; it was a back and forth process. Students as well produced very short sentences

in English. While she changed languages to give access, students in this lesson were not

encouraged to respond in their home languages. Although Mrs. Tabasamu did not punish

them for using home languages in the classroom, students had internalized the fact that

use of home languages was prohibited in school.

Access to knowledge by students was important for Mrs. Tabasamu; thus, she

employed translanguaging practices. Halliday (1973) argued that educational failure is

often, and in a very general and rather deep sense, language failure. The child who does

not succeed in the school system may be one who is not using language in the ways

173

required by schools. Within the broader monolingual perspective of literacy, a child who has accessed knowledge through translanguaging may not use the same mode to respond to questions in an assessment. While translanguaging in this lesson takes account of the child's own linguistic experience, tensions remain on the acceptability of these strategies in a multilingual classroom. The class notes were written in English only.

The silence of students in Mrs. Tabasamu's class acted as a cue from the learners that they have not understood. Thus, the teacher changed languages until students could respond to questions. In this lesson, Mrs. Tabasamu has changed from English, to Kiswahili, then Kimeru and back to English. The notes written on the chalkboard were in English. Mrs. Tabasamu indicated that her language use depended on topics and students' reactions in the classroom. For example, when asked how and when she decides to translanguage; whether planned or voluntary, she indicated the following:

> You may ask something and find nobody is answering. *Wanakuangalia tu* (They just look at you). *Uwaulize tamu fulani uone wanakuangalia tu* (you ask them a particular term you find they are just looking at you). Not even one. So *hapo unaona kuna kutoeleweka* (So, there you realize there is a misunderstanding). So you try *kueleza* (to explain). Or you find that they have answer but can't answer it in English.

Whenever Mrs. Tabasamu used the language of the students, everybody was ready to respond. All students raised their hands ready to answer and some even shouted the answer. Mrs. Tabasamu indicated the following concerning language change and participation:

When you shift language, most of them want to talk. Those who have been silent want to talk. Those silent now wants to talk, they can understand what you are teaching.

Another advantage of changing language was keeping the class engaged. Mrs. Tabasamu reported that:

Students' reactions...ooh, when they understand what you wanted them to learn. They are happy because in case you fail to ...you explain in that language, when you ask a question after explaining in Kiswahili you will find that now they participate, they become happy, you as a teacher also you become happy. Yeah!

Translangauging during this science lesson opened a space for a dialogue. Bakthin (1981) has noted that authoritative discourse is distanced, it cannot be changed, one cannot play with its context; therefore, it cannot be a true dialogue. When Mrs. Tabasamu used English instruction, she was a custodian of knowledge. She knew the truth, and taught it to students who lacked it or were in error (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984). The tendency towards the use of authoritative discourse on the part of the teacher is likened to utterances, which instruct the learner to recite from the text or to agree to the position expressed by the teacher, rather than inviting the learners to explain their own point of view rather than from their hearts (Bakthin, 1981). Freire (1970) criticizing the behaviorist model of teaching (through authoritative word) argues that it is non liberatory because it is not anchored in the cultural knowledge and lived experiences of the learners. It treats learners as empty vessels to be filled by the teacher. Freire argues that only pedagogy based on the dialogue, designed to develop learner's critical thinking can help them perceive the causes of the social, economic and political inequalities in the society.

The translanguaging practices during the science lesson may be considered as an internally persuasive discourse (Bakthin, 1981) or a dialogic pedagogy (Freire, 1970). Bakthin notes:

> Internally persuasive discourse is tightly interwoven with 'one's own word.' In the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half-ours and half-someone else's … and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. (pp. 345–346)

Translanguaging is giving both the students and Mrs. Tabasamu a chance to retell science content in their ones own words, which is persuasive. Bakthin (1981) has noted that words that are retold in one's own words are much more open, flexible, and dynamic.

Following the tensions discussed above however, the flexible language in this classroom is against the language policy in this school and the broader ministry of education policies. In this lesson, Mrs. Tabasamu has balanced the use of authoritative and persuasive word. She checks students' understanding through MT or Kiswahili. The flexible language use by the teacher is to give students voice and access to the content presented. She has done this through repetition of ideas, direct translation, and allowing students to translanguage as well in their short choral responses. Lines 56, 62, and 64 are examples of students flexible language use. Mrs. Tabasamu is using L1, and L2 as a scaffold for L3 and understanding the lesson content, and then transfers the knowledge constructed into English, the LOI.

In the conclusion section of the lesson, Mrs. Tabasamu mixes codes within word, such as *kigasink, kigafloat*. The students as well use these terms to respond. The three languages are not considered separate codes and Mrs. Tabasamu and students do not

confine signs to different languages but rather use heteroglossic language forms simultaneously. Although Mrs. Tabasamu's major goal was to provide knowledge access to students and encourage engagement in science discourse, use of multiple communicative repertoires is a performance of multiple voices. Smitherman (1972) argued for not only toleration of this multiplicity of voices, but also encouragement and recognition of the speakers' complex and intentional linguistic performance. This performance enables speakers to negotiate not only academic spaces filled with standard discourse but also their own identities. Smitherman points out that code mixing and code switching demonstrate the speaker's mastery and intentionality. They display creativity where other voices are purposively integrated in performance.

Through providing students an opportunity to respond in either of their communicative repertoires, it may be argued that translanguaging empowered and envoiced the students. This is further evidenced by the silence that followed English-only lessons as demonstrated in chapter four. Mrs. Tabasamu's use of persuasive language to give students access to knowledge was a form of empowerment for students. Both languages were needed simultaneously to deliver the science lesson. Mrs. Tabasamu is using three languages to make meaning, and perform identities using the linguistic signs at her disposal. The institutional policies and curriculum structures in this setting may make Mrs. Tabsamu feel powerless, given the language of instruction that is distanced from students. She repeated the same content several times in different languages; and, as noted in the lesson and an interview above, to give students an access. Mrs. Tabasamu's sentiments are echoed by Ngugi (1986) who noted that for a postcolonial child, alienation begins at school. Ngugi suggests that the ultimate impact of using a foreign language as

the primary medium for study is a deep colonial alienation on a personal and societal level. He posits that the alienating force of languages could account for anti-education attitudes, and poor performances in school. Fanon (1967) speaks of separation of individuals from their individuality. He observes, "In the man of color, there is constant effort to run away from his individuality to annihilate his own presence" (p.60). The use of language is regarded by Fanon as one of the most powerful possible expressions of alienation. This is because the boundaries of language can serve as an important identity marker of the self and the other. The language situation in Mrs. Tabasamu's class is a battlefield of ideologies and struggles between policies and realities, between power structures and resistance.

Mrs. Tabasamu also felt that if the class were taught only in English, the objectives would not be met. She affirmed: "You cannot do English only class or lesson. You have to mix with Kiswahili to achieve the objectives." She felt that English-only at the beginning of fourth grade was not helping students acquire literacy. Due to the centripetal forces (forces for universality or one language) and the final exams, and broader ideological becoming (Bakthin, 1981), she felt that English should have been introduced earlier to facilitate English-only instruction in fourth grade. Mrs. Tabasamu, however, played an agentive role for access to knowledge as indicated during her interview. She noted that:

> If we take English as the only language, we will not be helping; for us here in
> rural, but for schools which are in towns because of using the language regularly
> there is no such problems.

Typically, all science lessons observed included translanguaging practices in all discourse exchanges. Mrs. Tabasamu, who was the science teacher for fourth grade, taught them all. The next excerpt shows further how translanguaging was used.

Excerpt 2: The following episode occurred in a classroom where the science teacher was reviewing a thematic lesson on body care. Mrs. Tabasamu used and allowed flexible language use in classroom to give voice to the students to construct knowledge.

[It is a science lesson-review on body care-care of teeth; Mrs. Tabasamu guides a student to read a question aloud in class. The student reads and the teacher repeats the same question offering further explanation and translations for comprehension.]

69. S1: Which of the following is not a sign or a symptom of gum disease?
70. T: [repeats reading the question]. To answer this question we need to know the meaning of the word symptom or sign. What is the meaning of the word symptom or sign?
71. S-all: All students remain silent
72. T: [teacher looks around the classroom] *Yaani* (that is); *hebu tuweke kwa Kiswahili* (let us put it in Swahili)
73. T: *Dalili ni nini* (What is a symptom)?
74. S-all: Short silence
75. T: *Na* (and) gum *ni nini* (what is)?
76. S2: *Ni hii* (it is this) [a student showing pointing to his gum]
77. S3: *Ni ile inashikilia meno* (It is that which holds teeth together)
78. T: Na kwa Kiswahili inaitwaje? (And, what is it called in Kiswahili?)
79. Adila: *ufizi* (gum)
80. T: *Sasa umejua* (now you have known). *Ni sehemu ya mdomo inayoshikilia meno* (It is a part of the mouth that holds the teeth together).

Mrs. Tabasamu translates content for students to give them access and agency. Lines 76, 77 and 79 demonstrate that students are constructing knowledge with the teacher. The students find a voice when the teacher translates the question into Kiswahili. Line 76 and 79, the student (S2) is using his communicative repertoire to respond or to show what a gum is. The teacher probes the student to discuss more by using the language they are comfortable with, by asking the name of gum in Swahili, line 78. The use of flexible

language here disrupts the traditional initiation, response feedback pattern in a whole class setting. We see a student showing the gum in line 76, and another student explains what gum is in words in his language, line 77. The teacher appreciates students' contributions in their language and repeats the definition in students' language, line 80. In the above excerpt, Translanguaging is acting as a social justice practice. Although micro language alternations are considered illegitimate in classroom, Mrs. Tabasamu chooses to give voice to the students through their languages. The students who respond in Kiswahili in lines 76-79 would otherwise remain silent.

The focal students as well indicated to me that translanguaging enabled them to engage in the lesson and understand concepts taught more readily and deeply. I asked them the following question: When Mrs. Tabasamu is teaching science, does she sometimes use Kimeru or Kiswahili to explain things? Does that help you to understand? How does that help you?

Almasi responded the following:

> Ndio, hata anatuelezanga kwa Kimeru saa ingine Kiswahili. It helps me to understand. Lakini anasemanga, hata mkisikia nikiongea Kimeru, msiseme mwalimu ameongea Kimeru. Wachana na mwalimu, si yeye ako kwa mshahara…msiongee Kimeru.

> Yes, she even explains to us in Kimeru sometimes. It helps me to understand. But she says; even if you hear me speaking in Kimeru, do not say the teacher has spoken in Kimeru. Leave the teacher alone. He/she has a salary…don't speak Kimeru.

Mahiri responded:

> Ndio. If we don't understand; akitueleza kwa Kimeru au Kiswahili; tunaelewa vitu ambavyo hatuelewi kwa English kuliko mbeleni.

> Yes. If we don't understand; if she explains to us in Kimeru or Kiswahili; we get to understand things, which we don't understand in English, or we understand better than before.

Mosi noted:

> Yes, kama using of water, anaeleza kabisa kama ni tank, iwekwe kwenye pipes, iwekewe kwenye shamba, anatueleza mpaka mnasikia kabisa. In math, si wengi wanasikianga Kiingereza. Atawaeleza kwa Kiswahili like divide, utafanya hivi ndio ukuje kupata answer.

> Yes, like using water, she explains completely like if it is a tank, it is connected to pipes and put in the farm, she explains until we understand completely/well. In math, not many understand English. She will explain to them in Kiswahili, like divide, you will do this to get an answer.

Fumo noted:

> Anatuelezea kwa Kiswahili. Kama ni kitu hujui atakuelezea ujue. Kama ni rainy atasema "kama mtu hajui anasema mwenye hajui hiyo ni mvua", so Kiswahili ni chako unaelewa.

> She explains in Kiswahili. If it is something you do not know, she will explain until you get to know. For example If it is rainy she will say, "If someone doesn't know that is rainy", so Kiswahili is yours you understand it.

All the students interviewed appreciated the use of translanguaging in the classroom; it gave them deeper understanding of the content, and reinforced plural identities, as Fumo says; Kiswahili *ni chako* (Kiswahili is yours) showing ownership of language, and, Mosi noted that integrated multilingual practices also increases reasoning power. Mosi noted that, "Watu wengi hawaelewangi Kiingereza" (Many people do not understand English). Therefore, use of English-only led to silence in classroom. Translanguaging practices are in line with post-colonial African scholars' views of language (Makalela, 2015; Ngugi, 1986). Ngugi (1986) notes that language as communication and as culture are products of each other. Therefore, language restrictions and isolation or separation practices are unjust. "It is like separating the mind from the body so that they are occupying two unrelated linguistic spheres in the same person. On a larger social scale it is like producing a society of bodiless heads and headless bodies" (p.

28). English-only instruction alienates children from their language of daily interaction in the home and in the community. Freire (2000) refers to the disharmony between home and school situation in the postcolonial states as cultural invasion used by the oppressor as a tactic to dominate, and, hence leads to the inauthenticity of individuals. This leads to a greater level of mimicry on the part of the oppressed and the masses may lose their values. It may lead to disassociation of the responsiveness of that child from his natural and social environment making learning for a colonial child a cerebral activity and not an emotionally felt experience (Ngugi, 1986). Freire (2000) calls for cultural synthesis to address the strengths of an individual's own culture as a creative act that vindicates the oppressed by providing a different vision of the world than the one which has been imposed without question. Translanguaging activities in Mrs. Tabasamu's science classroom provided a space for students, and a means to navigate and negotiate English only instruction.

The excerpts one and two discussed above show how Mrs. Tabasamu switched languages to scaffold students' understanding of the lesson content. It is noted that the translanguaging practices does not seem to hand over rights to students to engage with the content among themselves, it is still quite controlled and positioned as recipients of the teacher mediated knowledge. Notable however is the fact that although there are no major student-student discussions, students are able to contribute new knowledge and can build on each other knowledge. This disruption of IRF was not seen in English only classroom presented in chapter four. The next section is a further discussion of how translanguaging mediated literacy in the standard language.

182

Bridging Discourses. Bridging discourses according to Gibbons (2006) refer to the process through which teachers and students talk and make connections between everyday language of students who are learning in and through English as a second language, and, the language associated with school academic registers, which students must learn to control. The following excerpts show how translanguaging was used to bridge discourses. I focus on the features of discourse that seem to be enabling students' participation in classroom.

Excerpt 3: Defining tooth sensitivity. This was a review lesson by Mrs. Tabasamu. It was a part of a thematic lesson on body care.

81. T: You get something cold in your mouth, and then one of your teeth starts aching. What is the meaning of word ache?
82. S1: *gutuuma* (to ache) [translating into Kimeru]
83. T: Eeh! [agreeing]
84. S2: *Kuuma* (to ache). [Translating into Kiswahili]
85. T: *Jino linaanza kuuma* (a tooth begins to ache) [teacher reiterating students responses] *Tuseme umechukua kinywaji ambacho ni baridi* (let's say you have taken a cold drink) then one of your teeth starts aching, *ama uweke kinywaji moto kwa mdomo* (or you put a hot drink in your mouth) and one of your teeth starts aching. Have you experienced such a problem? Or you do like this (shhh!). *Jino linaanza kuuma* (the tooth begins to ache) [teacher explains and demonstrates the feeling of sensitive tooth] *Si ndiyo*? (Isn't it)?
86. S-all: *Ndio* (Yes)!
87. T: That problem is called tooth sensitivity. It's called what?
88. S-all: Tooth sensitivity.

In the above excerpt, the teacher instructs the lesson in English but allows students to translate their understanding of the term in any of their languages as shown in lines 82 and 84. The teacher as well repeats in students' words in line 85 (You get something cold in your mouth, and then one of your teeth starts aching) and transfers that to school language; tooth sensitivity. The same information is repeated in Kiswahili in line 85. The teacher is using two languages simultaneously for comprehension purposes,

183

while the students are using three languages. The translanguaging here is a resource, students are participating through it. Translanguaging is giving voice to students who have not spoken in class. As stated by Velasco and Garcia (2014) translanguaging is not simply a scaffold, but a transformative strategy, it allows student to learn and think in a language. Additionally, Mrs. Tabasamu in line 85 is trying to bridge the discourse from experiential common knowledge to scientific knowledge. This is giving voice to students' experiences. The translanguaging practices of Mrs. Tabasamu by working on understanding in the learners' home language and then transferring that understanding into English has been referred to as bridging discourses (Gibbons, 2006). The teacher explains from daily knowledge the concept of tooth sensitivity in mother tongue. She then shifts this knowledge and experience to the scientific term (tooth sensitivity).

The following is a transcript extract from a whole class session during a thematic lesson on body care by Mrs. Tabasamu, a section on teeth that explicates further use of TL to bridge discourses.

Excerpt 4: Problems related to teeth.

89. T: Another problem is tooth cavity. What do we mean by tooth cavity?
90. S-all: *All students remain silent.*
91. T: [*translating*] Tooth cavity *ni nini*? (What is tooth cavity?) Yes?
92. S1: *Jino likiwa limeoza* (a tooth that has rotten). [Another student raises hand and tries to answer]
93. S2: *Jino likiwa limeoza na likiwa na shimo ndani* (a tooth that has rotten and has a hole) (answer is correct in Kiswahili).
94. T: *Yaani jino likiwa limetoboka* (that is a tooth that has a hole) [the teacher is showing a picture on the board; using students' words.] This one is a hole, [showing on board] *hole ni nini*? (What is a hole?)
95. T: So when you do not brush your teeth, *chakula kinaendelea kuingia hapo* (food continues to deposit there). There is that deposition of food. And as it stays there, that food decomposes or rots … [translating] *chakula ambacho ulikula na hukupiga mswaki chaendelea kukaa hapo na chaendelea kuoza* (food that you ate and did not brush your teeth continues to deposit there and to rot). So slowly by slowly there is

a hole that will develop. [Showing on the chalkboard] So this is what you can call cavity. Now have you understood the meaning of teeth cavity?

96. S-all: Yes!
97. T: What is it? Tooth cavity *ni nini?* (What is it?)
98. S-few: A hole
99. T: *Eti* (you mean [interjection] a hole?
100. S: A hole on the teeth
101. T: A hole in the teeth. Tooth decay can lead to tooth loss.

In this excerpt, there is bridging of discourses. Mrs. Tabasamu bridges discourse from students' language in lines 92 and 93 to English in line 95. She asked a question in English and repeated it in Kiswahili, lines 89 and 91; what is tooth cavity? Tooth cavity *ni nini*? (What is tooth cavity?) The learner suggested an answer in Kiswahili; *jino likiwa limeoza* (a tooth that has rotten). The second student added on that: *Jino likiwa limeoza na lina shimo ndan*i (A tooth that is rotten and has a hole), Mrs. Tabasamu repeated their answers in Kiswahili, *yaani jino likiwa limetoboka* (that is a tooth that has a hole) in line 94, and continued to present this information in both English and Kiswahili. Mrs. Tabasamu encourages participation in any language students have to enhance participation. By doing this Mrs. Tabasamu is encouraging an active role of students in learning. Bakthin (1981) point out that;

> "primacy belongs to the response...it prepares the ground for an active and
>
> engaged understanding ...understanding that comes to fruition only in response.
>
> Understanding and response are dialectically merged and mutually condition each
>
> other; one is impossible without the other" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 282).

The understanding of the content in the school language is realized when Mrs. Tabasamu probes children to report back what a tooth cavity is (implied in English). Few students respond; it is a hole, in line 98, the teacher probes for a more precise answer. Another

student elaborates on previous students' response in line 100. The teacher then rephrases students' sentence to be grammatically correct in English in line 101.

In a Bakthinian perspective, fourth grade students appropriated voice as they learned science in English language. Lines 98 and 100 can be viewed as a struggle for learners to appropriate legitimized words in the classroom. Learners' progression through the zone of proximal development represents more than the accumulation of knowledge (Vygotsky 1978) but the construction of a social space through which individual identities are negotiated.

As this lesson shows, the Mrs. Tabasamu shuttled between languages eliciting from learners the ideas in their everyday language, Kimeru, then in the language of classroom English. She supported students' standing in Kimeru and transferred that understanding into English. This is what Gibbons (2006) calls pedagogical translanguaging. The pedagogical translanguaging is giving voice and empowerment to students through the freedom to respond in their home languages, as opposed to silence seen in chapter four. It is noted that students' responses are in Kiswahili in this excerpt. They have developed this language well and as Vygotsky (2012) notes, "…the speech structures mastered by the child become the basic structures of his thinking" (p.100). "Thought development is determined by language, i.e., by the linguistic tools of thought and by the sociocultural experience of the child. ...The child's intellectual growth is contingent on his mastering the social means of thought, that is, language" (p.100). This explains the quick responses in their languages as opposed to school language. Students realize their thoughts quickly through use of their languages.

Below is another excerpt that shows bridging of discourses through translanguaging.

Excerpt 5: Importance of cleaning teeth.

102. T: Now let us look at the importance of cleaning our teeth. Why should we clean our teeth?
103. S-all: *Silence*
106 T: (Translating) *kuna umuhimu gani wa kusafisha meno yetu*? (What is the importance of cleaning our teeth?)
107 S1: *Ili meno yasioze*! (So they do not rot!)
108 S2: Au kunuka! (Or smell (Another student adds on information))
109 T: Eeh, (Agreeing)
110 T: So that our teeth may not decay or our mouth produce bad smell, to remove food particles, pieces of food, it gives fresh breath; the other reason is to prevent tooth decay. If you don't brush your tooth regularly, they are going to decay.

This excerpt indicates another incidence of bridging discourses where the teacher translates questions for the students after a silence. After translation, students respond in Kiswahili and build on each other's thinking in lines 107 and 108. This disrupts the Initiation Response Feedback (IRF) pattern in classroom. Mrs. Tabasamu agrees with the students' words and translates them into English, the language of instruction in line 110. The bridging of discourse by the teacher creates a dialogue, in lines 106-109, a very rare occurrence in English-only classroom. A dialogue according to Bakthin (1981) is an ongoing social process of meaning making that occurs between people as subjects, otherwise it becomes a monologue where communication is a transfer of message from sender/speaker to recipient/listener, a coded message with static signs and fixed meanings-- Bakhtin argues it shuts down dialogue. In an environment of monologism the genuine interaction of consciousness is impossible, and thus genuine dialogue is impossible as well. Mrs. Tabasamu keeps the dialogue on through bridging discourse and thus giving the students a voice. Theorists Bakhtin and Vygotsky point out that education

should not be seen as transmission of knowledge, retention, recall and transfer. Rather, it should include co-construction of knowledge and participation in classroom. Bakthin (1984) points out that monologism "denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and responsibilities" (p. 292). Monologism ignores other voices and their wanting to transmit their understanding and knowledge. Considering the students' inadequate mastery of language of instruction, Mrs. Tabasamu acts as an agency to give voice to the students.

Use of students' languages also mediates learning. As noted by Vygotsky (2012), there is a mediative role played by the native language and by spontaneous concepts. Vygotsky pointed out that a foreign word is not related to its object directly but through meanings that have been already established in the native language. Similarly a scientific concept relates to its object only in a mediated way through concepts that have been established previously. In this classroom, shift of languages increased participation and according to Mrs. Tabasamu, less than half of the students understood basic instructions in English.

Excerpt 6: Care of teeth: Brushing.

This is a continuation of the lesson above by Mrs. Tabasamu on the body care. T stands for the teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu.

111 T: What do we use to clean our teeth?
112 Ss: (*One after another*) tooth brush, tooth paste, a piece of wood, chewing stick and salt, charcoal
113 T: Do we really use charcoal to clean teeth?
114 S-all: *Some say yes, other say no (indigenous knowledge)*
115 T: Now, if we do not have a toothbrush and toothpaste, are you going to leave your teeth dirty? What can you use?
116 S1: *Chumvi* (salt)
117 S2: Salt and chewing stick.

118 T: Even if you don't have toothbrush and tooth paste, you can use a homemade brushing twig… One can use homemade brushing twig to clean between the teeth. [The teacher shows the student the homemade brushing twig. Student who sat next to me discuss about the different types of trees that they use for cleaning their teeth; Fumo says he uses bamboo stick after each meal.]

119 T: How can you make/prepare a homemade toothbrush?

120 S1: Chewing stick

121 T: I have said we don't call that chewing stick. It is a homemade brushing twig. How can prepare a homemade toothbrush? How? How can you make a homemade brushing twig? Issa [calling on a student], you made one. How did you make this one? [showing students] *Sasa hii ndio tunaita* (now this is what we call) homemade brushing twig. *Hii inatengenezwaje*? (How is this made?)

122 S1: *Unavunja, unatafuna, unaanzia…* (You break, you chew, you begin…)

123 S2: *Unavunja, unatafuna, mpaka inakuwa* soft, *nyororo kabisa. Si ndiyo?* (You break; you chew, until it is completely soft. Isn't it?

124 T: You take a piece of stick from a tree, you chew that one until it is soft, and from there you can use it to clean your teeth.

In this excerpt, we see the teacher bridging discourses from daily experiences, to scientific knowledge, from home language to school language. The students use daily language in English (chewing stick) line 117, and the teacher reminds them it is called a homemade brushing twig (scientific term), line 121. Mrs. Tabasamu then asks how it is made. This daily language and everyday experience is what Vygotsky (2012) calls spontaneous concepts. Spontaneous concepts are non-conscious and are learned from sensory experience to generalization, whereas scientific concepts are concepts taught in school, written symbols to examples. Systematization (i.e. the interface between the spontaneous and the schooled concepts) is the place where the highest understanding is achieved. Vygotsky believed that the development of spontaneous and of scientific concepts are related and constantly influence each other.

In the above excerpt Mrs. Tabasamu realized her students have not acquired the academic language proficiency to engage in scientific discourses, and realizes the importance of allowing them to use their first languages to help them benefit from the

importance of speech in their thinking processes. As Vygotsky puts it; "experience teaches us that thought does not express itself in words but rather realizes it self in them" (Vygotsky 2012, p. 266). This affords all the students an opportunity to realize their thoughts in the learning success. The pre-existing knowledge of the learners in their first languages is validated at school to ensure meaningful and successful learning. Emphasizing on the importance of spontaneous knowledge, Vygotsky (2012) notes that "Systematicity and consciousness do not come from outside, displacing the child's spontaneous concepts, but that, on the contrary, they presuppose the existence of rich and relatively mature representations. Without the latter the child would have nothing to systematize." (p. 182). In this lesson, the learners have freedom to systematize using their L1; the local knowledge, expertise, values, language acquired within their community as shown in lines 112, 116, 117,122, and 123.

The systematization of students' daily experiences gives them voice. The Bakhtinian perspective accounts for the social, cultural, historical, and political nature of voice. Ideologically, I view voice in this analysis as covering issues of equity and access as they relate to social contexts to which students are learning. According to language policy in this class, some voices may be silenced by adherence to policy, while others may be privileged. As Sperling et al. (2011) noted, "voice can be given or taken away by teachers or others in students' lives, students can lose or find their voices" (p.71). In the science class, students found their voices by systematizing their daily experiences and using their languages. In both excerpts 5 and 6, TL interrupts the usual IRF patterns as students build on each other's knowledge. We have a student, student, teacher pattern that

is rarely found in English lessons. The translangaging also interrupts power and keeps the task going on in Mrs. Tabasamu's classroom.

None of the students answered questions in English sentences correctly; however they could respond using one word as in line 112. So the teacher translated questions and got a student who offered to explain how to make a homemade brushing twig. The student explains in Kiswahili, line 122, half way another student add on how it is made and even prompts for agreement or disagreement from peers; to create a conversation on how it is made as shown in line 123. The teacher translates all the students' knowledge into English, the classroom language by policy. The outcome of this flexible language use is a lively class where students feel that their daily knowledge and values are useful at school. Students too have a voice to share their knowledge in a language they best understand. The excerpt shows how the co-constructed discourse between teacher and student draws together or bridges the everyday language of students.

The science curriculum here is based on language and literacy demands that are related to the academic language required in school across entire curriculum (scientific concepts). The registers associated with this academic learning encode knowledge in ways that are linguistically unfamiliar to the fourth grade students. Realizing that, Mrs. Tabasamu used translanguaging and bridging discourses from everyday common sense knowledge to the academic knowledge. For example, the chewing stick (students' knowledge/common sense knowledge) and homemade brushing twig (scientific term/knowledge). Mrs. Tabasamu realizes that the practices shown in the excerpts above are advantageous. She reiterated that she allows flexible language use in classroom. The

choice of language use in each of the excerpts presented above varies. I wanted to understand her choice for language and this is what she said:

Researcher: How do you assess students' language competence? In what ways do you accommodate their English language levels?

Mrs. Tabasamu: The way they answer questions, if somebody can't answer you can get that the person did not understand. Sometimes we allow them to give us answers in the language they are comfortable with. Children give experiences in Kiswahili, mother tongue; they use any language. Those who are comfortable in English use English...

In Mrs. Tabasamu's classroom that was heteroglossic, there were tensions between the unitary language and the heteroglossia. Although she uses flexible bilingualism, she feels guilty because of the centripetal forces from the language policy and the heteroglossic reality in classroom. While it is a practice that gives voice and helps students to systematize their daily knowledge, the teacher self-doubts because the policy does not acknowledge these practices. Mrs. Tabasamu is influenced by the linguistic ideologies in the nation. As sociocultural scholars have noted (Bakhtin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978/2012) thinking is socially shaped and social culturally embedded, to suggest that there is no thinking without an ideology. Individuals struggle with the tensions inherent in the voices that mediate their environment as they develop their own ideological consciousness, Bakhtin (1981). Bourdieu (1991) perceives language as a mechanism of power, influencing and sustaining individual's social position in terms of the ways they comprehend and approach their world and the ways their social positioning grants them rights to speak, or write, to be listened to or read by certain others under certain

192

circumstances. The sociopolitical forces push Mrs. Tabasamu towards authoritative discourses while the heteroglossic reality of the classroom pushes for multiple voices. The result is a struggle of voices and identities by the participants in this science classroom.

Discussion of TL in Science Classroom

The translanguaging practices are not acknowledged as a legitimate pedagogical strategy in the fourth grade classroom. Mrs. Tabasamu questioned the ideal of repeating things several times in a language that students do not understand. She felt that it was just to shift languages to give student access to the curriculum content. Therefore she used flexible language, and other times offered the possibility for a coherent pedagogic bridging discourse that helped the students to gain access to the epistemic science knowledge by building bridges across and between common sense understanding of the world and scientific understanding--everyday language and the language of science. Translanguaging bridged students' home languages and school languages. These practices show the possibility of teacher-constructed, multilingual strategies that might address linguistically structured inequalities that affect Kenya. Similar observations are made for multilingual South Africa (Makalela, 2015) and other parts of the world (Garcia, 2009).

The literacy practices in the fourth grade show a struggle between what Street (1984) called an autonomous model of literacy and an ideological model of literacy. The ideological model recognizes the culturally embedded nature of literacy practices and is concerned with the socialization process in the construction of meaning. The tensions arise on the pedagogical choices on whether to emphasize the autonomous model that is

part of the policy or embrace student's linguistic repertoires. In this classroom, one goal is to get students using English in classroom discussions. However, students have not yet mastered English well, and so the teacher decided to relax the language policy to give voice to students by using the persuasive word (Bakthin, 1981). Street (1984) has noted that with the monolingual ideology of literacy, to succeed in school is to cast off one's own cultural identity and adopt aspects of the dominant culture. In this fourth grade classroom, Mrs. Tabasamu acted as an agent to give voice to the students' identity and culture, which she was also a part of. In a Kenyan context, the dominant culture is the culture of the few elite that decide on school policies that are far removed from the daily experiences of the majority (authoritative word). English only in this setting represents Bakhtin's authoritative voice that shuts down dialogue and leads to monologism. Mrs. Tabasamu decided however to use persuasive discourses in the classroom to engage students' participation and create a dialogue.

Use of translanguaging may be considered as a way to reverse structures of power in the society that prevents full participation by rural students. Translanguaging led to inclusion of students who would otherwise remain silent. Although the language policies devalue mother tongue knowledge, Mrs. Tabasamu and students used it as a resource. As noted by Blackledge and Creese (2010), literacy teaching in school can either affirm or devalue students' cultural identity. In science class, use of TL is an acknowledgement of students' cultural identity and encourages students to define their sense of themselves and affirms their cultural identities. However, the tensions between policy and practice still remain in this classroom that leaves the Mrs. Tabasamu feeling guilty about the practices in a policy governed by language separationist ideology. As Freire (2000) notes,

continued use of English-only in rural schools and criminalizing multilingual practices in the classroom is tactic by the oppressor to alienate the masses through unilateral dialogue. Freire calls this antidialogicity, used by the oppressor in a variety of ways to maintain the status quo. The fear of the unknown, as Freire says, makes the oppressed adapt to their situations. In that sense a man is not allowed to understand and transform the reality around him, education is simply a method used to adapt him to this reality. Freire calls for dialogicity in order to achieve as a way of creating knowledge. Many students are marginalized from liberatory education acts due to factors beyond their control. Language of instruction in Kenya, if not checked, marginalizes further the already marginalized.

Conclusions

Translanguaging is viewed unfavorably by mainstream society because of language separation ideologies. The data presented above indicates that the use of translanguaging strategies disorganizes language separatists' ideologies for multilingual learners. Translanguaging creates a space for pedagogy of integration, and dialogue, which liberates historically omitted languages and asserts the fluid linguistic identities of the multilingual students. The use of flexible language practices in the science classroom indicates that translanguaging can be developed as a pedagogical approach that is linguistically and culturally transformative (Makalela, 2015; Velasco & Garcia, 2014). Through language, students bring their cultural worlds into existence in the classroom, maintain them, and shape them for their own purposes (Hall et al. 2005). For example according to Bakthin, (1981) when students code switch to participate in class activities, they reflect on their understanding of language and their larger cultural contexts. The translanguaging practices in science classroom indicate two to three languages used

195

alongside each other. This is an indication that there is a need for a move from monolingual instruction ideologies and approaches to bi-multilingual strategies. This will ease the tensions and struggles experienced by Mrs. Tabasamu and other teachers of linguistically diverse students, because the practice is not institutionally acknowledged pedagogical practice and encourage critical thinking in classroom.

Although MT and translanguaging were stigmatized practices in Tumaini primary school, research and theory indicate these practices are important in allowing children to gain access to broad array of cultural resources for thinking, and provides flexibility to students; for example, ability to read in one language and discuss what is read in another hence helping students gain and combine variable funds of knowledge from two language environments for personal and academic use (Moll, 2014). The use of translanguaging and disruption of IRF discourse pattern is in line with Freire (2000), who posited that the use of cultural artifacts marries history with the present rejecting the banking concept. In the lesson about care of the teeth, students took the role of competent others, partly because their cultural tools were utilized. Vygotskian theories emphasize the cognitive aspect of learning acknowledging the contributions that the learner brings to the learning context. The students' engagement in science lessons suggests that language and academic development could be improved through respect for and incorporation of a students' primary language, due to its importance in the development of L2. Vygotsky (1978) posited that in bilingual education, learning of an L2 had its foundation in the knowledge of one's L1. Semantic aspects of word were acquired before actual name of the word. Similar views are held by Cummin's threshold hypothesis. Thus, it can be argued that learning in L2 ultimately depends on the developed semantic system in L1.

One learns first by depending on one's L1 and masters the actual name of the word in L2 only later.

Kenyan teachers need to be encouraged to employ a dialogical instruction where there is discussion in the classroom, transformation of understanding, and promote the fact that knowledge emerges from interaction of voices, thus include students' interpretations and personal experiences. Kenyan literacy teachers should always consider the pre-existing knowledge of the learners especially in their first languages and validate them at school to ensure meaningful and successful learning. It is notable that most of the spontaneous knowledge of the children is acquired in their first languages. Learners should have freedom to systematize using their L1; otherwise they must have reached a certain threshold in first language to acquire school language successfully (Cummins, 1979). The local knowledge, the narratives, wisdom, knowledge, expertise, competencies, values, language acquired within a community should be appreciated at school.

Students use translanguaging to establish identity positions both oppositional to the dominant authoritative discourse and institutional values. All languages are needed to make meaning. Translanguaging is providing a greater access to curriculum and lesson accomplishment. Translanguaging in Kenyan primary schools may be a possible solution to social reproduction perpetuated by language of instruction. Researchers (Bunyi, 1999) found that the use of English as the medium of instruction in Kenya is advantageous to some groups of children while it is disadvantageous to the majority of the children, and, that it, therefore, contributes to the perpetuation of social inequalities in the Kenyan society. Freire (2000) argues that only pedagogy based on the dialogue, designed to

develop learner's critical thinking can help them perceive the causes of the social, economic and political inequalities in the society. If the aim of education is to create a labor force with critical abilities and creative qualifications, the language of instruction policy should consider the students' first languages. Continued use of unfamiliar language of instruction to most students is a recipe for increased inequality. There is a need for working towards multilingual pedagogy that gives access, voice, and identity to students.

Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter I have presented the literacy practices in a science classroom, with a focus on communicative practices. Overall the discussion in this chapter shows the tensions in the way the science teacher and the students resisted the monolingual view of literacy imposed by the national language policy by using other communicative repertoires to make meaning. The science teacher was flexible in language use to meet the objectives of the science lessons. Realizing low English language levels, the science teacher transgressed the language norms to get students to learn. This transgression, to a small extent disrupted the IRF participation structure in the classroom, with more student engagement as compared to English language arts lessons. The practices in the science classroom were similar to how students used language outside classroom, that is, code mixing. While translanguaging was not considered a legitimate pedagogy in multilingual setting, it offered a potential for engaging students in the classroom. The next chapter shows the nature of students' written products across languages (English and Kimeru) and translingual writing with a focus on one of the focal students.

Chapter Six

Students' Composing and Translingual Writing

The oral, reading and writing practices discussed in chapter four show that students' interaction and engagement in English language arts lessons was limited. For this reason, I chose to draw more data from writing compositions to discuss the nature of language used in the classroom because writing lessons offered a greater opportunity for students to produce language. Additionally, the translanguaging documented in the science classroom in chapter five yielded a different participation structure, and more student engagement. This chapter explores further the practice of translanguaging in writing. Both English and Swahili compositions are analyzed to show deployment of students' linguistic repertoires under language separation restrictions. The examples are drawn from the five focal students (Adila, Mosi, Almasi, Fumo and Mahiri).

Students' Composing

The most common form of writing experienced in this classroom was completing the blanks, writing a summary, writing in correct order, guided story, matching beginnings and endings of a sentence, responding to passage questions, punctuation and capitalization, spelling, completing sentences, responding to prompting questions, and putting sentences in a sequence. The teacher (Mr. Jabari) encouraged completion of filling in blanks exercises in the textbook, and mechanical aspects of writing. Considering the emphasis on the mechanics, copying from the board and course text was seen as the best practices for helping children writing. The essay topics were mainly on simple topics in the students' environment. The writing practices in fourth grade, as indicated in the Teacher's English course text guide, included tasks such as the following:

- Writing a summary-writing in correct order
- Description, e.g. Writing true sentences about animals
  - Describing a picture- e.g. write five sentences about the picture
- Retelling a story
- Completing a personal letter
- Writing a story
- Guided story
- Picture composition
- Completing a story
- Writing a report, e.g. what happened during birthday?
- Writing narratives, e.g. Write a story about a journey home, A journey by matatu
- Letter writing-friendly letter
- Diary writing
- Matching beginnings and ending of a sentence
- Vocabulary
- Punctuation and capitalization
- Spelling
- Completing sentences
- Responding to prompting questions
- Putting sentences in a sequence

The focus in this chapter is the students' own composition writing activities as enforced in literacy teaching, to understand the extent to which the use of different and separate writing practices reflected students' language competence in those languages through a comparative analysis of different aspects of writing across the languages. All the tasks given were supposed to be written in one language or the other without mixing. Any mixing of languages was considered as an error that was penalized in grading. However, some students resisted the language separation in writing, as illustrated in the percentages of students who used translanguaging in table 7 below. To illustrate translanguaging in writing, I present the work of one of the focal students, Adila, who used translanguaging in all her texts.

I collected nine samples of students' written compositions. The writing tasks were forty minutes each. The focus on all these was on the product and not the process of

writing. Six of these compositions collected were in English and three in Kiswahili.

Composition writing was not done very regularly, so I asked the class teacher if he could

have students write more regularly on different topics as guided by the course text. He

happily agreed, and, so we immediately came up with different writing topics from the

students' course book. I approached the Kiswahili language teacher as well to allow me

to propose some topics for her students' writing in the same class. I proposed two topics

that related to the writing tasks in English--; a walk in the forest and the forest near our

school. The goal of this activity was to give me an idea of students' writing across

languages. All other essays were based on the county exams. They were meant for end of

term assessment. The table below shows the different written tasks that were collected.

Table 7

Writing Tasks across Languages

Essay topic	Type of task	No. of scripts collected	No. of scripts using mixed languages	% scripts using mixed languages	Source
The languages spoken in our classroom	Descriptive	25	2	8	Environme-nt
Our forest	Descriptive	20	7	35	Nature walk
Swimming day	Narrative/bi-ography	25	4	16	County exam
The hyena and the calf	Narrative/ creative	24	3	12.5	Course text
Adventure in the mountain	Narrative/ creative	26	3	10.7	Course text
The day I was very happy	Narrative/bi-ography	28	4	14.3	County exam
Umuhimu wa miti (importance of trees)	Persuasive	28	8	28.6	County exam
Matembezi msituni (A walk in the forest)	Narrative	21	6	28.6	Nature walk
Msitu uliopo karibu na shule yetu (The forest near our school)	Descriptive	28	5	17.9	Environme-nt

Most of these topics were based on students' experiential knowledge on a daily basis. Other composition writing topics were based on the course text reading. For example, the picture stories were based on reading comprehension passages that had been read from the course text, and students were required to respond to the questions. In the two picture compositions, we used the pictures on the two stories and asked students to compose on the topic. This could be viewed as retelling the same story or a student could compose creatively about their lives.

As noted earlier, students were supposed to separate the languages strictly. Mixing languages was penalized. Students who had mastered the grade game of language purism used the required languages; and, in most instances, this limited their expressive power as noted in the differing descriptive ability in English and Kiswahili essays. The essays show the differing strengths in children's linguistic repertoires as they create a picture of what it means to teach in English-only by the beginning of fourth grade. There were several students who could not express themselves in English in writing in this class. The examples I have shared only show the nature of writing for a few selected students in the classroom who were my focal students.

Mosi: Essay 1-English

THE DAY I WAS VERY HAPPY

ThE Day I was VERy Happy is when I was going into forest to see animals like lion, Hyena, Elephant, Buffalo Tortoise these the ather day I go to see Mountain Kilimanjaro I go up in the mountain that day I was very Happy

the DAY I was very Happy is we my ant was cameing in meru with my anco that day I was very Happy becuses hi burt me ha good thigs

THE Day I was very Happy it is my party I was the my birthday parties and wedding ceremonies that day I was cooked chicken sabati that day I took my dog I go whith into the market and sold his dog then I went to a shop and bought a present by the time arrived home

Oh! that day I was enjoyed a wll want that day be came gain

Mosi: Essay 2-Kiswahili

UMUHIMU WA MITI

UMUHIMU wa miti. Miti ni mizuri kwenye watu na wanyama.
Umuhimu wakanza ni miti utuletea mvua inanyesa kwenye mime(a) yetu kwa sababu mvua ikikata(a)kunysa watu watakufa na (n)jaa Pia wanyama wata...kwa kukosa maji majani ata wakikosa hata sis awahatup masiwa na watakufa.

Umuhimu wa pili ni miti tunapasua miti tunapata (m)bao tunajenga manyumba ya watu za wanyama pia za kuku pia miti usaindia sana kwenye nyumba zetu kwa sababu ingekuwa si miti hatu(n)geweka nyumba mabati kwa sababu upepo i(n)getoa mabati wote Miti hutumia kutengenesa viti meza kabati nyumba la kuweka mizigo kama gunia za maindi malawe vitu kama viti venye...

UMUHIMU wa tatu miti Hutusaidia na matunda wake kama mhembe utusaindia na mahembe habokando pawpwa mapera masungwa makadania tena miti ndo nyumba za wanyama hufurahia sana wakiwa kwenye miti Pia miti hutusaindia na kivuli kungekuwa si kivuli watu...

203

THE IMPORTANCE OF TREES

Importance of trees. Trees are good to people and animals.

The first importance is trees bring rain on our crops because if rain fails people will die from hunger. Also animals will (die) from lack of water and pasture and once they lack they will not give us milk and they will die.

The second importance of trees is we split trees to get timber; we build homes/houses of people, of animals and for poultry. Tree also helps in constructing our houses because if it were not trees for trees we would not be able roof our houses because the wind would remove all the iron sheets. Trees are used to make chairs, table s, cabinets, a store for storing things like sacks of maize, beans, things that have….

The third importance is trees provide us with their fruits such as mango tree gives us mangoes, avocado tree gives us avocado, pawpaw, guava, oranges, macadamia nuts. Again/else, trees are animal houses, animals are very happy while in trees. Trees also provide us with shade, if it were not for shade people.

Almasi: Essay 3-English
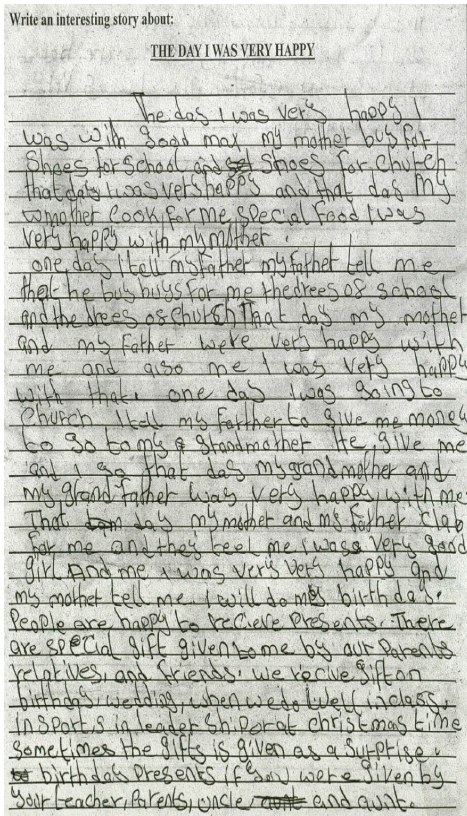
THE DAY I WAS VERY HAPPY

The day I was very happy I was with good max (marks) my mother buy for me shoes for school and shoes for church that day I was very happy and that day my mother cook for me special food I was very happy with my mother.

One day I tell my father my father tell me that he buy for me the dress of school and the dress of church. That day my mother and my father were very happy with me and also me I was very happy with that. One day I was going to church I tell my father to give me money to go to my grandmother. He give me and I go that day my grandmother and my grandfather was very happy with me.

That day my mother and my father clap me and tell me I was very good girl. And me I was very very happy and my mother tell me I will do my birthday. People are very happy to receive presents. There are special gifts given to me by our parents, relatives abd friends. We receive gifts on birthday, wedding, when we do well in class, in sports, in leadership or at christmas time. Sometimes the gifts is given as a surprise birthday presents if you were given by your teacher, parents uncle and aunt.

Almasi: Essay 4-Kiswahili

English Translation

IMPORTANCE OF TREES

The importance of trees brings us very heavy rainfall. Tree has many advantages such as bringing a lot of rain. Rain has many advantages like when it rains maize and beans grow well. Trees make rains to fall. Tree brings rainfall and makes our plants to grow very quickly. Rain makes our plants to grow even as small trees can grow well and even banana can be rapidly than a tree. Trees make rainfall so that our plants can grow faster like the way banana grew very quickly.

Rain has the benefit of making our rivers to contain much water in our rivers. Trees have the advantage of making houses, chairs, tables, and pen, that is the work of work of the trees. Tree has the advantage of making things at home. Trees are used to make wood trowel, table, house, chairs and pens.

ENGLISH SECTION B: COMPOSITION
STD 4 TERM 3 2014 TIME: 40 MINS

Write an interesting story about:

THE DAY I WAS VERY HAPPY
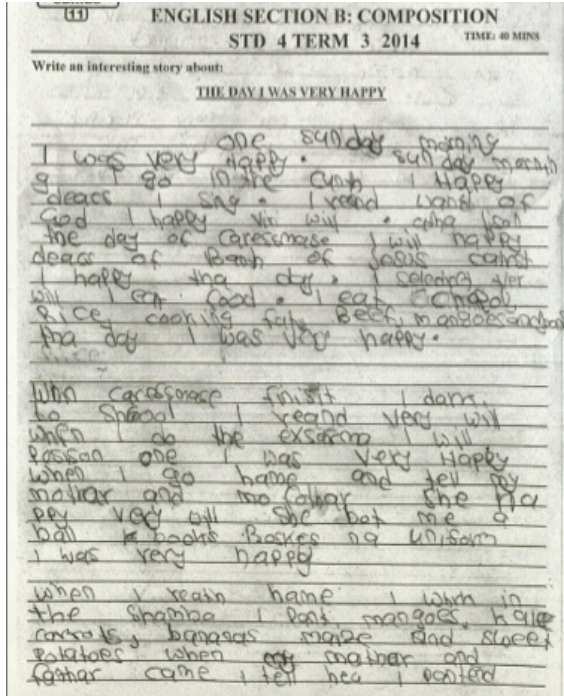
THE DAY I WAS VERY HAPPY

one Sunday morning I was very happy. Sunday morning I go in the curch I Happy dears I sing. I read ward of God I happy I will. arha ...the day of caressmas I will happy deacs od Baoth of jesus calrist I happy tha day. I celebrit ver well I eat food. I eat chapatti, Rice, cooking fat, Beef, mangoes and grass? tha day I was very happy.

wen caressmase finisit I dam to school. reand very well when I do the exsam I will posison one and I was very happy. when I go home and tell my mother and my father she happy very well she bot me a ball, books, baskes na (and) uniform I was very happy.

when I reath hame I work in the shamba I plant mangoes, kale, carrots, bananas, maize and sweet potatoes when my mother and father came I tell hea I planted

This essay was a personal narrative that required development of one event in a sequence giving vivid details. Fumo wrote the story using the first person "I" and mentioned several events that made him happy. He presented different settings and events; Sunday service, Christmas day, and school (when he became position one). From this view we see that he did not develop one event, but rather mentioned several events, presumably on different days. Fumo faces several challenges in grammar, spelling and vocabulary choices. Assessing this student on this English text demonstrates limited language levels. However, looking at his writing text in Swahili shows a great difference in terms of development of ideas and critical thinking. In both texts, Fumo has used some translanguaging to aid his writing.

Fumo: Essay 6-Kiswahili
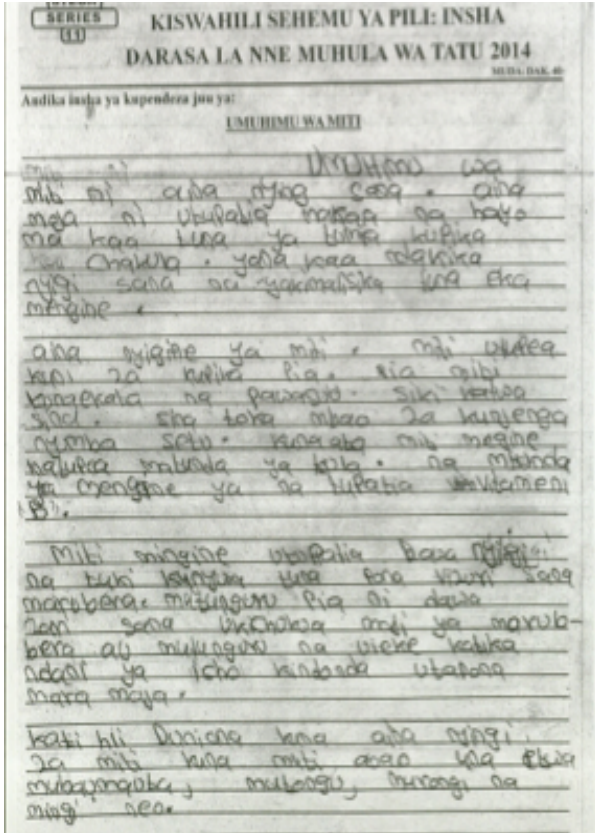
UMUHIMU WA MITI
Umuhimu wa miti ni wa aina nyingi sana. aina moja ni utupatia makaa na hayo makaa tunayatumia kupika chakula. yanakaa dakika nyingi sana na yakimalizika tunaeka mengine. aina nyingine ya miti, miti utupea kuni za kupika pia. Pia miti tungekata na pawasuu. sikikatwa sinatoka mbao za kunjenga nyumba zetu. kuna ata miti migine hutupea matunda ya kula. na matunda mengine yanatupatia vitameni "B".
miti mingine utupatia dawa nyingi na tukikunywa tunapona vizuri sana. matubera, matunguru pia ni dawa zuri sana ukichukua maji ya marubera au mutunguru na uieke katika ndani ya icho kidonda utapona mara moja.
kati(ka) hii dunia kuna aina nyingi za miti kuna mti ambao unaitwa mubaumauta, mutongu, murangi na mingineo.

English Translation

IMPORTANCE OF TREES

The importance of trees are very many kinds. one type is they give us charcoal and that charcoal we use it to cook food. They stay for very many minutes and when they are over we add others.

other types of trees, trees also provide a fuel for cooking. Also we would cut trees by powersaw. when they are cut they produce timber for building our houses. there are also others trees that provide us with fruits to eat. and other fruits gives us Vitamen "B".

other trees give us several kinds of medicine and when we take them we recover very well. *matubera, matunguru* also a very good medicine. If you take fluid/water from *mutunguru or marubera* and put it on a wound, that wound will be healed overnight/immediately.

In this world there are many kinds of trees. there is a tree that is called *mubaumauta, mutongu, murangi* and others.

The Swahili text shows Fumo's excellent cognitive abilities. These may be judged differently if you look at the English text above where spelling, grammar, vocabulary choice difficulties abound.

Mahiri: Essay 7-English
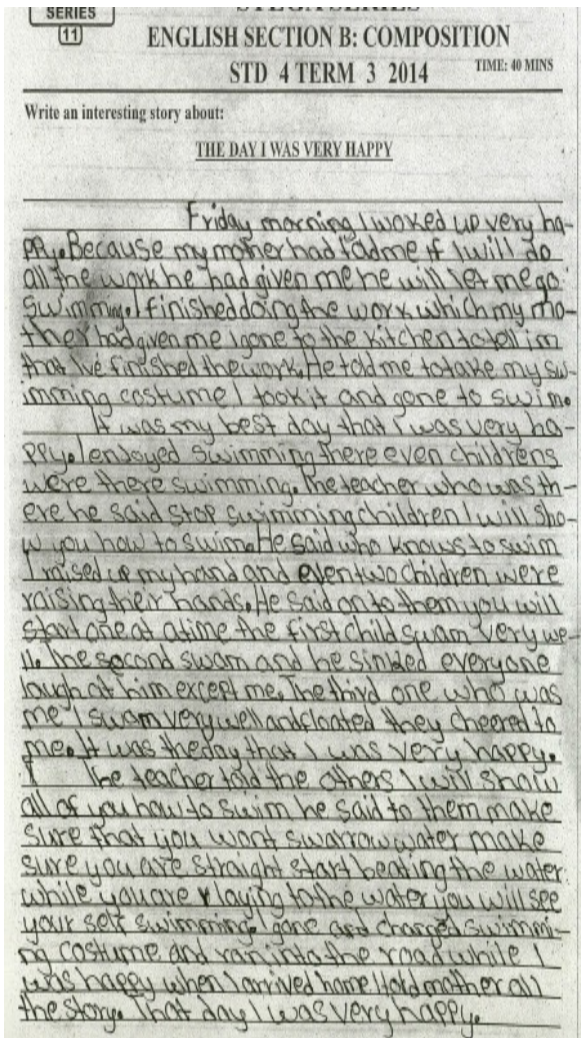
THE DAY I WAS VERY HAPPY
Friday morning I woked up very happy because my mother had told me if I will do all the work he had given me he will let me go swimming. I finished doing the work which my mother had given me I gone to the kitchen to tell im that ive finished the work. He told me to take my swimming costume I took it and gone to swim. It was my best day that I was very happy. I enjoyed swimming there even childrens were swimming. The teacher the teacher who was there he said stop swimming my children I will show you how to swim. He said who knows how to swim. I raised up my hand and even two children were raising their hands. He said onto them you will start one at a time the first child swam very well. The second swam and he sinked everyone laugh at him except me. The third one who was me, I swam very well and floated they cheered to me. It was the day I was very happy.
The teacher told the others I will show all of you how to swim he said to them make sure that you wont swarrow water make sure you are straight, start beating the water while you are laying to the water you will see yourself swimming. I gone and changed swimming costume and ran into the road while I was happy when I arrived home I told mother all the story. That day I was very happy.

Mahiri was ranked highly not only in class four but also the whole school. The home factors were key in Mahiri's performance, he came from a socially stable family and his father was a teacher and his mother had secondary education. Mahiri enjoyed privileges at home that most other students did not have access to. He had access to books,

television and radio, and parents that supervised his homework daily and gave him more work to do and graded his work. In this class, he was the only student who could develop one idea in the whole essay in English. Most of the other students could only write a list of sentences about incidences when they were happy, and even then, spelling and vocabulary choice presented students with challenges as shown in the examples above.

Mahiri: Essay 8-Kiswahili
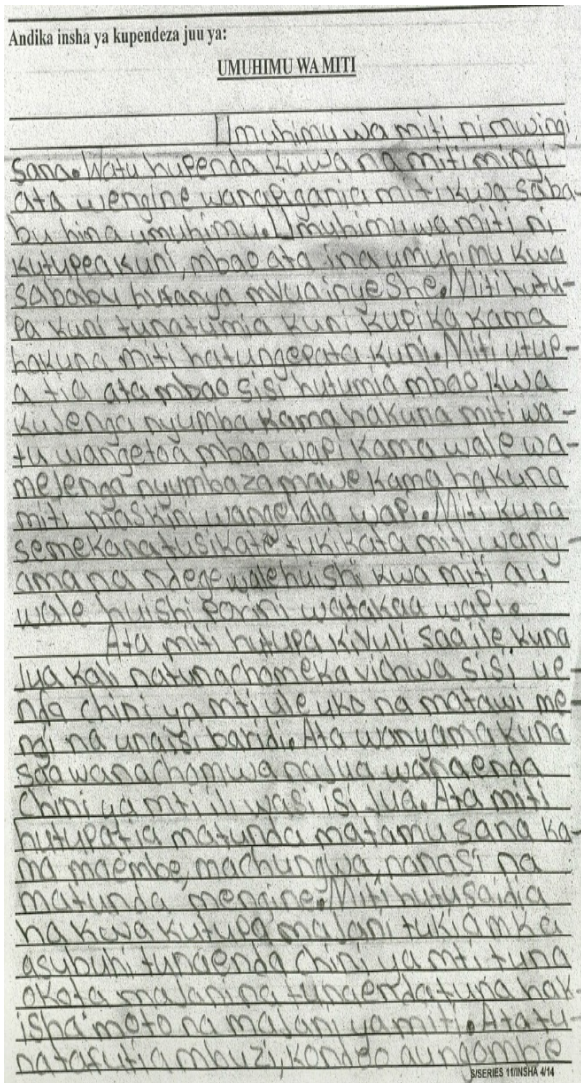
UMUHIMU WA MITI

Umuhimu wa miti ni mwingi sana. Watu hupenda kuwa na miti mingi ata wengine wanapigania miti kwa sababu hina umuhimu. umuhimu wa miti ni kutupea kuni, mbao, hata umuhimu kwa sababu hufanya mvua inyeshe. Miti hutupa kuni tunatumia kuni kupika kama hakuna miti hatungepata kuni. Miti utupatia ata mbao sisi hutumia miti mbao kwa kujenga nyumba kama hakuna miti watu wangetoa mbao wapi kama wale wamejenga nyumba za mawe kama hakuna miti maskini wangelala wapi. Miti kunasemekana tusikate tukikata miti wanyama na ndege wale huishi kwa miti au wale huishi porini watakaa wapi.

Ata miti hutupa kivuli saa ile kuna jua kali na tunachomeka vichwa sisi uenda chini ya mti ule uko na matawi mengi na unaisi baridi. Ata wanyama kuna saa wanachomwa na jua wanaenda chini ya mti ili wasiisi jua. Ata miti hutupatia matunda matamu sana kama maembe, machungwa, nanasi na matunda mengine. Miti hutusaidia kwa kutupa majani tukiamka asubuhi tunaenda chini ya mti tunaokota majani ya miti tunahakisha moto na majani ya miti. Ata tunatafutia mbuzi, kondoo au ngombe.

English Translation

IMPORTANCE OF TREES

The importance of trees are many. People love having many trees others even fight over trees because of their importance. Importance of trees is that they give us firewood,

timber they also make it to rain. Trees give us firewood that we use to cook. If there were no trees we could not get firewood. Trees also give us timber that we use to build houses. If there were no trees were would people get timber like those that have built stone houses where would they sleep.it is said that we should not cut trees. If we do birds and animals that live on trees or in the forest where would they live. Trees also give us shade hen the sun is very hot and burns our heads we go under the trees that have many branches and feel cool. Even animals also go under the trees so as not to feel the heat from the sun. Trees also give us sweet fruits like mangoes, oranges, pineapples, and other fruits. Trees also give us leaves when we wake up in the morning we go under trees to collect leaves that we use to light fire. We also collect them (leaves) for cows, sheep or goats.

Table 8 below displays ratings of the four students in their English writing. These are my ratings based on the rubric (Appendix F) described in Chapter Three. Mahiri was highly rated in school. Almasi and Fumo were rated average and Mosi was rated below average.

Table 8

Ratings of English Writing

Name	Grammar/punctuation	Sentence complexity	Rhetorical style	Voice	Translanguaging
Mahiri	4	3.5	5	4	no
Mosi	2	3	3	2	no
Fumo	2	1	2	2	yes
Almasi	4	3.5	3	2	no

Grammar and punctuation. Mosi used capitalization inconsistently in the text 1, e.g. "ThE Day I was VERY happy". There is no use of full stops and commas in the whole text. He has a difficulty with the tense, "I took my dog and I go", "Oh that day I was enjoyed". He has spelling difficulties; he cannot use the graphophonetic cues (sound symbol relation in English), e.g., he uses words like; my "ant", "anco" instead of aunt and uncle respectively. This is also a phonological transfer from MT sounds. Almasi's text

shows she is gaining control over conventions. She puts a full stop at the end of a paragraph. She has problems with tense, e.g. "my mother buy me". English spelling too is challenging for her, e.g., she writes, "max" instead of marks, which is phonologically based; she is writing as it sounds. Fumo's writing has some punctuation, but still inconsistent. He has not mastered tenses, for example, he uses the phrase "I will happy" instead of "I will be happy.' Also he has made subject verb agreement miscues, e.g., "I tell her (father and mother) I planted" instead of "them". Fumo had several spelling mistakes, e.g. "curch, baoth, finisit, exsam" etc., instead of church, birth, finished, and exam respectively. Mahiri has punctuated his work. There are some errors in tense, e.g. "I woked up", "I gone" and some spelling errors, e.g. "swarrow" instead of "swallow".

The four students' texts differed in punctuation and grammar used. Three students used capitalization and punctuation inconsistently. Mahiri seemed to have mastered punctuation conventions in English writing. All of them have spelling errors but the extent of mistakes differs with Mahiri having the least spelling errors. The spelling errors demonstrated above in the text may hinder comprehension of the piece of writing. Each of the four students' texts exhibits tense errors but the extents of the errors differ. Mahiri's work has the least number of tense/aspect errors.

Sentence complexity. Mosi used a variety of sentences, simple, and complex. For example, "ThE Day I was VERy Happy is when I was going into forest to see animals like lion, Hyena, Elephant, Buffalo Tortoise". Almasi used multi-propositional sentences, e.g. "One day I was going to church I tell my father to give me money to go to my grandmother". Fumo used multi-propositional phrases, e.g. "when I go home and tell my mother and my father she happy very well she bot me a ball, books, baskes *na* (and)

211

uniform I was very happy". Although it is difficult to tell where the break is in the phrase, there are multiple propositions. Mahiri used simple, compound and complex structures, e.g. "I finished doing the work which my mother had given me I gone to the kitchen to tell im that ive finished the work". Mahiri had an error with subject verb agreement in the above sentence…mother…"to tell im" instead of her.

The sentence structure of the four students' work indicated errors, which included repetition of phrases (Mosi, Almasi and Fumo), limited vocabulary and lack of conjunctions. They, however, used wh- clauses and varied sentence length, but some sentences reflected several difficulties.

Rhetorical style. Mosi's word choice in essay one was every day frequently occurring words, such as "go, party", and other less frequent such as "mountain", "ceremonies". There is a mix of concrete vocabulary such as "market" and abstract vocabulary "ceremony". There is some description "…see animals like…" Transitional words are missing for coherence, so the sentences are loosely ordered although both are about a common idea but different days. There is no clear developed story line, the essay is loosely ordered with no introduction, body or conclusion. Almasi in essay 3 used daily frequent vocabulary such as "mother, father, grandfather, money", etc. Her text has a loosely ordered structure, no coherence and one idea is not developed as expected. There is no clear introduction, body or ending. Fumo in essay 5 used every day frequent vocabulary such as "school, home, church, father, mother", etc., and some less frequent vocabulary such as "plant". Each paragraph stands alone, although on same topic, but do not build on one "happy day" as expected of the task. Mahiri chose every day frequent vocabulary to less frequent, e.g. "costume, except, laying", etc. There is some coherence

212

because each sentence builds on the previous one although he is not using connecting words explicitly. There is a clear story line, introduction, body and conclusion. Mahiri's writing was the only essay that developed the given prompt and had an organized structure out of the twenty-eight essays I read for this class.

Generally, texts of three of the students (essay one, three, and five) lacked organization of ideas. Mosi, Almasi and Fumo did not develop or elaborate ideas but mentioned them only. They presented segmented pieces of knowledge that were not coherent to give a holistic description as required in the task. Only Mahiri elaborated and organized his ideas coherently.

Voice. To examine voice, I present the ways in which writers positioned themselves in relation to their audience. I identified the use of features such as writing in first person narrative, inclusion of more personal information, or the use of descriptive and/or figurative language and rhetorical questions to establish rapport with the reader (McCarthey et al. 2005). Additionally, the use of vocabulary items that have cultural references are considered as indexing the writer's voice. Mosi used some descriptive language on what he went to see, "animals like…" He has also used a personalized tone in writing about himself, "I took my dog to the market" (essay one). Almasi used "I" in the text but this voice is not developed beyond that. Fumo used some personal tone, Use of "I", e.g. "I plant…" he used personalized vocabulary….chappati which has a cultural reference and require understanding of the target culture, which in turn shows the writer's identity. Mahiri used first person narrative "I", e.g. "I swam very well and floated they cheered to me. It was the day I was very happy". Mahiri in essay seven is also quite descriptive of the scene:

The teacher who was there he said stop swimming my children I will show you how to swim. He said who knows how to swim. I raised up my hand and even two children were raising their hands. He said onto them you will start one at a time the first child swam very well. The second swam and he sinked everyone laugh at him except me. The third one who was me, I swam very well and floated they cheered to me. It was the day I was very happy".

The four writers' texts had varied levels of voice, emotional expressions, and connections. These voices were developed to varying degrees.

Translanguaging. The writing tasks discussed above were taken from the county exams. Students were aware of the language separation instructions; therefore, three of the five focal students did not employ translanguaging (TL) to meet their communicative goals. Two of my focal students used TL, Fumo and Adila. Fumo used the phrase "I work in the shamba;" shamba is a Swahili term for farm. Adila used TL in all her writing tasks. In the next section, I discuss TL in writing with reference to Adila's writing across languages.

The ratings for Swahili writing were higher than English in all aspects that I scored. Table 9 below displays ratings for focal students in Kiswahili essays.

Table 9

Ratings of Swahili Writing

Name	Grammar/punctuation	Sentence complexity	Rhetorical style	Voice	Translanguaging
Mahiri	4.5	5	4.5	4	no
Mosi	4	5	5	3	yes
Fumo	4.5	4	5	3	yes
Almasi	4.5	4	4.5	5	no

Grammar and punctuation. Mosi used capitalization correctly although he did not use full stops and commas. Each paragraph begins with a word in capital letters

"UMUHIMU" in essay two. He has used tense/ aspect and mood in Swahili correctly. He has challenges in using graphophonetic cues /s/, /sh/, /z/ and adding /n/, /m/, and he has problems in subject adjective agreement "*matunda wake*" (its fruits) instead of "*matunda yake*". However, this does not affect the meaning since the root of the adjective carries the meaning. In the Swahili text (essay four), Almasi used full stops and commas well; however, capitalization is inconsistent, and some sentences begin with capital letters, and others small letters. Her writing does not have subject agreement errors. Fumo's punctuation is inconsistent, but there is a full stop after every end of paragraph. Fumo has employed different tenses, aspect and mood such as habitual "*hutupatia*" (gives us), and conditional tense "*ukichukua*" (if you take); both of which are used correctly. The subject and verb agreement are used correctly. There are some spelling errors such as dropping of /h/, e.g. utupatia instead of *hutupatia* (gives us), adding or deleting of /n/ 'mbao za ku(n)jenga (building timber), instead of *kujenga*. Fumo's text has interchanged sounds /s/, /z/, /sh/. Similar to Mosi, Mahiri used capitalization and punctuation marks throughout the essay correctly. Tenses, aspect and mood are correctly used. He has some spelling mistakes; dropping sound /h/, e.g. "ata" instead of "hata" (even). All the students did not have tense, aspect and mood errors in their essays. There are few spelling errors; but, they do not hinder comprehension

Sentence complexity. Mosi has employed simple, compound sentences and multi-propositional phrases, for example; *"miti usaindia sana kwenye nyumba zetu kwa sababu ingekuwa si miti hatu(n)geweka nyumba mabati kwa sababu upepo i(n)getoa mabati wote"*. (Trees help in our houses because if it were not for trees we would not roof our houses because wind would blow away/remove all the iron sheets). Mosi has also used

conditional clauses shown in the sentence above. Almasi used a variety of sentence structures; e.g. *Miti inafanya mvua inyeshe mingi ili mimea yetu ikuwe haraka kama mgomba ulivyokua haraka haraka sana* (Trees make/brings a lot of rain so that our plants can grow fast like the way banana tree grew very fast). This is a multi-propositional phrase that has relative phrase "*ulivyokua*" (the way it grew). Almasi has also used conditional clauses "*kama ikinyesha* (if it rains). Fumo used compound sentences such as; *aina moja ni utupatia makaa na hayo makaa tunayatumia kupika chakula* (one type is they give us charcoal and that charcoal we use them to cook food)*. He also used conditional clauses, e.g. *matubera, matunguru pia ni dawa zuri sana ukichukua maji ya marubera au mutunguru na uieke katika ndani ya icho kidonda utapona mara moja* (matubera, matunguru also is a good medicine, if you take liquid from marubera or mutunguru and put it in that wound, you get healed instantly). Fumo also has used relative clauses; *kati(ka) hii dunia kuna aina nyingi za miti kuna mti ambao unaitwa mubaumauta, mutongu, murangi na mingineo* (In this world there are many types of trees, there is a tree that is called *mubaumauta, mutongu, murangi* and others. Mahiri as well used varied sentence structure and multi-propositional phrases of varying length.

  Rhetorical style. Mosi's word choice ranged from daily everyday vocabulary e.g., *nyumba* (house) to abstract ones such as *faida* (profit). His essay two is coherent which has been achieved by use of connecting words e.g., first, second and third. Ideas are presented and developed, e.g., *tunapasua miti tunapata (m)bao tunajenga manyumba ya watu za wanyama pia za kuku pia miti usaindia sana kwenye nyumba zetu kwa sababu ingekuwa si miti hatu(n)geweka nyumba mabati kwa sababu upepo i(n)getoa mabati wote* (we split trees to get timber; we build homes/houses of people, of animals and for

poultry. Tree also helps in constructing our houses, because if it were not for trees we would not be able roof our houses, because the wind would remove all the iron sheets). The idea that trees are used for constructing homes for animals and human is fully developed here. Unlike his English essay one, there is a clear introduction and body in Swahili text.

Almasi's word choice in essay four was a mix of abstract and concrete vocabulary which varied from straight forward frequently used vocabulary such as *-nyesha* (to rain) to less commonly used such as *faida* (profit)*...tengeneza* (to make*), -mea* (to grow). She used topic specific vocabulary like rain, crops, grow, *mgomba* (banana trunk). Fumo as well in essay 6 chose words from every day vocabulary *–makaa* (charcoal), *kuni* (firewood), to less frequent vocabulary such as *kidonda* (wound)*, -pona* (get well)*, dunia* (world), etc. He also used different verbal extensions correctly. These included the applicative e.g. *hutupatia* (gives us), and stative form, y*akimalizika* (when they are finished)*.* His prose is coherent with a clear introduction… *Umuhimu wa miti ni wa aina nyingi sana* (there are several benefits of trees). In the body, Fumo has listed the importance, one after another and the ending is clear; *kati(ka) hii dunia kuna aina nyingi za miti kuna mti ambao unaitwa mubaumauta, mutongu, murangi na mingineo* (in this world there many types of trees; there is a tree which is called eucalyptus, *mutongu, murangi* and others). Mahiri similarly used a mix of every day vocabulary to less frequent, mix of concrete and abstract vocabulary, and utilized different forms of verbs such as applicative, passive, reciprocative, subjunctive mood, etc. Ideas are developed with clear examples.

Generally, in Swahili essays students demonstrated clear organization; the ideas were organized with adequate development and descriptions, and varied word choice, with both everyday language and specific topic language. There is use of second order thinking in giving explanations, ideas and evidence.

Voice. The extent of voice varied among the students. Mosi in essay two used first person plural *-tu-*, (we)…*miti hutuetea* (trees bring us), *zetu* (our); *nyumba zetu* (our houses), etc. Mosi used some descriptive language. *Pia wanyama wata...kwa kukosa maji majani ata wakikosa hata sis awahatupa masiwa na watakufa* (also animals will die from shortage of water and pasture and once they lack they will not give us milk and they will die) This shows the effects lack of water could have on us/humans, he is using "us" and "we" in his essay. Similarly, Almasi in essay four has used possessives such as *mimea yetu* (our plants), and comparative by referring to a plant she knows, *kama mgomba*… (like a banana tree…). Fumo's essay six has a clear personal tone use of *tu* (we), and has used cultural references e.g., the name of trees and their medicinal value and indigenous knowledge of the community; hence, his identity in the community is displayed. He has given some descriptive information using subjunctive mood… *matubera, matunguru pia ni dawa zuri sana ukichukua maji ya marubera au mutunguru na uieke katika ndani ya icho kidonda utapona mara moja* (*matubera, matunguru* are very good medicine. If you take fluid from *mutunguru* or *marubera* and put it on a wound, that wound will be healed immediately). Mahiri also in essay eight used a personalized style, engaging the reader to think with the writer through use of rhetorical questions such as *miti utupatia ata mbao sisi hutumia miti mbao kwa kujenga nyumba kama hakuna miti watu wangetoa mbao wapi ... kama hakuna miti maskini wangelala wapi* (if there were no trees where would

people get timber from?...if there were no trees, where would the poor people live?). Although the question mark is missing, it is clear that this is engaging the reader to think with the writer. Also, Mahiri takes a voice of the other to position his views in the broader dialogue/conversation about trees. *Miti kunasemekana tusikate tukikata miti wanyama na ndege wale huishi kwa miti au wale huishi porini watakaa wapi* (It is said that we should not cut trees, if we cut trees where will the birds and animals that live in trees or in the forest live?). Like the other three students, he uses first person plural "tu" (we) and goes further to indicate in the description his personal feeling/opinions, "*matunda matamu sana*" (very sweet fruits).

In the Swahili texts all the students have used their experiences and opinions to engage the reader, and have related their writing to others and self. Both writers seem to be self-authoring in Swahili. Students have also inserted a cultural reference in their essays, e.g. the medicinal aspect of trees and cultural food items.

Translanguaging. Mosi and Fumo used TL, for example Mosi used the word *pawpaw* in the Swahili essay two. Students are conscious of scoring rules, however Fumo in essay six has used three codes, Swahili, English and Kimeru in the essay "*na matunda mengine yanatupatia vitameni "B". Kati(ka) hii dunia kuna aina nyingi za miti kuna mti ambao unaitwa mubaumauta, mutongu, murangi na mingineo*". The names of trees are in Kimeru; i.e. *mubaumauta, mutongu, murangi.*

Discussion on English and Kiswahili Writing

Students' writing reflected different types of challenges across the two languages. They showed the same types of errors in texts such as tense/aspect, mood and spelling issues in all English essays. In Swahili essays, students had developed their ability to use

correct subject verb agreement and appropriate tenses. There were a few spelling errors on specific sounds for all students.

Based on the data, the students could write coherent essays in Kiswahili as compared to English. The Swahili essays for all students are clear and to the point. There is a clear beginning, body, and conclusion. In English essays, there are disjointed sections; the idea is not fully developed, students depended on similar sentence structures, and kept repeating words or phrases. The analyses of students' writing across languages indicate different scores; English scores in table eight are lower than Kiswahili scores in table nine in all aspects that were scored. All students have several spelling miscues, especially in English apart from Mahiri, who has better access to literacy materials out of school. Students seemed more aware of their punctuation in the Swahili essays than English ones. There is clear organization of ideas in Swahili texts as compared to English ones. Students' voices are clear in Swahili essays and are developed as compared to English where some students present a list of sentences devoid of their emotions and opinions. These texts indicate that students have a higher proficiency in Swahili writing than English writing. Despite the fact that all writing in all subjects is in English, students have not mastered English well enough for rhetoric purposes. Their higher levels in Swahili, despite the lesser time allocated to Kiswahili lessons, and continued restrictions on students to use English-only, raises points for consideration by the policy makers for a multilingual child.

The achievement gap between students in Swahili writing is smaller than in English essays, each of the focal students could communicate clearly in Kiswahili, and only one student in English. For example, Fumo's Swahili essay was outstanding in terms

of sentence complexity and rhetorical style as compared to his English essay. Although English proficiency in three out of the four students would be considered low, their academic and cognitive strength is shown in their Swahili essays. This implies that use of a familiar language would be a recipe for reducing inequalities in Kenyan education. Similar observations have been made by Mohanty (2005), who asserted that omission of and lack of accommodation of other languages in education deny equal opportunities for learning and violates linguistic human rights. This practice triggers vicious cycles of deprivation perpetuating inequality, and, consequently poverty in the marginalized communities. The language policy in Kenya has encouraged the reproduction of inequality in education due to failure to recognize students' languages as resources during early years of schooling. It can be argued that use of foreign language-in-education underestimates cognitive and academic strength of students. The students' production in Kiswahili indicates the reasoning power of students as compared to English essays (Escamilla & Coady, 2005). This is an indication that evaluation of bi-multilinguals in one language underestimates the cognitive and academic strengths of these students.

Some of the students used translanguaging techniques in their essays, e.g., Fumo and Mosi among my focal students. Most of the students' writings were consistent with the school norms on language separation in English as shown in table seven. Now I turn to the work of my fifth focal student, Adila, to discuss her translingual writing practices.

Translingual Writing

As shown in the table seven, students used their semiotic resources to meet their communicative goals. Although they were required to write strictly in one language, TL permeated their writing. A few students used TL writing strategies, ranging from 8% to

35% in different tasks. The reason for higher TL in some tasks than others is not my focus in this section. It is noted, however, that the mix of languages in essay writing was considered an error and the students were required to know and use the required vocabulary items to communicate effectively in the target language. This expectation is unrealistic for this rural setting where students have access to English only at school and are emerging multilinguals. The curriculum dictated use of one language only in academic writing and teachers tried to enforce this and control the exclusion of student's language practices. However, TL was beyond the teacher's control as shown by the percentages of TL practices above. Students drew from their multiple communicative repertoires to communicate rather than one specific language required by the task guidelines. Below I showcase Adila's translingual writing practices.

On the case: Adila's translingual writing practices. I followed Adila's writings because all her writing exhibited translanguaging. Below I share her written texts in both English and Kiswahili followed by description of each text and discussion.

Essay 9

Msitu uliopo karibu na shule yetu
Msitu uliopo karibu na shule yetu kuna vitu vingi
sana kama miti imejaa kwenye msitu uliopo
karibu na shule yetu. miti hii ina majina yao na
majina aya ni kama *example* kama *muthanduku,
muthithi, mumbaumauta, musakaranda na
mutemana.* unaona ukija kwa msitu uliopo karibu
na shule yetu utapata vitu vinavyokufuraisha tena
msitu uiopo karibu na shule yetu kuna wadudu
tofauti sana. na awa wadudu hawafanani na
wengine kama nyoka, nzi, *nting'oti, rwanga, na
kulosiyaroja.* Msitu uliopo karibu na shule yetu
kuna wanyama kama ndovu, pundamilia, mbongo,
manka, *nsoro*, njirafu, swara, *nthuni, biti,* ngiri,
mbweha, nyati, nyani, ndege, maji…unaona ukija
kwa msitu uliopo karibu na shule yetu kuna
majani, vyakula, kuna wanyama, kuna watu
wanaokuja msituni wakiongojea watoto wasichana
watoke shuleni ili wawaibe, tena kuna watu
wanaotoka mbali wanaokuja kuona msitu uliopo
karibu na shule yetu. utapata wanafunzi
wakicheza uwanja wa shule yetu. tema msitu una
wanyama wakali sana, wangeni wakiwa karibu na
msitu uliopo karibu na shule yetu wanashangaa
sana kama kuna shule karibu na msitu. Asante

English Translation

THE FOREST NEAR OUR SCHOOL

The forest that is near our school has very many things like trees have filled the
forest near our school. These trees have their names and these names include wattle trees,
muthithi, eucalyptus, jacaranda *and mutemana*. You see when you come to the forest near
our school you will get things that make you happy and it also has different types of
insects. This insects do not resemble one another and other (animals) like snake,
housefly, beetle, *rwang*a, and praying mantis. The forest near our school has animals like
elephants, zebra, buffalo, *manka,* columbus monkey, *girrafe, swara, nthuni, biti, ngiri,
mbweha, nyati, nyani, ndege, maji*. You see when you come to the forest near our school
there are leaves, food, animals, also there are people who come there waiting for girls to
come to school so that they can steal them. There are also people who come from far to
see the forest near our school. You will get students playing in the school field. The forest
has very dangerous animals. Tourists while near the forest near our school get surprised
that there is a school near a forest. Thank you very much teacher.

Adila's text above is written in Kiswahili. She has used three languages/codes.

English, Kiswahili and Kimeru. The words used in Kimeru and English are as follows:

Muthanduku   wattle tree
Mubaomauta   eucalyptus

223

Musakaranda	jacaranda tree
Nting'oti	beetle
Kulosiyaroja	praying mantis
Mbongo	buffalo
Nsoro	columbus monkey
Muthithinda	cypress
Muthithi	
Mutemana	
Rwanga	insect
Manka	animal
Njirafe	girrafe
Nthuni	dick dick
Ngiri	warthog
Mwarimu	teacher

In text nine, Adila has used three languages to write and communicate her goal. While the text indicates she has mastery of Kiswahili, she uses the English word, *example,* in the fifth sentence. The examples of trees, animals and insects found in the forest are given in her home language, Kimeru. These words are italized in the transcription above and translated into English. Although she has not followed paragraphs, her text is coherent and detailed. She begins with a general explanation of the forest and what is found there, gives comprehensive list of animals, insects and trees found there. She also tells of the dangers, bad people that hide there to attack girls as they go home. And she also mentions tourism that takes place there and people's reaction about the school. This essay is well knit and Adila uses her multiple linguistic repertoire to meet her objective. While she is aware that she was supposed to write in Swahili only, the language boundaries did not exist in her mind and was not a constraint to meeting her communicative goal.

Essay 10

DARASA LA NNE MUHULA WA TATU 2014

MUDA: DAK. 40

Andika insha ya kupendeza juu ya:

UMUHIMU WA MITI

UMUHIMU WA MITI

Umuhimu wa miti ni kama vile usitumie miti ovyo ovyo. tena miti utupatia *baita* nyingi sana kama vile miti ukipasua unapaka nyumba nzuri sana. tena miti utupatia kuni za kupika chakula. na ukipika chakula kitamu ujue ni iso kuni na iso kuni sitakua simetoka kwenye iyo miti. tena tusitumie miti vibaya kwa sababu miti utupatia faida nyingi sana kama miti utupatia mbao na iso mbao ujega nyumba nzuri sana katika mashambani mwetu. katika mashambani mwetu kuna miti mingi sana. kuna miti tofauti tofauti kama vile *muthithinda, muthanduku, mubaomauta, musakalanda, mubokando, muembe, mudukati, mubera.* tena miti ina fainda nyingine kama vile miti utupatia matunda. na aya matunda ni kama pera, pawpaw, embe, avocado, ndukati na kadamia. ukiwa umepanda miti wewe una fainda nyingi sana. tena wewe ukiwa umepanda mitiwewe una fainda na isi faida ni wewe unaweza kuuza kuni na isi kuni sinatokana na miti kwa ivo wewe usitumie miti ovyoovyo. kwa sababu ukikataa kutunza miti yako wewe hauna fainda tena. tafadhali usiaribu miti yako ovyoovyo, tumia miti kwa utaratibu na adabu nyingi sana. kama unataka fainda ya miti tutunzeni miti vizuri.

English Translation

IMPORTANCE OF TREES

The importance of trees are like do not use trees wastefully. Trees also give us very many benefits like when you cut trees you can build a very nice house. Trees also give us firewood to cook food. And when you cook delicious food it is as a result of that firewood and that firewood come from those trees. Again we should not use trees inappropriately because trees give us many benefits like they give us timber and those timbers are used to build very nice houses in rural areas. In rural areas there are a lot of trees. There are different types of trees like cypress, wattle, eucalyptus, jacaranda, avocado tree, mango tree, loquat tree and guava tree. Trees also have other benefits like they give us fruits. And these fruits include guavas, pawpaw, mango, avocados, loquats and macadamia nuts. If you have planted trees you have many benefits. And these benefits are (that) you can be able to sell firewood and those firewood come from trees so you should not use trees inappropriately, because if you don't care for your trees you do not have benefits. Please do not destroy your trees (use haphazardly?). Because if you do not protect trees, you do not have benefits again. Please do not use trees carelessly. Use trees sparingly. If you want the benefits from trees. Please do not destoy trees.

In essay ten, Adila again has used three different codes; English, Kiswahili and Kimeru. The words from other languages in this text include:

baita	profit
muthithinda	cypress
muthanduku	wattle
mubaomauta	eucalyptus
musakalanda	jacaranda
muvokando	avocado tree
muembe	mango tree
mudukati	loquat tree
mubera	guava tree
pera	guava fruit
pawpaw	pawpaw
ovacado	vocado fruit
ndukati	loquat tree
kadamia	macadamia nuts

This was a county test. Adila is aware that it should be written in Kiswahili only; but still, several words from her linguistic repertoires find their way into the text. Under the language separation orientation, the student will definitely be penalized for these words as errors. It is notable also that even a word for which Adila has the Swahili version in the same text has been written in mother tongue *baita (*gain/profit*)*. This word appears elsewhere in Swahili, an indication that she has its Swahili counterpart. This is an indication that the argument that multilingual language users select different terms to fill a lexical gap may not hold in this student's writing. It also shows the tensions the writer is going through in the process of finding a balance between authorial intentions and the teacher's expectations of her writing. Adila's choice of semiotic resources had other functional uses. She is using her linguistic repertoire as a rhetorical style as indicated in the range of choice of vocabulary items based on everyday knowledge and topic specific language of trees and fruits. In her essay, she takes up an authoritative voice that is filled with emotion and opinions (do not use trees inappropriately), and shares her ideas for her

stance. This is what Vygotsky (2012) refers to as ventriloquition, which is adopting voice of the other.

Adila's English texts

Essay 11
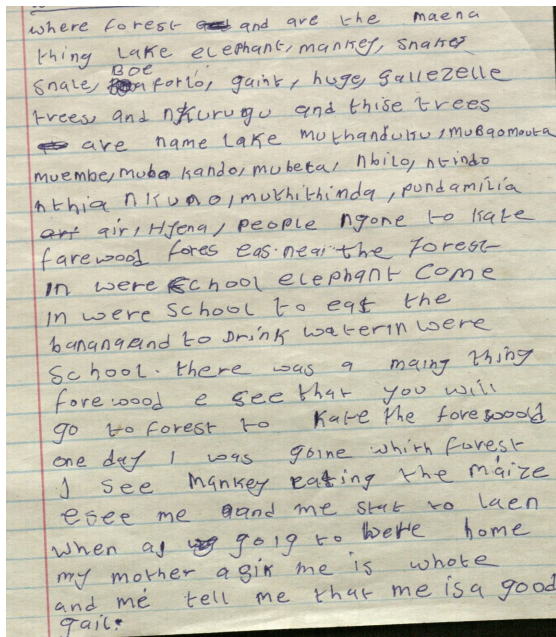
Our Forest
where forest and are the maene (many) thing lake (like) elephant, mankey (monkey) snakes, snale (snail), boeforlo (buffalo), giant, huge, gallezelle (gazelle) trees, and *nkurungu* and thise (these) trees are name lake (like) *muthanduku, mubaomauta, muembe, mubokando, mubera, mbilo, ntindo, nthia, nkuno, muthithinda, pundamilia*, air (hare) hyena. people ngone (go) to take farewood (firewood) forest eas near the forest in were school elephant come in were (our?) school to eat the banana and to drink water were (our?) school. there was many thing forewood (firewood) e see that you will go to forest take the forewood. one day I was goine (going) whith forest I see mankey (monkey) eating the maize e (he) see me and me stat to laen (run) when as goig (going) to were (our) home my mother agin? me is whote and me tell me that me is a good gail (girl).

Words used from Kimeru and Kiswahili languages included:

Nkurungu   antelop /deer?
Muthanduku   wattle tree
Mubaomauta   eucalyptus
Muembe   mango tree
Mubokando   avocado tree
Mubera   guava tree
Mbilo   a wild fruit?
Ntindo   wild animal?
Nthia   gazelle
Nkuno   mushroom
Muthithinda   cypress tree
Pundamilia   Zebra (Kiswahili)

Adila's English texts were less coherent compared to her Swahili essay nine and ten above, although she drew from her multiple linguistic repertoires. The first two essays show that Adila has immense knowledge of the forest. Her first essay in Kiswahili is very

extensive. In essay eleven, Adila is still using her experiential knowledge in naming trees and animals, but the spelling and sentence structure in English is challenging for her. TL allowed her to communicate a little bit, without which this text would be difficult to make any meaning. She was restricted by the policy and was conscious of this, to the extent that she tried to write most of the essay in English.

Essay 12
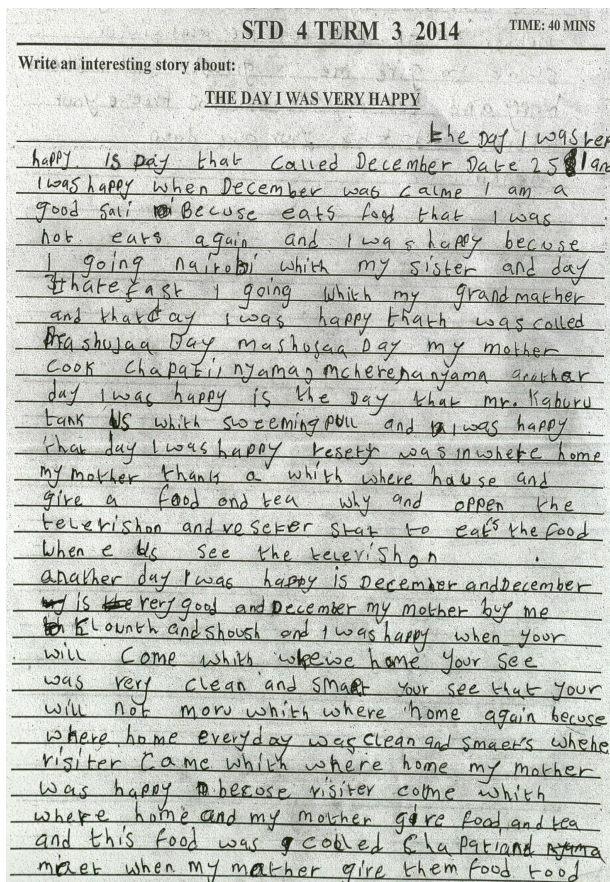
THE DAY I WAS VERY HAPPY
The day I was very happy I was happy when December was came date 25 and good …because eats food that I was not ears again and I was happy becuse I going Nairobi with my sister and that fast I going with my grandmather and that day I was happy that was called mashujaa day my mother cook chapati, nyama, mchere na nyama. Another day I was happy is the day that mr kaburu tank (took) us whith sweeming pull (swimming pool) and I was happy that day I was happy resety (name of a person) was in where (our) home my mother thank a (her) whith where house and give a (her) food and tea why and open the televishon and reseter stat to eat the food when he see us see (watch) the televishon. Anather day I was happy is December and December is very good and December my mother buy me klouth (clothes) and shoush (shoes) and I was happy your will come whith where home your see was very clean and smart you see that your will not moru? whith where home again becuse (because)where home everday was clean and smaets where visiter came whith where home my mother was happy becuse visiter come whith where home and my mother give food and tea and this food was colled (called) chapati and nyama maet when my mother give them food food

In this English essay Adila has used the following words:

mashujaa day	heroes day (Kiswahili)
chapati	flat bread
nyama	beef (Kiswahili)
mchere na nyama	rice and beef

Here, Adila uses Kiswahili and Kimeru in English text. Again, she is aware that this is English composition but that does not deter her from using her multiple semiotic repertoires to communicate. Her text has several spelling mistakes. Adila has shared the different days she was happy. She does not develop each day by extensively explaining what happened, she gives a few explanations for each and gives other days. Although she has used the Swahili/Kimeru word in the first paragraph of her essay, in the last sentence she is conscious that this is an English text. She writes *nyama* and crosses out and replaces it with English word, *meat*, which is not spelled correctly. This essay superficially shows the tensions that exist in writing of a multilingual learner. The semiotic choice is a tension filled exercise for Adila, and the outside forces towards uniformity make her chose the imposed language that is not the language of her reality.

Discussion of Adila's Texts

For this section, I do not compare writing across codes but I focus on translingual writing in relation to sociocultural theories (Bakthin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978, 2012). Evidently, TL in Adila's texts has several advantages in her engagement with literacy. She has used the resources at her disposal to meet her communicative goal. Her Kiswahili texts are well developed, coherent, well organized and her voice as an author is clear. In English texts, she is having a lot of difficulties in both authorial and secretarial aspects of writing. Her English texts as well are made clearer through use of translanguaging. However, in English texts, the centripetal forces are stronger than centrifugal forces (Bakhtin, 1981), and this impacts the meaning of the English texts above by constraining her writing. It is notable that she will be penalized for including Swahili and Kimeru vocabulary items for all composition-writing tasks. Adila, however, has set a goal in

229

mind, and wants to meet it using the semiotic tools at her disposal. This practice indicates the tension filled utterance, especially in terms of correctness and separating languages. Her TL strategies help the reader to understand her goal; but still, much of it remains unclear.

Adila's use of multiple semiotic resources has not only given her voice but also maximized her chances of meeting the communicative goal. She chose from her linguistic repertoires to solve problems in constructing English and Swahili texts. Hornberger (2005) has pointed out that "bi/multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices" (p. 607).

Adila's choice of languages also indexes a disruption of language hierarchies (Bakhtin, 1981) and monolingual habitus ideologies in multilingual setting. Language separation practices and perpetuation of monolingual practices do not indicate ways in which children access knowledge naturally (Makalela, 2015). African states and, Kenya in particular, have maintained policies where students are socialized unrealistically on language use. African scholars have termed this language use as the stupification of children (Bokamba, 2011; Brock-Utne, 2001). Makalela (2015) has argued that languages are not in boxes (packaged) and multilingual children may use one language in out put and another in input. Multilinguals have expanded codes from which they pick, as circumstances demand. The heteroglossic practices by Adila can best be described as transgressing the norm (Pennycook, 2007). To transgress is to go beyond bounds. Adila's essays transgressed the bounds of separate languages and disrupted standard ideologies

230

on academic writing and incorporated multiple voices through this transgression. Adila's use of different languages is not only transgressing the monolingual norm, but also a struggle for her to appropriate legitimized vocabulary items in her writing; and at the same time, communicate her reality. While Adila's writing transgressed the writing norms established by the national curriculum, it also raises questions for teaching practices, to consider inequalities constructed through language use. Pennycook (2007) has noted that transgressing is not disorder or chaos but always implies order. Multilingual teachers may need to rethink their pedagogies.

Adila's transgression gives her voice, thus, disrupting unequal voices. Wertsch (1991) defines voice noting it provides a view of personal identity largely determined according to where one lives, works, plays and with whom he interacts. Blommaert (2005) notes, "Voice refers to the capacity to make oneself understood as a situated subject … (p. 222). Therefore, a writer is establishing who they are as a situated subject when they present an essay. Similar views are held by Ivanic (1998) in the preface of the book, *Writing and identity* (1998, p. 1)

> Who am I as I write this book? I am not a neutral, objective scribe conveying the objective results of my research impersonally in my writing. I am bringing to it a variety of commitments based on my own interests, values, beliefs which are build up from my own history…

Canagarajah (2013) used the term envoicing to describe ways in which writers mesh semiotic resources for their identities and interests. Bakhtin (1981) noted that language is stratified; each act of communication is laden with values.

In the writing, Adila uses three languages. These are equivalent to three voices that have contributed to the production of the text. According to Bakhtin (1981), each utterance has history and a future. The textual meaning does not reside solely in language or text, but in all resources of the text and the context. The different voices, according to the author, are recognized as legitimate and complementary in production of meaning opposed to the authoritarian single voicedness requirement by the school and the national curriculum. Her texts index various sociopolitical historical contexts of the writer. Her texts are an example of heteroglossia in practice wherein her utterances centripetal (unitary) and centrifugal (diverse) tensions are in place, in a context where correctness is key. Each of the voices indicates Adila's real life; the sociocultural context and her environmental background play a role in language use and words choice together with her local histories. Allowing students use of their resources allows for authentic voices, a move away from monolingual language development to a more all-inclusive language instruction. Adila accurately documented her experiences with the forest by listing animals, ants, insects, different types of trees, etc., which she may not do in English only. Similar observations have been made by Garcia (2014), who points out that use of TL offers space to voices that have been silenced through use of English only. It is, therefore, important to build on students' voices and lived experiences by using students' repertoire and especially their L1 as a cognitive tool.

A teacher is expected to uphold the established writing norms. As Bakthin (1981) noted, sociopolitical forces encourage individuals to adopt a voice of the authority. In a multilingual classroom in rural Kenya, the favored voice of authority influences the manner in which children appropriate and transfer information from the second language

232

to first and vice versa. This voice can silence a learner's voice. A look at Adila's essays

in both Kiswahili and English attest to the fact that adopting authoritative discourse for

multilingual children is disadvantageous. However, educators and other education

stakeholders hold the view that for students to do well in English-only exams and have

social mobility, they need to learn in English-only (discussed in Chapter Seven). The

history of separation of languages and suppression of indigenous languages has caused

what Bakhtin (1981) calls ideological becoming in the minds of most Kenyan education

stakeholders. Ideological becoming is the way we develop our way of viewing the world,

our system of ideas. It refers to the process of engagement through which ideological

stance, or worldview, develops. This takes place through a process of "selectively

assimilating the words of others" (Bakthin, 1981, p. 341). Bakthin distinguished between

authoritative and persuasive discourse. The authoritative word includes the religious,

political, moral; the word of a teacher, the word of adults and of teachers, etc., while the

internally persuasive word lacks all privilege, is not backed up by any authority at all, and

is frequently not even acknowledged in the society. "The struggle and dialogic

interrelationship of these categories of ideological discourse are what usually determine

the history of an individual ideological consciousness" (p. 342). The distinction between

authoritative verses internally persuasive discourses according to Bakhtin, is the degree

of ownership. This authoritative discourse and the persuasive discourse approach echoes

language debates around languages. Adila's TL is part of creative language use which is

persuasive while the language of academic discourse impositions on multilingual children

represent the authoritative discourse. Although language use in multilingual settings

disrupts these authoritative discourses, unfortunately they are suppressed and are not

guaranteed for academic excellence. Therefore, Adila's translingual texts represent miscues that need to be penalized for excellence in English-only writing.

Conclusions

While school organizations continue to reinforce language separation in literacy practices such as writing, research is showing that students draw from all available semiotic resources at their disposal. Additionally, both teachers and students use their resources despite the constraints placed on them by the institutional polices.

These findings are consistent with the work of scholars who argue that TL is not a practice of deficiency (Garcia, 2009; Canagarajah, 2011, 2013) and other scholars who view transgressing from the norm as not a chaotic practice but organized to communicate (Garcia, 2009; Pennycook, 2007). As Adila's writing has shown, TL in writing is a complex linguistic and rhetoric competence (Canagarajah, 2013) and makes silenced voices heard (Garcia, 2014; Helot 2014; Creese et al. 2014) and unrevealed identities renegotiated. Analysis of Adila's texts suggests a potential for expansion of the classroom space to encourage students' home languages in writing as cognitive tools to facilitate metacognitive awareness (Wertsch, 1991).

Negative attitudes towards certain languages and their inclusion in school writing tasks reflect not only patterns of power relations within the wider society but also show what Bakhtin called ideological becoming, being accustomed to what is foreign and to self-hate. For African languages in the classroom, Kenya's colonial history led to suppression of indigenous languages and their relegation to non-literate use. The failure to introduce literacy in these languages as well propagates their assumed low status in academia. The neocolonialists continued with the colonial policies, hence local language

have continually indexed not only illiteracy but also poverty (discussed in chapter one). Considering the history of suppression of Kenyan languages and the lack of initial literacy in mother tongue, TL in writing is seen as transgressive form from a monolingual habitus. It offers a base for discussing what it means to be a multilingual and explore identity and traditional ideological barriers that separate languages.

Summary of the chapter

This chapter has presented the focal students' written products in both English and Kiswahili. Analyses of these artifacts indicate that students have higher proficiency levels in Kiswahili than in English; therefore Kiswahili could most adequately serve as the language of instruction. English language texts have several miscues that obscure the intended meaning. Additionally, it has been shown that multilingual students use multiple repertoires in their access to communicate. Adila's translingual writing and the percentages of translanguaging in students' written texts show that student do not consider languages as separate entities. This has an implication for literacy learning and teaching in multilingual settings. The next chapter addresses some of the ideologies that were embodied in the literacy practices presented in chapters four, five and six above, as articulated by the participants of this study.

Chapter Seven

Language Ideologies

Chapters Four, Five and Six have documented the communicative practices in a rural fourth grade classroom in Kenya. The aspects of learning and communicative practices presented in these chapters have intrinsic ideologies embodied in them. According to Bakthin, (1981), an utterance is embedded in a history of expressions by others in a chain of ongoing cultural and political moments. Through continued preference and power of English language in Kenya historically as discussed in Chapter one, people have developed a worldview relating to languages, power and hierarchy, a concept that Bakhtin has called ideological becoming. The term ideologies will be used to describe a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). Kroskrity (2004) defines ideologies as "beliefs or feelings about languages as used in their social worlds" (p. 498) adding that multiple ideologies can be articulated and or embodied in the practice (Kroskrity, 2004). The language ideologies have impacts on the communicative practices at school and consequently access to literacy of the learners.

In this chapter, the ideologies that underlie the practices presented in Chapters four, five, and six are discussed as articulated by the students, teachers and parents of Tumaini primary school. I discuss monolingual language ideologies in classroom as articulated by Tumaini primary school principal (Mr. Kibwe), English and Science teachers (Mr. Jabari and Mrs. Tabasamu respectively), and my focal students (here after education stakeholders). The data in this chapter are drawn from education stakeholders'

perspectives in order to understand ideologies embodied in their communicative practices and their articulated beliefs and attitudes towards the current communicative practices in the school. Through thematic analysis across cases, the chapter identifies and explores various themes including, the view of language as a problem, time on task orientation, washback, and silencing and exclusion. Ruiz (1984) views language as a problem as lack of competence in the dominant language as a disadvantage. In this study, language as a problem is conceptualized to mean viewing of home languages as a problem or obstacle in English excellence, which is a language of minority in Kenya. The language as a problem and time on task ideologies as articulated and embodied in language and literacy practices that took place in the fourth grade classroom are discussed. In addition to that, I explore the effects of these ideologies on communicative practices, in terms of how they shaped communicative practices as seen in washback, silence, silencing and exclusion in the knowledge production.

Language as a Problem

The language as a problem is conceptualized to mean viewing of home languages as a problem or obstacle for excellence in English, in English-only classroom settings, and social economic mobility. The difference from Ruiz' (1984) language as a problem perspective is that in this setting, the dominant languages are viewed as a problem and are associated with deficit. Language as a problem views presented influential discourse in the multilingual rural classroom, and, among the education stakeholders. The education stakeholders viewed students' mother tongue (MT) as a barrier to success in education, and lack of English was seen as a drawback to be overcome. For example, Mr. Jabari, the English teacher reported that MT and Sheng' codes had interfered with the purity of

237

English. Sheng is an unstable code whose grammar is largely, though not always, based on Kiswahili with lexicalized vocabulary that is sourced from various codes blended with several innovations (Ogechi, 2008). Githiora (2002) has defined Sheng' as a mixed language spoken by young people, pre-adolescents to adults, that emerged from the complex multilingual situation of Nairobi city, and which further dominates the discourse of primary and secondary children outside of the formal classroom setting. Sheng' code has become part of youth culture in Kenya, and the vocabulary varies with the community. Stakeholders' beliefs about students' language complicated the language practices in Tumaini primary school. The language practices in this school did not follow the stipulated language policy that requires teaching in MT for the first three years of school. Although this was a rural setting, literacy was introduced in Kiswahili, the national language, with the goal of transitioning students immediately to English only. Generally, students' MT was viewed as a problem preventing mastery of English literacy skills (i.e., by creating interference); and thwarting education success; and social, economic, and political success in a globalized world. Below I present two perspectives of language as a problem: Problem for English learning and problem for socio-economic development as articulated by the participants of this study.

Mother tongue as a problem for English language learning. Although students' MT was not taught as a subject in school, the English teacher, Mr. Jabari still lamented that Kimeru had contaminated students' English language. Mr. Jabari indicated that mother tongue (MT) had a role in enhancing understanding of concepts taught, though he still felt that it affected students' English language learning negatively. When asked of the roles he perceived of home primary language, Mr. Jabari stated:

238

The policy here [at this school] allows us to use even Kiswahili, a bit of Kiswahili to help make sure that children understand what you are teaching. So MT and national language plays a great role in assisting children to understand the new language that we are teaching, that is, English. However, there is a challenge, when we give them assignment to write essays or compositions, sometimes they interpret MT into English; and then you find children are finding it hard, they don't write exactly what is supposed to be written because of direct MT interpretation. So they collide, the two languages collide when they are, let's say they are writing, and even when they are speaking, so the two languages collide, and affect their writing and even speaking skills.

When probed further on the benefits he perceived of MT in teaching reading and writing in English, Mr. Jabari reiterated that there were no benefits, and that MT interfered with students' learning of English; instead, he argued that:

Kimeru …interferes so much. Even right now, it interferes with their writing because they do direct interpretation in some areas. Therefore we find it is interfering so much with learning of English because it is naturally in them, than the English, and therefore they tend to so much turn to use MT, which is easier, so it is actually interfering with, so much in writing in English. It is a problem. It has no advantage; it does not add any value in the learning of English.

Due to the perceived negative role of Kimeru, it was not taught in school. Mr. Jabari explained:

You know we don't have any learning materials written in Kimeru. Therefore, I can't remember any time that we have used a Kimeru book even in lower primary. Because even the vowels are different from the others, so it is very far away from the English language, Kimeru. Even in lower primary, they were introduced reading in Kiswahili. Even our Early Children Development Education (ECDE) here now they don't read Kimeru. They read Kiswahili. No reading in MT, "*Mpira- ball*"(Kiswahili-English*) sio* (not) "*mubira – ball*" (Kimeru – English) like that. They don't read Kimeru.

In the above quote, Mr. Jabari stated that the MT was not taught, and, that school literacy was introduced in Kiswahili.

In response to further probing on whether he thought the introduction of literacy in Kiswahili was helpful in developing English language, Mr. Jabari cited the continued "eruption" and widespread use of "Sheng." He elaborated that because students did not

have support for a basic language, they were forming their own code for communication

among peers, which was also a challenge for literacy learning and linguistic purism. Mr.

Jabari reported:

> The government wants, will bring it [Kimeru] back…because you know the new
> generation has introduced another language, Sheng...due to lack of basic
> language, mother tongue…so the government want to teach MT in lower primary
> to clear that one.

Although Mr. Jabari felt that English-only was an effective way for students to learn

English, he shared conflicting views on the effects that unfamiliar languages had on

students:

> When told to introduce language and literacy through Kiswahili rather than MT, it
> has not worked. In fact it has done more harm to English because they have
> introduced a new language called "Sheng". They have tried to combine Kiswahili
> and English. It really has destroyed the purity of English language...it has
> contaminated English. If the government should bring new policy guidelines, it
> will improve English better.

The above statement demonstrates Mr. Jabari's belief that the absence of the MT

in education had negative effects on students' acquisition of English, and instead led to

the use of a specific form of slang (there are competing views on whether Sheng' is a

creole, pidgin or Swahili dialect), formed from English and Kiswahili. Widespread of

other codes was worrying as it interfered with the teaching of English. As noted above,

one goal for English instruction was to overcome the perceived language problem in the

multilingual classroom. However, according to Mr. Jabari, the practice of overcoming

language problems had a lot of other challenges or interference of different intensities as

he expounded below:

> Challenges are many. First of all is MT interference, spellings, some children can
> speak very well but they can't write what they are speaking, the other challenge is
> the home environment some parents are illiterate, so kids don't have any practice

apart from school. Also, environment, people around school are not educated so they interfere with their learning, some children also lack of interest in English. Some kids, some children also lack interest. They tend to have negative attitude because they don't understand it. Because in school it is given, has more time, seven lessons per week; some students who are slow learners are bored. So to motivate them to like the subject is time consuming. Children don't know how to read…supplementary books are not enough or available, parents are not cooperative, learning materials are not available and it takes a lot of time to improvise, etc. There are no even dictionaries and also dictionary interpretation are difficult for these kids to understand, but they are not even available.

In the above quote, Mr. Jabari described the many challenges facing English teaching. These include lack of access to English outside school and in the community, negative attitudes from students, lack of resources and difficulties to understand English dictionary. Notwithstanding these challenges, Mr. Jabari viewed MT as hindrance to excellence of the children in school. Noticeably missing are his comments are reflective comments on teacher preparedness to teach English as second or foreign language to speakers of other languages.

The hybrid codes have been reported elsewhere in multilingual settings. A good example is TexMex in Mexico, (Sayer, 2013; Smith & Murillo, 2015), a code that has been referred to as a form of Spanish Vernacular. Contrary to Mr. Jabari's observations, these scholars, however, argue against strict separation of languages, with the view that school practices run counter to the sociolinguistic realities of the students, and calls for educators to take a sociolinguistically informed view that acknowledges the actual linguistic resources that learners bring to school.

The focal students held different beliefs about the role of their MT. Notwithstanding school and community negative attitudes towards use of MT in school, my focal students acknowledged that their MT was helpful for comprehension purposes.

In fact, all of the five focal students indicated that Kimeru and/or Kiswahili aided

comprehension. Below, Mahiri describes his use of the MT stating that:

> Mahiri: *Kinanisaidia kusoma, nikisikia kitu kwa Kingereza, najifunza, yaani najua ya Kimeru lakini sijui kwa Kiingereza, natafuta ama nauliza mama au baba.* (It helps me in reading, when I hear something in English, I teach myself. That is, I know the Kimeru version but I do not know the English, I search for it or I ask mum or dad)

During reading, Mahiri described his use of Kimeru or Kiswahili as follows:
> *Nasoma kwa English, juu hiyo sasa kwa Kiswahili najua inasema nini au kwa Kimeru kuelewa kile nimesoma…* (I read in English, I know what it means in Kiswahili or Kimeru to understand what I have read…)

In this quote Mahiri implied that he interpreted what he read into Kiswahili or Kimeru to

make sense of it. Mosi said too that he interpreted and/or translated his reading into the

MT:

> Kama unasoma story imeandikwa kwa kitabu, neno zingine unaweza kuzielewa kwa Kimeru ama Kiswahili. Kuelewa nitainterpret na Kimeru. (If you are reading a story on the book, you can understand some words in Kimeru or Kiswahili. I interpret in Kimeru to understand).

As discussed in Chapter Five on translanguaging, the MT played a great role for students'

understanding in content areas. Despite the predominant negative attitudes held by

teachers and parents, students still acknowledged that it aided their comprehension. For

example, in the teaching of science and math, Mosi provided the following example in

which he reiterated that the importance of the MT:

> *Kama* using of water*, anaeleza kabisa kama ni* tank, *iwekwe kwenye pipes, iwekwe kwenye shamba, anatueleza mpaka mnasikia kabisa.* In Math*, si wengi wanasikianga Kiingereza. Atawaeleza kwa Kiswahili* like divide *utafanya hivi ndio ukuje kupata* answer.

> Like using water, she/he explains clearly, like tank, to be connected with pipes, it is put at the farm, she/he explains until you understand completely. In Math, not many people understand English. So she/he will explain in Swahili like divide you will do this to get an answer.

Mosi's quote above indicates that although MT is considered as a problem at school, it is playing a major role in their literacy development. Considering the role of the MT in students' comprehension, it is evident that there are conflicting linguistic ideologies that must be readdressed given the reality of a multilingual setting. As illustrated in the quotes above, MT as a resource has been squandered in the classroom and considered a hindrance to English acquisition, contrary to the fact that the multilingual focal students use it as a resource for understanding.

MT as a problem for success. The principal, English and Science teachers, focal students and parents articulated tacit reasons for their emphasis on English only. These included the global role of English language in the current world and the fact that it has been embraced in the national education system from kindergarten to higher education through standardized examinations, media and employment. Mr. Jabari described a focus on deemphasizing students' use of MT through a variety of motivational strategies. He explained that he informs students of the benefits of English in the following way:

> First of all you tell them that English language is very important for their day-to-day life, because it is the mother of all subjects. When you come to math, social science, all subjects examinable are written in and taught in English. So you approach them that way to arouse interest. Also some of their names are English names, written in English, before even their mother tongue. Expose them to classroom environment, the door, everything in English, take attention in home, name some things written in English in their homes, market, … that way they understand...so that way the child will know exactly what you are trying to teach them. Then you tell them even if you go outside the country you will speak English and not MT.

Here Mr. Jabari informs students why English is important to motivate them to develop interest in English. Because of the position of the English language in Kenyan education system, educational success is achieved through successful acquisition and

mastery of English. Mr. Jabari observed that the national language policy favors English

in education:

> … The exams or any other communication or even administration, they deal with English, they use English. And when they come to write the national exams, its only English language.

> … even most of the interactions now, almost everywhere; even if you go out there in the market the advertisements in the market are done in English–whatever comes in news are brought in English. Leaders are speaking English even national leaders… so I think they should be more exposed to English than MT.

As described above, MT was regarded as a problem for success in education

given what education stakeholders identified as world trends. For example, Mr. Jabari

was aware of the global role of English; he said his driving force was the fact that

"outside the country, you will do everything in English, not Kiswahili," which he

believed "show[ed the] importance of English, so [students] will like to learn more about

English." His goal was, therefore, to help students participate in the global world market

through English.

The Tumaini School community was also aware of the English demands required

for the examinations. The English teacher, Mr. Jabari, reported that the community was

cognizant of the benefits of English in school and the world at large:

> They [parents] like their children to be forced to speak in English. For example if they know there is a teacher who speaks to them in Kimeru, and children report at home, they are not happy. They like hearing their children speaking English. Even at home they complain that their children are not speaking English properly. They are not taught English like other schools. They like their children to do better in English. They complain, "My child has not done very well in English"… they want their children to do very well in English. They come and inquire from the class teachers. They like their children to know English so much.

In the above quote, Mr. Jabari the English teacher elaborates his experiences with the

parents in Tumaini primary school. He described the parent's desire for their children's

mastery of English. Mr. Jabari attributed the behavior of the parents and community to

their knowledge of the position of English; Mr. Jabari stated:

> Because it [English] is commonly used all over, at homes everything is written in
> English, they hear news from the television in English, they have their other
> friends from private school who speak English. More than other languages, they
> know that whoever speaks is learned person.

The parents ascertained Mr. Jabari's description in the following subsection.

Parents' voices. Parents viewed the use of the MT as unhelpful to their children.

They instead considered the MT as a language to be used at home and English a

requirement for participating in today's world. Parents also maintained the importance of

English for examination and favored English for communication across nations. I asked

the parents this question; in your child's school, Kimeru is not used as language of

instruction, what is your opinion about this? Mama Fumo (Fumo's mother) professed:

> *Ndithugania menya Gichunku nikio kii mantu yonthe kiwete, kethira ni kii githabu
> ni kiwete Gichunku, kethira ni kii subject iu ingi no gichunku kiwete. Nandi
> wawirua mno ukionaa nakumenya kuthoma na kuunderstand ni mbiyo akuirirwa.*

> I think English holds everything, if it's Math, its English, if it's other subjects, it's
> all English. Now you would be so happy to see s/he is able to read and understand
> what is being taught.

On English-only restriction, Mama Fumo favored the English-centered language policy

by noting:

> *Ni mbonaga kubugi nontu nthiguru ya nandi no mwanka withirue ukimenyaga
> Gichungu, Kimeru kinya ukamenya Kimeru aki kiria uritani kia muciari gitiumba
> kugutongeria, nandi Gichunku nokio mantu yonthe. Kigagutongeria kwariria
> kinya antu bati ba kabila yenu. Na kinya ngugine, ngugine iria ukaandikwa
> menya no gichunku ugatumira, na kinyaa…wauma kii aa kwa muciria ugeeta
> wakura, lugha iu nio ubati gutumira common mono nontu nio, wina antu
> bathometer. No mwanka withire ukionanagia kinya aku wi muntu ukuri kana
> muntu uritani.*

> I see it [the language policy] as good because in today's world you have got to
> know English. Kimeru even if you know Kimeru taught by your parents, it cannot

guide you. Now English is everything. It guides you to communicate with people from other tribes. And even at work, the work that you will be employed you will be required to use English. And when out of your parent's home, when you grow up, that is the language you are supposed to use more often/commonly because you are with learned people. You have to show that you are also a grown and a learned person.

Mama Fumo's words indicate her perceptions of the role of English in the current world and the pressure for acquisition of English for students. The other four parents that I interviewed viewed Kimeru as a language to be used only in the home. They all also supported elimination of Kimeru at school, and wanted their children to be taught English to do well in school and in the global world. The phrase below by Mama Fumo sums up parents' views of the role of MT in education, she reiterated:

Nafasi ya Kimeru no aa kiri muciari iri, guti angi iri kii kithomo… (The position of Kimeru is only here at home, it has no place elsewhere in education).

Parents indicated that English was the necessary language and that everyone had to know English because knowledge of Kimeru could not help in passing examinations, getting jobs, or speaking to people from other communities. These views have been held elsewhere in Africa (Banda, 2000; Bunyi, 2008; Chimbutane, 2011; Rubagumya, 2003) Parents are concerned about the socio-economic value of investing in mastery of English than the local languages, which are often considered as lower status due to their allocation to practices that are considered non-literate. From parents' perspective, Kimeru was solely a home language and English the language of schooling.

The students too equated success in education and in life with the mastery of English. They also considered their MT as superfluous to school success. The focal students explained the joy of learning to read and write in English, and, no affective

feelings for reading in MT. Below Almasi, Mahiri and Mosi describe reading and writing

in Kimeru or Kiswahili:

> Almasi: *Mimi sifurahii kusoma Kimeru. Hiyo ni ngumu. Tulikuwa na kitabu cha Kimeru kidogo. Mii nikamwambia mama yangu siwezi hata kujibu swali hata moja. Sasa mama yangu alisema sasa wapi tutapeleka, akaakisha nayo moto. Kwa ajili hakuna…kwa sababu hata yeye hataki mimi nisome Kimeru. Kwa sababu hakuna mtihani wa Kimeru itakuja, niseme eti nimeandika mtihani wa Kimeru nikapita. Siwezi hata kupita. Mimi sijawahi kuandika kwa Kimeru. Saa ile mwalimu ameatuambia tuandike natoanga kitabu cha Kiingereza.*
>
> I am not happy reading Kimeru. That is difficult. We had a small Kimeru book. I told my mother I couldn't answer even a single question in it. Now my mother asked, where are we going to take it? And used it to light a fire. Because there is no…even her, she does not want me to read Kimeru. Because there is no Kimeru exam that will come, I say I have written Kimeru exam and passed. I cannot even pass. I have never written in Kimeru. When the teacher tells us to write, I usually get my English book.

When asked which language they preferred to write in, different viewpoints were shared:

> Mahiri discussed his views towards Swahili and Kimeru languages stating:
> Mahiri: *Napenda Kiswahili kuliko Kimeru because hakuna kuulizwa kwa Kimeru. Tutaulizwa kwa Kiswahili au English. Naona Kiingereza ndio nzuri kuliko zote.* (I like Kiswahili than Kimeru because there is no testing in Kimeru. We will be tested in Kiswahili or English. I view English as good than all others.)
> Researcher: *Kwa nini*? (Why?)
> Mahiri: *Kiingereza; kwa sababu ni lugha nzuri, mimi huona English ikiwa nzuri kuliko lugha zingine.* (English; because it is a good language. I view English as a better language than other languages.)

In the above quotes, Almasi and Mahiri show their high preferences for English to

MT. Apart from acknowledging that examinations were conducted in English, Mahiri

could not verbalize why he believed English is superior; though he, like the other fourth

grade participants already articulated a perceived understanding of English as the best

language.

A cross-analysis of Mr. Jabari's, focal students', and parents' articulated views

about their languages demonstrated that both have higher preferences for English due to

its position in education and its prominence in other areas of the world. They did not see any value in their MTs although they used them at home. Parents' views were similar to those of the teachers who viewed students' MT as a problem for learning English, and, a challenge to learning in English. Learners idealized English as a superior language as early as eight years while in fourth grade as attested in Mahiri's quote that "English is better than others" above.

It is widely acknowledged that English is an international language that each Kenyan student, irrespective of his or her setting, needs to acquire in order to participate in the global market, something to which students' responses attest. However, research findings indicate that L1 does not hinder the acquisition of second language. Research provides that teaching in a child's L1 is effective for early literacy acquisition (Fafunwa, et al., 1989; Heugh et al., 2006; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Cummins' (1979) interdependence hypothesis theory, for example, posits that the development of additional languages is partially a function of language development in the MT and that a certain degree of proficiency (threshold) in the MT is necessary to avoid reading difficulties. Additionally, a child does not have two separate areas to store language; rather, there is single underlying language proficiency. Related research on multilingualism suggests that the questions to address in a multilingual setting are not limited to which languages are in use in an interaction and why, but also how linguistic resources are deployed in societies and how this deployment of linguistic resources reproduces, negotiates, and contests social difference and social inequalities (Blackledge, et al., 2014; Garcia & Wei, 2013; Heller, 2011).

The ideological orientation that views multilingualism as a problem, and, the ways students internalize and articulate this ideology has detrimental effects on the identity of children. Children are constantly trying to run away from who they really are instead of building from their talents and potentialities (Ngugi, 1986). These beliefs indicate that Kenyan educators and the Kenyan education system is still struggling with language imperialism, social imperialism and the many legacies of colonialism (Bamgbose, 2000; Bokamba, 2007). Research studies in Africa indicate that an early transition to the English-only instruction or instruction in other unfamiliar languages across Africa leads to high school failure and drop out rates (Bamgbose, 2000), poor literacy in both L1 and L2 (SACMEQ II, 2005), and other negative effects including waste of government expenditures (Alidou, et al., 2006). Following the studies that have explored the MT as an intellectual resource (Gee, 2012; Kramsch, 2006; Moll, et al. 1992; Smitherman, 1999; Thondhlana, 2002), the early-exit and English only programs do not meet students' educational goals. Children's languages which may be used as a resource or vehicle for expressing one's culture, voice, and, identity were instead considered a problem in Tumaini primary school.

It was observed, however, that although the English teacher and parents considered the MT as barrier to English learning, the science teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu used MT in her lesson and indicated that the MT was an important resource for meeting the lesson objectives, which [she believed] would otherwise not be met by relying on English only. The students appreciated the role of the MT for comprehension purposes. The complexities of teaching in multilingual settings are compounded by the differing beliefs and orientations, which indicate a need for professional development for teachers

249

working with linguistically and culturally diverse groups of students. The belief that language is a problem [in the case of this classroom] led to a belief that more time spent in learning and using English would improve students' English performance.

Time on Task Orientation

Due to the perception that MT is a problem for English acquisition and success in the section above, the Tumaini school staff – principal, Mr. Kibwe and the teachers I interviewed, Mr. Jabari and Mrs. Tabasamu – believed that beginning to teach and use English earlier as the language of instruction could serve as a possible solution to the perceived English problem. Behind the time-on-task orientation is the idea that the longer students spend using a language, the greater their mastery of that language. Therefore, many argue that maximizing the time spent in English is the best way to learn the English language as well as subject matter in English (Rossell & Baker, 1996; Porter, 1990). The education stakeholders at Tumaini School were influenced by this orientation. For example, Mr. Jabari, Mr. Kibwe and Mrs. Tabasamu felt that students should be introduced to English instruction by second grade or earlier, which, according to the Mr. Kibwe [school principal], was a practice embraced by private schools in Kenya. The teachers interviewed felt that this practice helped students to develop English proficiency and also to do well on the English-only examinations. When asked about his views on the appropriate time for transitioning students to English-only instruction, Mr. Jabari stated:

> It should be done from standard three. More emphasis from standard three, so that when they go to standard four they will become used to English instruction by different teachers. Because now in lower primary they are handled by one teacher and that one teacher may be using only Kimeru or even Kiswahili with little of English. So if it can be introduced in standard three, it would be better now because when they come to class four they meet different teachers and those teachers will instruct them in English. So they find it difficult…As per now, class four, they find it very hard to understand many teachers, and also to write

compositions, than when they were in class three. Some tend to be discouraged and despair in class four. But if it was done as early as when, while in class three and they are a bit younger, then when in class four…they would get used, they will grow with the language. But right now we are introducing them to a difficult thing. Right now we are introducing difficult thing while they are mature, and then they develop a negative attitude towards the subject…it is even like mathematics in lower primary they like mathematics so much but when they get to upper math becomes the poorest, the most difficult to them due to attitude.

Mr. Jabari's comments raise issues with students' affect in fourth grade and the many changes that students experience at this level, including being taught by different teachers, a lack of clear policy, and negative attitudes by students. He views students as deficient and does not reflect on teacher's skills and knowledge in teaching of English language arts. After three months of observations, I identified a pattern in which content areas teachers switched between languages for purposes of providing comprehensive input. English reading lessons, however, were not comprehensible to students. I, therefore, wanted to explore how Mr. Jabari felt about the observed scenario as it relates to time on task orientation. In other words, was English only at the beginning of fourth grade appropriate in the rural schools? Mr. Jabari felt:

> It should begin a bit earlier. In lower classes because like in academies unlike these public, the academies they start with their lower primary, they do very well, they have very good spoken languages although what they speak they may not be able to write it. But oral, spoken English is very good in lower academy classes than in our public schools; because they were started in English, everything is in English. It should be started earlier at least by grade two. What they emphasize on is reading and writing, in English. They catch up with speaking first, then they are taught seriously in writing. They make sure that children can write what they are speaking. They are better. Since theirs is a commercial type of education, they have the time to follow them up.

In this quote, Mr. Jabari does not reflect on teacher preparedness and skills to teach English as a foreign language. He provided an analogy of academies (private schools) as a measure of the early introduction to English-only instruction by discussing

how, in the academies; students were introduced to English-only from kindergarten.

Similar observations were made by the school principal, Mr. Kibwe, who argued that

English was used in Tumaini primary school in an effort to emulate the academies that

were doing better than the public schools. Both Mr. Jabari and Mr. Kibwe felt that

beginning English-only instruction earlier in academies was the reason these academies

were doing better in national examinations.

Mr Kibwe stated that the languages of instruction at the school were Kiswahili and

English in all grades. He also noted that the language policy prescribed by the Ministry of

Education was not followed because of practical reasons. He emphasized the importance

of English early by outlining the role of English in writing examinations for all grades:

> All classes including class 1-3 tested in English in all the examinations. In class 1-2,
> the teacher uses MT to translate for class 1-3. There are no Kimeru books so the
> teacher translates them. All resource books are in English only. Kimeru books were
> only available for kindergarten…there is MT lesson but these days we don't teach
> MT. Because mostly we can see we are competing with other schools especially the
> private schools. We have seen they succeed because they use either English or
> Kiswahili. So as a matter of emulating them, we use Kiswahili as our MT. So we
> don't teach our MT during the lesson provided for by the Ministry of Education. We
> usually discourage it. Even communication in Kimeru, reading in Kimeru, so we have
> been discouraging MT Kimeru all through from even ECDE. Based on trends of other
> schools when they introduce Kiswahili children tend to do better.

In the above quote, Mr. Kibwe emphasizes the need for introducing English earlier,

and attests to the fact that the school has individual unwritten policies to emulate private

schools, which do well in national examinations. The science teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu

also emphasized an early introduction to English. She professed:

> As for me I think that English should be emphasized from standard one. So that when
> they come to class four levels, they will be fluent speakers, able to write simple
> composition with ease and so on. So it should not start from standard four. But the
> current language policy is not from government. It is not from the government but our
> school. Some schools, even rural schools, pupils start speaking English even from
> standard one.

Mrs. Tabasamu indicated that the language practices in his/her classroom were not influenced by the government language policy but by experiences. She spoke of a class in which she introduced English only in grade three and believed that as a result her students were doing better in English years later in sixth grade. She attributed students' performance (mean scores) to early introduction of English only instruction. She clarified that the lower primary syllabus insisted on MT instruction but that teachers' experiences proved otherwise in terms of the student's ability to handle examinations. Mrs. Tabasamu felt that the current policy was good because of examinations; she stated:

> I think English is necessary because you find that when it comes to, may be handling exams, all exams are handled using English apart from Swahili, so I think it is necessary to emphasize on English language… At the same time when it comes to writing of composition, it also helps them because you find that if may be it is emphasized from class four, they will be better writers when they go to higher levels. Even communication, they will be able to communicate to one another fluently without any problems as they progress.

Regarding students' comprehension, Mrs. Tabasamu observed:

> In English only, student are not able to understand, I think if it can be emphasized even from lower primary, when they come to upper primary it becomes easier for them to understand at that level but if you start it in class four it becomes a problem because you have, may be to shift to other languages so that they can understand.

In the above quotes, Mrs. Tabasamu argued that early introduction of English would help students to have higher comprehension by the time they get to fourth grade, and that would alleviate the comprehension challenges the students were facing. Introduction of English at fourth grade forced her to shuttle between languages for comprehension purposes. Mrs. Tabasamu noted the challenges she faced in teaching because of students' varying levels of language mastery. She spoke about the importance of using translanguaging practices in order to meet objectives. She commented:

253

…If you want them to develop that language, and it's the language they don't understand it becomes a challenge, so it means the goals are no met, because you want them to develop that language. So if they are not able to understand whatever concept you are teaching, it means that you are not developing any language and also the concept, so the goals are not met.

Here Mrs. Tabasamu notes that teaching in a language that is not understood by student neither develops the language nor the concept.

Studies in the West that have investigated bilingual models and variations of them (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Genesee, 1985; Goldenberg, 2008; Rueda & August, 2006; Tong et al., 2008) recommend that children be taught reading in their native language because primary language reading instruction develops first-language skills and promotes reading in English. Many researchers also argue that English language learners should be helped to transfer what they know in their first language to learning tasks presented in English. It is noted that if children are literate in their L1, they will find it easier to learn to read in a L2, hence, acquiring decoding skills in L1 facilitates decoding skills in learning other languages (August & Shanahan, 2006). In the Kenyan fourth grade classroom examined in this study, teachers felt that early introduction of English-only instruction would improve students' performances.

In summary, participants in this study quoted above indicated that a time-on-task orientation to language study would work for the rural school. In citing the private school as an example of time-on-task success, participants ignored other mediating factors including teachers' professional development in these schools, students' exposure to language outside of school and their access to books and particular kinds of literate environments at home. Piper, Schroeder and Trudell (2015), point out that early exposure to English increased reading fluency but not comprehension. The communicative

practices in the fourth grade classroom were influenced by language as a problem and time on task ideologies because of the positionality of English in national examinations; and, in turn, these practices excluded students' knowledge. In the following sections I discuss how and why these ideologies were embodied in communicative practices (washback) and the effect (exclusion/ silencing) of this embodiment and articulation of the ideologies on fourth grade students

Washback

"It is testing, not the ''official'' stated curriculum, that is increasingly determining what is taught, how it is taught, what is learned, and how it is learned", Madaus (1988, p. 83).

The impact English tests have on the community influenced all communicative practices in the focal school. Students' performance on national examinations which are developed and taken in English-only have important consequences for the test takers, including securing high school enrolment and, accessing scholarships such as those offered by the equity bank. Failing the national examinations has consequences as well. Such consequences include the inability to enroll in high school and additional challenges in finding employment. Each year, several Kenyan students do not gain an admission to high school due to failure in these examinations (Wanzala & Gicobi, 2014, December 28). Most of these are students who cannot answer questions correctly in English. Moreover, there are not enough secondary schools for every child that finishes eighth grade. This shortage of schools to accommodate eighth grade graduates may be seen as necessary for control of number of individuals who ascend to the elite group, in a nation that is so stratified, to maintain the status quo. Usually the poor majorities do not proceed to higher education. In 2012, for example, out of 818,298 students who sat for the Kenya

255

Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), only 628,051 (77%) secured spaces in secondary schools. In 2013, 647,602 secured a place in secondary school out of the 843,626 (77%) who took the examinations. In 2014, 687,000 (78%) of the 880,486 KCPE candidates were absorbed in secondary schools to cover those who scored over 200 marks; those who scored less were encouraged to attend vocational training institutions. One of the major determinants of the performance on the KCPE is the language of instruction and testing. In 2014, approximately 22 percent of students who sat for KCSE did not secure a space in secondary schools (Nation Correspondent. 2014, December 29). Failure on these national examinations not only affects students, but also parents and teachers as well. These repercussions are what is referred to as "washback."

Washback generally refers to the influence of testing on teaching and learning (Bailey 1996 cited in Fulcher and Davidson, 2007) as well as the extent to which the introduction and use of a test influences language teachers and students to do things they would not otherwise do. As a result, the process either promotes or inhibits language learning. This is the operational definition of washback deployed in this chapter. This section presents a discussion of how English only examinations affected teachers, students and parents' preferences, practices, and beliefs in terms of language use in Tumaini school fourth grade classroom.

Washback: English for examinations-Teachers' voices. The focal students, parents, teachers and the principal at Tumaini primary school reflected on the need for English in order to pass examinations. The education policy is reflected in the fact that all examinations and assessments are developed and conducted in English for all students, both in private and public schools.

The principal, Mr. Kibwe indicated to me that his goal for student's literacy was:

> To make sure that by the time they will be completing class eight they will be fluent in the language [English] and also they can communicate properly and through the language, because it is the language through which most of the subjects are examined. They can use the language to answer the questions.

Mr. Kibwe saw the role of English as related to the writing examinations. He affirmed:

> We use English mostly to write exams and also for communication. All classes including class one to three are tested in English in all the subjects. In class one to two, the teacher uses MT to translate for class. There are no Kimeru books. Only a few books in Kimeru, the teacher translates them…When they reach in class three there is very little translation. Because they have already understood the language.

The power of English affected language use in the classroom and the publishing of

Kimeru book resources, because it depleted the market or need for such materials.

Resources available for teaching were in English only.

Mr. Kibwe acknowledged earlier in this chapter that the children were introduced to

literacy in Kiswahili rather than Kimeru, as required by the policy. The goal was to

transition students into English only as fast as possible in order to be able to compete

with the private schools. Success in learning even in the lower primary was considered in

terms of ranking of the school in the county. The policy allows for the use of Kiswahili in

the introduction of literacy for cosmopolitan places, but Tumaini primary school was

located in an area considered to be a rural place. Mr. Kibwe viewed the school's success

to be a result of the school's ability to compete well in the divisional examinations. Being

able to perform comparatively well when students compete in the divisional examinations

was important for the school and the English mastery was key in meeting this goal.

Washback also affected parents' actions. Mama Mahiri and Mama Fumo indicated to

me that they bought examinations for their fourth grade children to prepare them for final

examinations. They stated that the examinations were sold cheaply (Ksh. 30, the

equivalent of three US$ cents) in a bookshop, and noted that schools also bought

examination papers from the bookshop and printed them out for students. The purchasing

of past papers to teach students examination language was a practice in which teachers

and financially able parents, like Mama Mahiri, engaged. The English teacher, Mr. Jabari,

connected some of the transitional challenges he had in fourth grade to the third grade

teacher's use of examinations to teach students to remember, rather than understand the

course content. When asked of the challenges he faced as an English teacher during the

transitioning phase, he reported the following:

> They [students] were drilled so much on exams; the teacher there did not concentrate
> on actual teaching; readings, it was like drilling for better performance or marks, for
> in fact they have started understanding/catching me in second term. The first term, we
> were dwelling so much on one area so they can catch up. That was a big challenge.
> From grade three to four was a challenge. The method of teaching was a challenge.
> We asked how they managed those grades. We realized the teacher was practicing
> drilling…buying exams from shops even with her own money…so that when they get
> the official exams, they will pass.

In this quotation, Mr. Jabari is ascertaining the influence of washback practice in

third grade before students transitioned to fourth grade. The teacher bought examinations

using her funds to drill students in order to help them pass the divisional examinations.

This kind of behavior is often fueled by the guilt and shame that accompanied teachers

whose classes ranked last in the division. The teacher had to use whatever means possible

to prove his/her effectiveness as a teacher because these standardized tests were used to

evaluate teachers. The practice of teaching through past papers became important for

students because it allowed them to memorize examination questions. Mr. Jabari also

mentioned that the drilling and choral responding that took place in many classes also

meant that students could sometimes get to the third grade without learning how to read

English; he stated:

258

Most of them were not taught how to do reading English while in lower primary. And were allowed to move to next grade. They came to class four when not ready to read for themselves apart from drilling. They are very fast and good in understanding questions language. But then the actual reading, you cannot give them a new text apart from the exam and know. So they were drilled so much on memorizing questions than reading and understanding.

In this description, washback seems to influence the curriculum content. Throughout the observations, it became clear that the use of past papers during the remedial time [in the evenings] was a very common practice. Mr. Jabari and Mrs. Tabasamu used past papers by having students read through the questions and answers and choose the right answer. Additionally, these tests were not written/prepared by teachers; they were bought from bookshops. During an interview with the principal, Mr. Kibwe, he reflected on the practice of buying examinations and testing more generally stating:

> *I know you might realize some tests are out of syllabus. For example, first term, maswali mengine yako nje ya syllabus. Testing sometimes we buy exams that has questions outside their syllabus a bit. Kuna divisional exams we pay money and get tests. I think testing inayoendelea sio mbaya. Kwa sababu hatuna njia nyingine. Saa hii tutakuwa tunafanya hata ya county. Naona inasasidia na tena hatuna njia nyingine ya kufanya. Kwa vile tukisema we set questions halafu tuwapatie watoto, na ni maswali mengi na tena yawe ya objective, naona that one is very expensive. Naona ni heri hii mtoto analipa kama ni shilingi ishirini, you buy already set exams. Although it has problem too. Some of them are not even teachers. They get old papers…, put it on the machine, wanabadilisha tu terms. So hata syllabus ikibadilika kidogo, kama vile imebadilika ya social studies, wengine wanaleta those things outside the syllabus.*

I know you might realize some tests are out of syllabus. For example, first term, some questions are out of syllabus. Testing sometimes we buy exams that has questions outside their syllabus a bit. Kuna divisional exams we pay money and get tests. I think the testing that is taking place is not bad. Because we do not have any other way. This time we shall be doing even county exam. In my opinion it helps, and again, we do not have another way of doing it. Because if we say we set questions then give children, and there are many questions, and then objective, I see that one is very expensive. I think it is better this one a child pays like twenty shillings, you buy already set exams. Although it has problem too. Some of them are not even teachers. They get old papers… put it on the machine, they change terms only. So even when syllabus changes a little, like the way the social studies has changed, others bring those things outside the syllabus.

In the above quotation, Mr. Kibwe opined that examinations were bought from the printers, and subject teachers approved them. When asked whether the use of these tests had been approved, Mr. Kibwe elaborated that the tests were not approved by the ministry of education, but by the individual teachers:

> *Mwalimu tu ndiye anaapprove. Also the division ina panel ya mitihani, lakini…wakati mwingine inapita bila kuangaliwa. Mitihani yote is not set by class teachers. But kulingana na vile tumesoma professionally teachers should set those exams. Because you test what you have taught. But because its objective…it will require a lot of money.*

> It is the teacher that approves. Also the division has exam panel, but…some times it goes through without being assessed. All exams are not written by class teachers. But according to the way we have studied, professionally teachers should set those exams. Because you test what you have taught. But because its objective…it will require a lot of money.

> In this quote it is evident that while the school principal, Mr. Kibwe, has reflected on some of the challenges of testing, he still supported the current testing practices as detailed above.

Testing demonstrated how language and other pressures affected educational stakeholders' decisions in the rural setting. Following language challenges in the rural setting, buying examinations was considered an effective tool for getting students to practice for examinations as early as first grade. There were three internal examinations, the opener, midterm and end of the term examinations. The teachers interviewed asserted that the testing was good because, after all, teaching evaluation was needed. The internal examinations were bought from the bookshops. Mr. Jabari reported:

> We just go out there and buy a series of our own choice and even the opener. The series, we buy them from these printers; they have knowledge of setting exams for all levels of classes, and they have been approved by the ministry of education. Others are done by teachers themselves, a teacher may set even ten questions

from the topic he has taught to know whether they have understood the topic. But that is very difficult because of time factor.

Considering the pressure on the administrator and the teachers to make sure that students passed the national examinations, the purchasing of examinations beginning at the lower primary level is not a surprising practice. It should therefore not be surprising that evening remedial sessions mainly consisted of reading through past papers. Despite the challenges that students and teachers faced as a result of the required English only instruction, one teacher, Mr. Jabari, supported the use of English only as the medium of instruction pointing out that:

> … exams or any other communication and administration use English. National exams are in only English. For rural and urban…only English, because of power of English. Interactions almost everywhere, even out there advertisements in the market adverts in English–news in English. Leaders are speaking English even national leaders… so they [students] should be more exposed to English than MT.

The science teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu, reiterated that she focused on English in order to improve the education standards. All the examinations were done in English. She stated, "They can't do well if they don't know enough English." She went on to argue:

> Mostly we like them to know a lot of English to pass exams. The exams are in English for all students irrespective of the levels of English. When the exams comes, *Yule hajui kusoma aelewe haelewi. Yule haelewi hatapata...*(the one who does not know to read and understand, does not understand. The one does not understand will not score correctly…). Mostly when they read questions they can't understand.

Washback had an effect here in terms of the examinations. The school principal, Mr. Jabari, teachers, focal students and parents emphasized the need for English to do well in the examinations because a successful performance on the examinations was considered critical for these rural students to be successful in their future. Students may therefore feel that their life depends on it leading to great panic among certain students,

which goes on to affect their performance in the long run. This kind of washback led to teaching methodologies and practices that were not in tandem with language policies nor the professional training received by the teachers, which resulted in instruction that turned students into robots who memorized examination questions and learned by rote memorization.

The experiences in the fourth grade classroom described above are in line with Alderson and Wall's (1993) definition of backwash or washback, which posited that testing influenced teaching. The English-only examinations distorted the curriculum and teachers tended to ignore subjects and activities, which did not contribute directly to passing the examinations, and tended to emphasize excessive coaching for examinations. Alderson and Wall (1993) point out that there is general acceptance that public examinations influence the attitudes, behavior, and motivation of teachers, learners, and parents. In the observed classroom, testing influenced adherence to language policy in lower grades and influenced the kind of instructions that students received. The importance of the tests brought about change in methods and materials used in teaching because of the potential effect it has on students and their futures. Particularly impactful for all education stakeholders was the language used for testing.

Parents of the focal students articulated an interest in securing additional coaching in English in order to ensure that their children did well on the examination. The principal also indicated that the tests results had an effect on teachers and community. Mr. Kibwe explained that the school had produced the worst performing student in the country a few years prior to the study, which landed the school under surveillance. While this induced feelings of fear, guilt, shame, embarrassment, and anger in teachers, it also induced a

sense of determination to do what was necessary to avoid such feelings in the future. There was also a call from parents at this time for teachers to be transferred. Such a call further demonstrates how test scores could be used against teachers. Given this history and reality, it becomes more clear why teachers concentrated on reviewing past papers, resulting in substantially less time available for instruction, a more narrowed curriculum, and less diverse modes of instruction.

Teachers at the focal school operated within an ideological, historical, economic and political context in which the language of testing and testing itself had major effects on their students and the society at large. In this setting, washback influenced language attitudes, beliefs, and policies. The importance placed on doing well on the examinations also shifted the focus from gaining knowledge to simply passing the examinations. Drilling in classroom by teachers was a common occurrence, while remedial lesson sessions were offered using test papers to raise their grades. Washback, therefore, camouflaged the real educational challenges facing children in the rural settings allowing for the focus to remain on language acquisition and passing examinations rather than knowledge acquisition, production, or the construction of harmonious learning both at school and at home. Learning and succeeding for a rural child was thus, reduced to his or her ability to learning English or memorize English question phrases. The overemphasis on English for passing examinations has created deficit ideologies in the minds of the children and some parents. For example, Almasi mentioned that her mother burned her Kimeru book because Almasi was not interested in reading it. Symbolically, this act is a manifestation of cultural annihilation. Students did not see the value of their mother tongues although that was the main means of communication on the playground and at

home. Thus, washback seemed to create anxiety among both teachers and learners, creating in them an overriding desire to fulfill societal expectations by passing examinations. Emphasis was on summative examinations rather than teacher-made tests in the school, which brought a lot of tensions.

Recently the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2014; 2015) has advocated for early literacy in the MT to encourage the culture of reading and to give voice and agency to students by exposing them to things that enable them to respond with feelings and needs. Additionally, use of the MT has been historically argued as a marker of respect for oneself and as a marker of appreciation for one's cultural heritage. These discourses are often fought through arguments against the use of the MT, primarily due to the difficulty of publishing in over forty-two languages. The general public views concerning languages contradict the Ministry of Education communiqués, thus, explaining the unwritten policies in schools. In Tumaini School, posters that push an all-English agenda were common, for example posters that read "Speak English Only" hang on wall in grades four through eight classrooms. These posters are not only pushing a very specific educational agenda, but also they are unrealistic exhortations, and, are creating hegemonic relationships of fear between students and the teacher. In view of the communicative practices in Tumaini School, educational stakeholders need to be open to different ways of addressing the language challenges rather than ignoring or discarding a socially conscious policy as retrogressive without backing that opinion with empirical support.

Learning in rural settings under the socioeconomic and historic pressure has yielded to teaching facts from examination papers to improve academic performance. In the next subsection, I present focal parents' and students' views on washback.

English for examination: Parents' and students' voices. The parents of the focal student participants indicated that they wanted to see their children "speak" the examination language. They appreciated the English-only policy believing that immersion in all English would prepare students for the examinations, which were in English. Although the focal parents did not speak English, they articulated a desire to see their children speak it because of the examinations. Below is a snapshot of parents' responses that captures parents' sentiments on washback:

> *Mama Mahiri: Ndenda akara akiraragia lugha iria ikuandika kigerio, English muno. Rira mbitite akui na cukuru, nimbibagua nthuri muno kuona ana bakiaria Kimeru cukuru, ii, igakara uu nja.*

> I would want him to speak exam languages, Kiswahili and English, but especially English. When I am near school/passing nearby school, I get annoyed when I find students speaking Kimeru in school. It looks like home.

> Mama Amasi: *Ndenda amenya Gichunku mono ni, nontu Gichunku ni mzuri. Menya mwarimu wao ageeta abaurie kiuria na Gichuku, kintu kionte abera na Gichunku, nandi uria utiragwata, gutikio akamenya. Akajukia kanya wita kuuria uria ungi buria erwa na biria etua. Akamenya ugamwira untu na akaigua…*

> I would like her to know and learn English more. You know their teacher will ask them questions in English, will tell them everything in English, now anyone who has not understood, will not know anything, will take time to ask the other students what the teacher has said or what the teacher is asking for. If he understands English, he will be able to get what he/she is told…

Mama Mahiri and Mama Almasi noted that although they cannot speak English at home with their children, they should not be allowed to speak Kimeru at school. They supported the language policy because they supported their teachers and believed in the teacher as someone who would understand the language issues and know what is best for

their children. Mama Mahiri and Mama Almasi's main argument in support of the current

language-in-education policy was based on the fact that examinations were conducted in

English and their children needed to know English in order to pass. Parents' views are

consistent with general views in Kenya, the idea of "speaking" English language as being

literate. Essentially, being literate has been considered in terms of English mastery.

Students too valued English for examination purposes. Below is a short presentation on

students' views.

Students' voices. The focal students' valued English for passing examinations and

also for averting punishment, which they often received for using other languages. When

asked about their use of Kimeru in the classroom, the focal students noted that they did

not use Kimeru in school for passing the examinations. The students explained:

> Almasi: Aih, Hapana, Mwalimu alisema pale kwa gwaride tusiwe tunaongea Kimeru, tujifunze Kingeereza kwa ajili Kimeru haitakuja kwa mtihani. Lakini nikiuliza Subira, …Subira ananiambia "We ntikwigua Kiswahili na Gichunku. Mbariria ma Kimeru kana nkuringe) Namweleza kwa Kimeru ndio asikie. Kitu ngumu ni Kiingereza, lakini Kiswahili wote wanajua kuongea Kiswahili hata wale hawajui kusoma.

> Aih! No. The teacher said during assembly that we should not speak in Kimeru, we should learn English because Kimeru will not come in exam. But when I ask Subira something, Subira tells me…"I don't understand Kiswahili or English. Talk to me in Kimeru or I hit you". I explain to him in Kimeru so that he can understand. The difficult thing is English, but Kiswahili all knows how to speak even those who do not know to read.

> Mosi: Hapana, huwa sanasana naongea Kiswahili. Kwa sababu mwalimu akikuona ukiongea Kimeru anaweza kukuchapa au kukupea punishment. Ukiwa shule lazima uongee Kiswahili.

> No. I often speak Kiswahili. Because if the teacher sees you speaking Kimeru, he/she can beat you or give you a punishment. While in school, you must speak Kiswahili.

Mahiri: Hapana, najibu darasani kwa Kiswahili, lakini in the playground tunaongea. Mwalimu akinisikia atanichapa. Tumeambiwa assembly tusiongee Kimeru…Mwalimu anatukataza kwa sababu hakuna subject ya Kimeru

No! I respond in Kiswahili in class, but in the playground we speak Kimeru. If the teacher hears me, he will beat me. We have been told in the assembly that we should not talk Kimeru…the teacher refuses us to speak because there is no Kimeru subject.

Fumo: Hapana, mwalimu wetu alisema tusiongee Kimeru kwa sababu mtihani wa Kimeru huwezi kuja. Unajua ukiongea Kiingereza au Kiswahili, composition utaiweza, mtihani ukija, ukiandika maneno ya Kimeru haieleweki…

No! Our teacher said we should not talk Kimeru because Kimeru exams cannot come. You know if you speak English or Kiswahili, you will be able to write composition, when the examination comes if you write Kimeru words they are not understood/intelligible…

Focal students were keen to report that they do not use MT at school. Almasi, Mosi,

Mahiri, and Fumo have cited two things in the quotes above; English for passing

examinations, and use of English to avert punishment.

When asked about the language they preferred to use for writing, Almasi and

Adila indicated that they preferred to use English for the following examination reasons:

Adila: Napenda (Kiingereza) ndio nipite mtihani wa Kiingereza; na kuandika composition, ndio nijitahidi kwa mitihani shuleni.

I like English so I can pass English exams, and writing composition, so I can put efforts in exams at school.

Almasi recounted the sense of guilt that follows failure in English examinations. She

said:

Almasi: Kila mtu ajifunze juu kuna mitihani inakuja kama hujui Kiingereza au Kiswahili unakosa yote unakuwa namba ya mwisho watu wanakucheka pekee, mpaka unalia…

Everyone should learn (English) because there are forthcoming exams, if you do not know English or Kiswahili you miss it all, you become the last one, people laugh at you alone until you cry…

267

Adila and Almasi's quotes above refer to the effects of the examination on language preferences.

Formal examinations are crucial for students to progress from one grade to the next each year. As noted by the teacher participants, the success of private schools on these examinations supports their belief in English-only from Kindergarten forward. Research has shown that teachers show similar beliefs in the case of Ghana as well (Arthur, 2013). The education stakeholders in Tumaini School ignored the fact that there are very often many other mediating factors affecting students' performance on examinations choosing, instead, to focus solely on the language factor. The language practices in Kenyan classroom that rush learners to transition to English-only learning are thus, depriving students of the chance to develop strong foundations and competencies in their languages. As noted in chapter one, communities in Kenya are usually bi-multilingual, which is not reflected in the education system that focuses almost exclusively on a monolingual education. This conflicts with communicative practices that exhibit heteroglossic multilingualism as the lingua franca in students' everyday lives and communities outside of the formal school setting.

The early-exit bilingual education that is loosely followed due to the time on task orientations is not compatible with the contemporary education research. Research shows the interdependence of L1 and L2 acquisition, cognitive development and academic achievement (Cummins, 2014; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Researchers have also established that early transition from the MT does not facilitate competence in the L2. High level of linguistic competence in LOI is necessary for facilitating meaningful access to the curriculum, without which students are unable to

engage with educational materials and discourse. English-only education in the rural settings in Kenya does not offer equity, cannot deliver quality education and shows no evidence that L2-only or early transition to the L2 produces successful academic students (Alidou et al. 2006; Benson, 2013). In their six-year longitudinal study of teaching in Yoruba, from 1970 to 1978, Fafunwa et al. (1989) showcased the educational and linguistic efficacy of the extended use of the MT in conjunction with expert use of English as a subject, which demonstrates that the continued privileging of English-only at the expense of the MT systematically reproduces inequality and education failure for those who receive education in unfamiliar languages.

Silencing/Exclusion

Though they do understand more when something is put in their MT but here in school we don't encourage that one. If we encourage that one, they can give you very correct answers. But we discourage that one, we discourage it! Field notes, November11, 2014

In the quote above, the science teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu, poignantly comments on language choice and silence in classroom. During classroom observation, there were several incidences of silence in the focal classroom. Schultz (2009) noted that silence in the classroom can carry multiple meanings; it can indicate things such as boredom, resistance, thoughtfulness, or strategic planning. In the case of the focal classroom observed, silence was mainly observed when students were required to speak the school language. For this reason, drawing on observational and interview data, I discuss silencing through language restrictions and punishment in the classroom setting by exploring how teachers discuss language choices, silence, and silencing.

Most teachers used the language of instruction, English, enforcing it inside and outside the classroom. One of the visible manifestations of this enforcement was in the form of student silence and the silencing of students. During observations of the English lessons, students often remained silent, except when asked to repeat after the teacher (which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four). Students themselves rarely generated their own questions; often, their students' contributions frequently consisted of 'yes/no' responses or the repetition of words dictated by the teacher. In spaces where English-only was emphasized, students often remained silent, in order to avoid potential punishment (that could come as a result of their MT use or poor English). Students were also silenced through use of monitors [devices used for observing, checking, or keeping a continuous record of language use; these included slabs written "Speak English-only", and a bone to restrict their MT language use. When asked about the language use in the school, the English teacher, Mr. Jabari, reported that the school had realized that there was a problem in terms of the languages used noting:

> We have realized this problem and we have set up a system where we can bring them, force them to speak, practice, learn English only; whereby we have introduced monitors for those who will speak any other language than English. He/she will be given that monitor for control purposes. Monitors are given as a kind of penalty for control, kind of penalty for those who will not speak English during school time or within the school environment so that we shall improve, give them more time for practice.

In this quote, Mr. Jabari said that the administration was encouraging the use of English at school. The administration ensured monitors were effectively used. He echoed that English was emphasized by the administration because it is the mother to all subjects and because examinations were developed and administered in English. Announcements such as "No other language at the administration block" were made almost daily during the

morning assembly, reminding students not to communicate in any other language apart from English in the administration block. Mr. Jabari noted that monitor had positively affected the use of English in the school:

> The introduction of monitor in the whole school has made a lot of improvement. Because when children are interacting in English during their playtime, when they go to the classroom they practice the same. So it has made them practice speaking and understand what teacher is saying and writing…It has also improved writing composition because they are using the words they are speaking out in their writing.

> Mr. Jabari however lamented that:

> Although monitor has done improvement, there are also some children who have taken it negatively. Children should be encouraged to take it positively for their betterment. For the slow learners they will take it like a monster to them.

Following independence, Kenyan rural schools used discs made like a necklace, which meant that each student who was caught speaking their mother tongue would be punished by being forced to wear a disc on their neck. This practice was often followed with other forms of punishment (Ngugi, 1986). In Kenya today, even after extensive research has shown the benefits of a bilingual education, the language restrictions and punishments continue in Kenyan schools, like Tumaini. The English teacher's sentiments show that the monitor instills fear in students. Despite what Mr. Jabari said, during observations, it became clear that students, in their everyday practices and lives, used their MT and Kiswahili. English words were rarely used; and, when they were, they were not often used in a complete sentence, but rather as a single word inserted into full sentence in Kimeru or Kiswahili. During the follow-up interview with the English teacher, I indicated that I had observed students use their mother tongue and not English. In response, the teacher said the following:

271

I can say monitor is working although it needs a lot of supervision and follow up. By the end of the day you should know who had spoken MT instead of English. So the teacher can take an action. So that the child will learn there is need for monitor to control MT. You hear them talking MT when there is no teacher, nobody is following them. Teacher should remind them that the official language in school is English. And monitor is there to stay. They speak MT when they see no one is following them, they should be reminded always even during assembly. When you hear them speaking MT it is the weakness of teachers.

Use of monitors required surveillance by the teachers, as noted above, which created tense, authoritative relations between teachers and students that were based in fear. During classroom and field observations the monitors were often observed silencing students in the classroom, mainly because they feared punishment by the teacher or the class prefect. In a follow-up conversation with the principal, Mr. Kibwe, on the use of monitors, his description demonstrated that monitors had the power to silence children when near authoritative figures. Mr. Kibwe, however, was of the opinion that this type of monitoring helped students to speak English:

Monitors work! They minimize the noise in the school. Because if one speaks, you are punished, there is less noise in class.

Mr Kibwe stated in an ironic manner that the monitors were used to enforce the use of English. In his statement he mixed codes:

Mr. Kibwe: Inawasaidia kwa sababu mtoto anaogopa kuadhibiwa. Kwa hivyo atachagua either kutulia ama kuongea. And the little which the child will try to communicate with, it will improve language. Because he or she has to talk. Kwa hivyo vile naona, mimi naona inasaidia and ikitumiwa vizuri…and we have done it before even in other areas and it has really done something.

It helps because a child is in fear of punishment. Therefore he/she will choose either to relax or speak. And the little that the child will try to communicate with, it will improve language, because he or she has to talk. Therefore in my opinion, I see it helps if used well…and we have done it before even in other areas and it has really done something.

Mr Kibwe and Mr Jabari above reported that the English only policy in school silences

the students due to the fear of punishment. Mr. Jabari felt that the monitors were helping

the students to practice English, while Mr.Kibwe felt that monitors reduced noise in

school. These responses show the fear relations that are built between the student and the

teacher. The monitor also necessitates policing of students to find out the languages they

are using that call for punishment. From my observation, this had a silencing effect on

students, who chose to remain silent when teachers were around them.

On the effect the monitors had on students' ability or willingness to participate in

communicative practices, the principal added:

> Mr Kibwe: Yes! It limits; it limits them. Ingawa naona advantages ndio kubwa.
> Kwa wengine vile vile ni kama punishment, kwa vile inamlimit hata kucheza nje.
> Vile vile inaleta hata intimidation kwa sababu kuna wengine watamwekea
> wanajifanya huyu ameongea. At times a teacher can use a very poor monitor.
> Wengine hata wanaweka gunia. Kwa hivyo inaweza kuwa na madhara yake pia. Ila
> naona umuhimu wake ndio mwingi, unazidi ubaya wake.

> Yes! It limits; it limits them. Although I see advantages are greater. To others also, it
> is like punishment, because it limits him/her even playing outside. It also brings
> intimidation, because there are others that will put monitors on others. At times a
> teacher can use a very poor monitor. Others even use a sack. So it can have its
> damages also. But I see its advantages are more, they exceed its disadvantages.

Here Mr. Kibwe acknowledged that the monitor silences children; but, again, he felt that

the advantages were higher than the disadvantages. Although children were reminded to

speak in English, they spoke Kimeru and Kiswahili outside classroom and school. The

principal had the following to say concerning why children shifted between languages,

especially when there was no authority around them:

*Mr. Kibwe: You can see communication in these two language is not as easy as when
they speak their MT. Especially English when spoken, I think it is difficult to them…you
can see watoto wengi wamezoea kuongea Kiswahili kwa vile imekaribia na MT. Ndio
sababu wanaprefer kuongea kwa Kiswahili. Halafu Kimeru, we are forcing them to speak
in English. Kwa hivyo wakipata mwalimu ako mbali, wanaona ile punishment*

imewaondokea kidogo. As I told you, so some of them they are being compelled to speak English kwa vile wanaona kuna ugumu wa kucommunicate. Wao hawataki! Kuna wale hawaoni umuhimu. Vilevile usisahau pia kuna kuchekwa. Kwa hivyo kama mtoto anatamka watoto wengine wanamcheka, mtoto hataki kutumia hiyo lugha sana…

> You can see communication in these two language is not as easy as when they speak their MT. Especially English when spoken, I think it is difficult to them…you can see many children are used to speaking in Kiswahili because it is closer to their MT. It is the reason they prefer speaking in Kiswahili, then Kimeru. We are forcing them to speak in English. Therefore when they find a teacher is away, they see they can avert punishment. As I told you, so some of them they are being compelled to speak English because they see there is a difficulty to communicate. They do not want! There are those who do not see the importance. Also do not forget that there is being laughed at/ridiculed. Therefore, if a child pronounces and other children laugh at her, the child does not want does not want to use that language a lot. …

> And also it is challenging even to us teachers. You might get a teacher who is very poor in English or Kiswahili. *Kwa hivyo wakati mwingine hataki kulazimizsha watoto sana. Ni vile tunasema hatupaswi kuongea na watoto kwa Kimeru. So wakipata opportunity tu utawakuta wakiongea kwa MT.* (Therefore, sometimes she/he does not want to force students a lot. Its only because we say, we are not supposed to speak Kimeru with children. So if they get an opportunity, you will find them speaking in MT). Over the holiday, they will speak MT unless they meet people who don't know their language. You will meet them speaking Kiswahili, not English because even those people don't understand English.

The principal's responses above on language use by students raised important points on language use and intimidation. The students' language choice was determined by the presence of an authoritative figure, which transferred to English-only classroom scenarios in which silence and teacher repetition was the norm.

There were mixed reactions on students' perception of being monitored. According to the English teacher, some students liked it while others hated it:

> Mr. Jabari: They [students] like it because it has brought competition among themselves, who speaks more or better than the other. They are the ones who control it among themselves. They say it is you, take! Especially lower primary, from grade four downwards, they don't treat it negatively like higher grades. They like it so much, because they have nothing to hide. The higher grades do not receive it in a friendly way.

These views contradicted a focal student's thoughts on the use of monitor. Mosi narrated

the humiliation students felt by other children and the teacher because of their language

use:

> *Class four tulikuwa na monitor ya borne. Mtu alikuwa anaweka borne. Mtu*
> *hakuwa anataka kuongea Kimeru asivae hiyo. Ilikuwa inanuka. Tukaletewa*
> *ingine muhula huu, sijui ilienda wapi. Mtu akiongea Kimeru unachapwa.*
>
> In class four we had a bone monitor. A person was wearing a bone. A person was
> not wanting to speak in Kimeru to avert wearing it. It smell. We were brought
> another one this term, I don't know where it is. If a person speaks in Kimeru, you
> are beaten.

The opinions articulated by Mr. Jabari, the English teacher, and Mr. Kibwe, the

principal, tended to draw from a language-as-a-problem perspective. The goal of the

educators was to help students deal with and overcome the MT problems and to excel in

English. In this classroom, I considered silence to be a communicative practice, albeit

with varied meanings. My interpretation of silence was influenced by a language-choice

perspective in which silence was viewed as a way for students to communicate the

following to the teacher: "I am not getting it, or I am bored, or doing this is more

interesting to me" (see Chapter Four for more discussion on unofficial literacies).

Throughout the observations, student remained silent when asked the WH- questions: the

why, which, what, questions (as demonstrated in Chapter Four). When these questions

were translated into Kiswahili, students answered thoroughly, sometimes even competing

and building on each other's answers. These observations led me to the conclusion that

students did not have the necessary language skills to participate verbally through talk

and interaction in English-only classroom spaces. The English-only practice, therefore,

prevents students from participating in authentic knowledge production. I also view

silence as a conscious resistance at some incidences by certain students. Research

indicates that students may resist in English classroom due to low self esteem about their abilities or academic performance in general (Brookfield, 2006). This may be due to fear of humiliation; hence they respond by avoiding taking risks. Students may be fighting against the perpetual feeling of failure at school (Benson, 2010). Fourth grade students engaged in unofficial literacies in English language arts classroom.

Discussion

Through observation and interviews, it became clear that, in this fourth grade classroom, there was tension surrounding the use of Kiswahili, Kimeru and English and between the mandated policies and beliefs and the desire to teach in the languages fourth grade students understood. Because of the influence of monolingual and language-as-a-problem ideologies, there was no institutional support for the MT; and, education stakeholders only tolerated students' use of their MT. Education stakeholders in Tumaini primary school were faced with a choice regarding which language should be used for educating and making literate the masses: English, the language of access to the global world, and students' home language. Bourdieu (1991) described the dynamic of language dominance by noting that "All language practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant" (p. 53). According to Bourdieu, a society's hierarchies of power are reflected in, and simultaneously reinforced by, the status of the languages of different groups who live within that society. Those who are in possession of the dominant language are apt to maintain their symbolic dominance, whereas speakers of secondary, minority, or local languages are symbolically silenced (Foucault, 1981; Lippi-Green, 1997). The hierarchy of English was unquestioned in education administered at the Tumaini primary school.

276

Testing increasingly became a substitute for learning, limiting students' voices, availability and use of resources, and the inclusion of students' funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992). Using examination papers during remedial sessions in fourth grade was the norm because teachers were focused on preparing students often through rote memorization to understand the English language used on the examinations. I argue that the examinations in English for rural children who do not have access to English is testing English rather than testing what students know. For this reason, these examinations in English should not be considered a representation of students' intellectual abilities. The policy that calls for English-only examinations is a source for unequal social reproduction in a country that is already highly stratified. The voices of those at the distant margins such as those in remote rural areas similar to Tumaini are overshadowed by those of a few elites who have access to LOI, due to the disparities in resource distribution between urban and rural regions. Alidou et al. (2006) warned policy makers of the dangers of drawing policy conclusions in this way.

Insistence on English as a LOI has led to the creation of even more negative attitudes and ideologies towards Kenyan indigenous languages. These attitudes are acquired as part of enculturation in a particular speech community, and are strongly influenced by the social structure of the community in question (Saville-Troike, 2003). Because of this, the utterances of teachers, parents and students show their social worlds-- past, and present, where English has been regarded as the global language. Fourth graders could use linguistic signs and socially identify themselves and others as learned or not.

Additionally, the unquestioned belief about the time-on-task orientation makes it difficult for children in the rural areas to attain proficient literacy levels, even after several years of primary schooling. Owing to the fact that students cannot grasp the language of instruction within the short time frame, effects of washback, such as teaching for examinations, are experienced. Teachers' pedagogical styles and decisions were influenced by the final examinations students would be given. Because of students' lack of language facility, many simply focused on memorizing examination questions and examination language. The result of these damaging English-only ideologies and the effects of washback led to extensive silencing and exclusion. Students were silenced by the language used in classroom instruction and were also excluded from participation in knowledge production because they lacked the necessary linguistic tools needed to do so. The final result was banking education where students learned by rote. These findings build on past studies in Kenyan classrooms (e.g., Ackers & Hardman, 2001; Ogechi, 2009; Pontefract & Hardman, 2005). The Kenyan primary school children who participated in this study faced challenges learning in a foreign tongue, which made them feel unmotivated to learn, especially when they felt their knowledge was not validated. It can be argued that this leads to increased epistemological exclusion and increased dropout rates (Alidou, 2003; Bamgbose, 2000; Qorro, 2009). It has been found that reliance on the FL leads to little meaning construction in the classroom, which then leads to meaningless repetitions on the side of the child.

Instead of encouraging pluralism and viewing L1 as a right and a resource, at the Tumaini School, the L1 was viewed as a problem to be solved. My observation is in line with studies in other multilingual settings. For example, Smith and Murillo (2015b) point

278

out that the deficit view of a multilingual learner has framed languages as problems based on monolingual ideologies. Smith and Murillo view applied linguistics as a possible way to counter the deficit views of a multilingual learner, in preparing language and literacy teachers. Further, Smith (2001) documented the ways in which language resources contributed to the success of Spanish-English dual language programs. Smith proposed the term *linguistic funds of knowledge* to describe how educators incorporated local minority language resources in the dual language curriculum. A challenge noted, however, was that the parents viewed home languages or local language resources as not appropriate for education settings. These findings resonate with my findings in Tumaini Primary School. In contrast to the deficit views of a multilingual learner, research has shown that acquisition of L1 does not hinder in any way acquisition of L2 (e.g., Collier & Thomas, 2004; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Developmental bilingual educational programs have shown to yield better results cognitively. The students attain biliteracy, bilingualism, and bicultural competence, which is directly related to achievement in schools and to lower dropout rates (Collier & Thomas 2004). Research studies dispel the assumptions that a child can acquire sufficient FL skills in two to three years to be able to use it in academic settings (Cummins, 1979; 2013).

The language policy and practice in the rural Tumaini primary school denied epistemological access to students. Sadly, the English language arts teacher was not reflective of the teacher training and knowledge about pedagogical strategies for teaching English language learners. Students were viewed as deficient due to their low English proficiency. This leads to the reproduction of social and educational inequality between the rural poor and more economically advantaged peers in urban and rural areas, those

with access to English and resources outside of school settings. Similar sentiments were made by Bunyi (1996), who found that the use of English as the LOI in Kenya was beneficial to some groups of children and detrimental to the majority of the children, meaning that it contributed to the perpetuation of social inequalities in the Kenyan society. Bunyi's research raised pedagogical issues about the rural areas where meaningless repetition was observed leading to the loss of student interest in the lesson. Practices resulting from language policy in Tumaini primary school alienated the fourth grade learners from their rich cultures; thus, enhancing inequalities since it was difficult for rural children to succeed at school.

A plan to empower the local languages in Kenya is a daunting task since gaining consent of elite to develop these languages involves sharing or shifting power. However, educational specialists in Kenya need to research and understand how cognitive development is achieved and the role of the L1 in literacy development. Scotton (1993) claimed that African political elites in power established powers and privileges through linguistic choices and refused to change the inherited language policies because they serve as a boundary marker between them and the masses. The division, thus, enables the elite to retain exclusionary access to the kind of upward mobility that these policies facilitate, "…the elite successfully employs official language policies and their own non-formalized language usage patterns to limit access of non-elite groups to political position and socio-economic advancement" (Scotton, 1993, p. 149). Many Kenyans feel strongly that in order to succeed in Kenya and globally, they must have strong command of English language (Evans, 2003; Jones, 2008, 2012; Ogechi, 2009). This English power influences pedagogy, where education stakeholders may see regular use of the local

language in the classroom as evidence of the incompetence (Trudell, 2005). The data display how language ideologies were articulated by teachers, parents and students, and how these ideologies were embodied in these individuals' everyday linguistic choices and pedagogical practices with respect to language of instruction. Teachers were encouraged to only use English. Focal students experienced the tensions between the language ideologies that they had already internalized through daily admonishing at school, and, the reality that the MT aided their comprehension. Teachers and parents of Tumaini students felt that mastery of English language was important and essential for success on national examinations and in their future careers. The English teacher specifically echoed ideologies of language purism and counterhegemonic ideologies that privilege English.

The articulated and embodied language ideologies may be better understood through Bakhtin's (1981) ideological becoming, which refers to the ways in which individuals develop their ideological self, that is, develop their way of viewing the world, system of ideas, and more. The language and literate abilities provide ways for people to establish a social place and ways for others to judge them (Freedman & Ball, 2004). The choices that learners and teachers make regarding the languages to use and promote at school are influenced by these ideologies; these choices place people into a particular social economic class. In a multilingual setting, there are diverse voices. According to Bakhtin (1981), when diverse voices interact individuals struggle to assimilate two categories of discourses: authoritative discourse and persuasive discourse; the language used in Tumaini primary school may be related to authoritative discourse.

Through the long experience of colonialism in Kenya, the Kenyan political elite and leaders have adopted the authoritative discourse, including English language.

Authoritative discourse has taken root in Kenya especially in terms of language of education. In Kenya, language and literate abilities have provided ways for people to establish a social place. Because knowledge of the English knowledge is a marker of one's education level, it also serves as a way for others to judge them. Hence, successful inclusion of Kenyan language-in-education policy depends on attitudes and ideologies of stakeholders.

Kenya has perpetuated the colonial legacy by assuming a monolingual model and retaining English as the LOI at the expense of African languages. Some ideas have been used to rationalize and justify English language use. These include national unity, national and individual progress, efficiency of European languages, cost effectiveness, global era language as well as English being essential for science and technology (Bokamba, 2007; Qorro, 2009), as discussed in Chapter One. These are valid reasons, and proficiency in English is crucial for social mobility and access to certain forms of employment (Kamwangamalu, 2013). However, using English as a LOI requires an acceptable level of competence in English. Thus, transitioning the students to English in the formative years does not allow the students enough time to develop literacy skills in their native language that they can transfer to literacy development in English (Cummins, 1981; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Consequently, the illiteracy rate among Kenya's population remains high leading to social exclusion since illiterate individuals are unable to participate in the national socioeconomic and political realm in either English or their own indigenous language.

The continued use of English despite unrelenting poor literacy rates and counter research may be a result of what Bokamba (2011) described as *Ukolonia* (derived from

Kiswahili). Ukolonia is a mental syndrome that obscures the rational thinking of individuals in a postcolonial society and causes him/her to evaluate himself/herself in terms of values and standards established by the former colonial master's culture(s). It is characterized by the explicit or implicit policy of assimilation of Africans to Western cultures, especially through education, religious practices, and administrative practices (Bokamba, 2011). Educational policy and curricula have not been adjusted to focus on or to take into consideration the realities of African needs, instead, they remain extensively Euro-centric/monoglossic. Ukolonia is manifested linguistically in the preference for the use of English in education even when students cannot understand. A great deal of research has indicated that children's reading proficiency in their L1 is a strong predictor of their English reading performance (August and Shanahan, 2006; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Garcia 2000; Thomas & Collier 2002). Bilingualism does not interfere with performance in any language; however, the education stakeholders in Tumaini primary school, and Kenya at large, still favored English-only instruction and time-on-task orientations.

Recommendations

Kenyan education stakeholders should consider providing assessments in at least English and Kiswahili in order to allow learners to demonstrate their full capacities in the languages with which they are most comfortable and knowledgeable. There is a need for an educative campaign targeted for parents who believe that earlier and extended access to English in schools will deliver higher level of proficiency in English and greater education success. I recommend that education stakeholders view multilingualism as a form of capital (Smith & Murillo, 2015) through which students' affective, cognitive,

social, intercultural, academic and economic aspects are considered. Multilingualism should be used as a fund of knowledge (Gonzalez, Amanti, & Moll; 2005). There is a need to develop ideological clarity that validates students' funds of knowledge and social languages in ways that do not perpetuate the hegemonic role of English.

There is a need to develop inclusive language policies that ascribe value to the indigenous language as an optional LOI. Blommaert (2006) pointed out the ideological constructs about language noting that written language is valued more than spoken and a standard language is valued more than a dialect. This implies a need for both corpus and status planning that includes Kenyan languages. One way the government can improve the status of indigenous languages is by increasing its functional uses (Hornberger, 2006). Making local languages optional languages of instruction would allow these languages to be used in school literacy practices. In this way, local languages could be viewed as valuable resources that can exist alongside global languages.

Language planning should consider language a basic human right issue (Skutnabb-Kangas & Philipson, 2000). There should be a provision for pluralism to give room to have all languages or varieties recognized and protected by the law. Multilingualism should be regarded as a cultural resource and strength rather than a liability.

Language arts teachers need to be trained and equiped with relevant pedagogical strategies for teaching English to speakers of other languages. The English-only instruction from fourth grade could be sucessful with thorough teacher preparedness and use of relevant strategies.

The Kenyan Ministry of Education needs to challenge the narrow definition of literacy as strictly related to English language knowledge and instead value local literacies and MT literacies. As specified in chapter one, the common layman's definition of literacy in Kenya is acquisition of English.

The Kenyan Ministry of Education should also focus on conducting empirical studies that illuminate pedagogical theories and practice for language minority populations. As Crawford (2000) suggested, educators must learn to participate more effectively in the policy debate; by explaining bilingual pedagogies in a credible way, that is, in a political and social context that members of the public can understand and endorse.

Lastly, there is a need to develop a strategy or set of tools that can be used to establish whether rural Kenyan students have acquired English enough to study content areas in English-only classrooms by fourth grade. A need for examination of classroom discourses prior to and during the transitioning year to establish the effects of language change on meaning construction among students

Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, I have discussed the language ideologies as articulated by various education stakeholders. The language practices in the Kenyan fourth grade classroom observed are in line with Ruiz', (1984) language as a problem orientation. In this chapter it is indicated that although national policy specifies that the MT should be used as the medium of instruction, there was an unwritten policy in Tumaini school which called for the introduction of literacy in Kiswahili with a later transition to English-only. The major ideology governing communicative practices in Tumaini was language as a problem. In

order to solve the MT language problem, the stakeholders viewed the time-on-task

orientation as the best practice; for this reason the MT lessons were not taught. The

resultant effect was washback and silencing of many students. The language practices

and ideologies in Tumaini School contradicted multilingual research on L2 acquisition.

Chapter Eight

Summary, Discussion, and Implications

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study and explores their implications for research, policy, and practice within bi-multilingual education. First, the major findings are summarized by linking them with the theoretical perspectives and research questions. Second, the potential contributions of the study to the field of language and literacy and bi/multilingualism in education are discussed. This is followed by some recommendations with regards to multilingual education along with a description of the limitations of the study.

Summary of the Findings

The aim of this study was to explore the communicative practices displayed in a multilingual fourth grade classroom in a rural Kenyan setting. Drawing on sociocultural and cognitive perspectives on bi/multilingual education and literacy, the study's focus consisted of analyzing the nature of communicative practices displayed in a fourth grade rural Kenyan classroom along with institutional and local discourses on multilingualism in education. The study's discussion followed from a combination of multiple sources of data and different analytical perspectives. The broad themes relative to the nature of communicative practices displayed in a Kenyan rural fourth grade classroom are presented below:

Communicative practices: Safe talk versus literacy access. As presented in the Introduction, dominant language policy presents languages as discrete, with units within language also discretely identified in categories such as education and examination, identity, oral, literate, and so forth (Gachathi Report, 1976; Ominde report, 1964). At the

Tumaini primary school, English was the principal language of instruction (LOI). All subject books were in English apart from Kiswahili language books, and students were expected to speak English both inside and outside of the classroom. Although English, Kiswahili, and Kimeru coexisted as the community's main languages, they had unequal adoption and application and tensions in regards to the contexts in which they were used. Outside of school, for instance, teachers, students and the general public conversed predominantly in Kimeru and Kiswahili in daily life, yet Kimeru was stigmatized at school.

Communicative practices in the classroom indicated that during English-only language arts lessons, silence reigned. Both students and the teacher repeated formulaic phrases, as chronicled in Chapter Four. The teaching method was a stimulus/response approach to rote learning. Through the continuous repetition of phrases, students developed a basic fluency in reading (decoding and word recognition) yet without comprehension, as the reading lessons indicated. Students also mastered sentence structure without grasping the meaning of the sentences. As such, reading English sentences aloud was not predictive of reading comprehension. Similar findings have been reported for Kenyan rural classrooms. Dubeck et al., (2012) observed that first and second grade English reading instruction in Kenya emphasized oral language skills, where whole words were read with extensive oral repetition in order to teach word recognition skills. Due to this oral emphasis, researchers have found that students can read fluently in English yet without comprehension (Piper et al., 2015). Piper et al.'s study suggested that although children could recognize English words readily, their understanding of those words remained limited. Their study argues that increased English

instruction time and oral emphasis helped children to unlock the orthography challenges of English and gain some basic fluency yet without unlocking an understanding of what was expressed. Prioritizing English and an English-only pedagogy as the LOI, then, resulted in a basic fluency in English, including basic decoding skills and word recognition, but still without comprehension or the necessary mastery to understand the meaning of those words. This study concurs with and supports such previous findings.

To cope with the multilingual language environment and English-only policy, both teachers and students adopted 'safe talk' strategies in the classroom. Safe talk is explained by Chick (1996) as a highly limited language used by teachers in the classroom when they do not want to take any risks around violating any prescribed (safe) language routines. Students also adopted safe talk when they responded together in chorus-like responses and in one-word responses like yes! or no! as discussed in Chapter Four. Often, the teacher prompted students responses with "isn't it?" to elicit them saying yes or no.

This kind of student participation and response indicated a lack of comprehension on what was going on in class. Thus, classroom discourse for English lessons was highly ritualized, led by teacher recitations and a constant demand for student participation through the repetition of lexical words, phrases, or sentences from the teacher.

The English teacher, Mr. Jabari, maintained control of the learning environment in English classrooms. Using participation strategies such as the completion of phrases, the repetition of words, and choral affirmations, this functioned at least outwardly as a criterion for comprehension, in other words, as at least safe talk with respect to the prescribed language policy. However, this thwarted student engagement in more creative

or higher levels of thinking. It led to the perpetuation of a restrictive, often monotonous, stimulus/response model of teaching and learning.

These findings are consistent with literacy research studies in sub-Saharan Africa (Abd-Kadir, 2007; Ackers & Hardman, 2001; Chimbutane, 2013; Dubeck et al. 2012; Hardman and Merrit et al., 2012). Hardman and Abd-Kadir's (2007) study in Kenyan and Nigerian schools showed that an Initiation, Response, Feedback (IRF) model prevailed during English lessons, and, that, responses were ritualized with teacher-led recitation. Chimbutane (2013) found that teachers and students resorted to safe talk strategies in Mozambique due to language barriers and a paucity of teaching and learning materials and resources, as well as constraints on teacher awareness around appropriate L2 strategies to help minimize the effects of the language barriers. Ngwaru and Opoku-Amankwa (2010), reporting on multilingual classrooms in Ghana and Zimbabwe, show that in contexts where English was the LOI, teacher expectations around English as the primary language in the classroom silenced student contributions by providing negative verbal and non-verbal feedbacks, including punishment for not speaking English or for speaking incorrect English.

The use of English-only pedagogy in the fourth grade classroom can thus be said to affect concept learning and language development. Mrs. Tabasamu observed that teaching science in English only was a double tragedy, for both conceptual and language development. Similar findings have been reported for African nations: that transitioning to the full use of second-language instruction before students have sufficient capacity in that language can block them from learning basic concepts that are key to comprehension, i.e. a deep understanding that leads to the ability to use and transfer

ideas. Thondhlana (2002) argued that to use English effectively, students in Zimbabwe had to reach a "threshold level," described by Cummins (1979), at which they were sufficiently fluent to be able to process new concepts and expand their understanding.

The study by Thondhlana suggested that if instruction was in the second language rather than the first, and if pedagogy in the second language were weak, then students would be focused on rote memorization rather than on the cognitive processes that encourage comprehension and synthesis. This means that the children's ability to think critically and to solve problems would be significantly lessened in both languages, as a result.

The kinds of communicative practices exhibited in fourth grade classrooms indicate that students have gained the surface constructs of fluency, which Herrera, Perez and Escamilla (2010) describe as including accuracy, speed, and prosody traditionally emphasized in reading instruction and assessment. The students, however, lack deep construct fluency, which keys on comprehension. Reading instruction targets the development of deep structures of fluency and uses vocabulary as the foundation to automaticity and comprehension. It is this lack of comprehension in LOI that may have led to safe talk in this classroom.

In contrast to this study's findings, multilingual studies within and outside Africa strongly suggest that education that includes MT is more likely to result in a greater academic achievement along with other benefits (Chimbutane, 2011; Fafunwa et al., 1989; Ramirez et al., 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997; 2002). A classroom characterized by monologic forms of discourse or participation structures denies learners roles and valid voices in meaning construction. According to Bakhtin (1981) and others, learning is

a dialogical process not merely a transmission of knowledge, an activity in which whole selves are formed and acquire new capacities for development, not merely an addition of information to an already extant pool. In this light, teachers need to enter into dialogic relationships with their students, whereby differences may be understood as opportunities rather than obstacles. This study provides an opportunity for education stakeholders to reconstruct their ideological consciousness. Bakhtin (1984, p. 110) notes:

> Truth is not born nor is it to be found inside the head of an individual person. It is born between people collectively searching for truth in the process of their dialogic interaction.

According to Bakhtin, students are internalizing words or voices of others, those encountered at school (as well as in the wider world). Presently, the voices encountered at school for Kenyan fourth graders are not only restricting use of their home languages, their multiple voices and ways of voicing are also being constrained.

In the English-only classroom, the learning environment was also constrained by the asymmetry of power between the teacher and student. The teacher had control over English and all learning in the classroom, which resulted in a fear of punishment among students for speaking a 'home language' in class. Students consequently either remained silent, read from the text, or only repeated phrases after the teacher.

During English language art lessons, unofficial literacies emerged. There was either drawing or singing and drumming on desks while some students hummed. The drawings by the students were labeled in English or Kiswahili, and all descriptions of the pictures were in MT and/or Kiswahili, in a multimodal display of knowledge. In-class unofficial literacy practices may have been small acts of resistance to the monologic

292

English-only. Furthermore, while students at times appropriated the authoritative English discourse, this was usually in only superficial ways: Students repeated after the teacher, and read and wrote and otherwise completed tasks dutifully, but without being genuinely engaged either with the ideas or the process. These students may have been passively resisting efforts for substantive engagement due to learning in unfamiliar LOI.

Analysis of student writing in English and Kiswahili indicated that students had a higher proficiency in Kiswahili as compared to English; they were able to write coherent prose and put in their voices more in Kiswahili texts than in English. This suggests that students by fourth grade had not developed the requisite English proficiency for English-only instruction. This agrees with findings in South Africa and Tanzania (Brock-Utne, 2007).

The qualitative aspects of student writing suggest that students had acquired a high proficiency in Kiswahili but not in English language. This raises questions around the feasibility of using English as the LOI at this grade level, and in particular whether students can access literacy via classroom safe talk strategies or not. The analysis of communicative practices in the fourth grade English-only lessons here suggests that rural students are presented with obstacles or barriers that block access to literacy.

Heteroglossic reality in students' communicative lives. Data from shadowing the students indicated that students used multiple languages to communicate, mainly Kiswahili and Kimeru with a few English words during interaction. On the playground, students often used MT for all of their games and used mixed languages to meet their communicative goals during unofficial storytelling sessions. The focal students preferred to narrate stories in MT or Kiswahili although they had read them in English. However

during narration, the boundaries between languages were not perceived. Students drew across multiple communicative repertoires, as seen in chapter four. Similar observations have been made by language and literacy scholars (Blommaert, 2006; Canagarajah, 2013; 2014; Garcia, 2014) in other multilingual contexts.

The science teacher, Mrs. Tabasamu, and the students utilized multiple communicative repertoires in the classroom, as detailed in chapters five and six. Translanguaging was used by Mrs. Tabasamu to get students to understand the science content taught. Although this freedom was not officially allowed in the classroom, Mrs. Tabasamu transgressed the norms. Through translanguaging practices in science classrooms, the IRF structure was disrupted, and although the teacher did not hand over speaking rights to the students, there was some inclusion of student home knowledge where their experiences contributed to their understanding. The engagement levels of the students and teacher were evident, especially since no student was observed engaging in unofficial literacies in class during the science lessons. Mrs. Tabasamu made linguistic choices, which she believed would foster maximum student engagement and learning. This observation leads me to conclude that language separation seems less effective in a multilingual rural setting in Kenya. Language mixing was a characteristic of multilingual learners in Tumaini primary school.

This study also augments recent research studies that call into question the rigid separation of languages advocated for in the classroom given that such separation is inconsistent with the ways multilinguals code-switch or translanguage in real life when they draw upon their multiple linguistic resources for effective communication (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Garcia, 2009). Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue against

separate language boundaries, which limit use of both languages at will. The standard language ideology experienced in English classrooms is resisted by scholars and educators due not only to the reality of flexible multilingual practices (Blommaert, 2006; Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; Cummins, 2000; Garcia, 2009; Makalela, 2015; Blackledge & Creese, 2010, 2014; Helot, 2014; Leiva & Garcia, 2014) but also to the inequalities that are perpetuated through the use of unfamiliar languages, to the ideological erasure of countless language varieties, and to the available evidence for the importance of incorporating student's home languages and cultures in education (Cummins, 2000; Thondhlana, 2002). My study and these related studies suggest that multilingual learners should be given freedom to use their multiple communicative repertoires, rather than being restricted to functioning in a monolingual mode.

So many pedagogical possibilities are wasted because of restrictive language policies in education. As seen from Mrs. Tabasamu's classroom, TL has a potential to disrupt the traditional IRF classroom participation framework. In some instances during science lessons, children were positioned as competent members, however briefly; but, with institutional support, this practice could eliminate taking students as passive novices who mimic scripted knowledge. Other scholars have commented on the potential of TL practices in the classroom. Martinez, Hikida and Dyran (2015) argue that TL is a potential resource for mitigating the difficulties experienced by students studying content subjects through a foreign language. It can also lead to identity affirmation and literacy engagement (Cummins, et al., 2012). Some scholars from the Global South (Africa, Latin America, developing countries of Asia and Middle East) also argue for the acceptance of TL in multilingual classrooms and for other diverse forms of expression such as drawing.

These could be viewed as a way for improving education in multilingual classrooms (Kamwangamalu, 2010; Makalela, 2015; Shoba & Chimbutane, 2013).

Translanguaging also has a potential to counteract linguistic insecurity in the classroom, such that TL serves as a resource for easing cognitive load by reducing the extraneous load presented by an unfamiliar language, and aiding comprehension (Blommaert 2006). My focal students viewed TL as helpful for understanding in English. In writing, although this practice was intended as a one-language activity, students used Kimeru, Kiswahili, and English. From Chapter 5, the analysis of writing showed at least 20% of the students using mixed languages in writing to meet their communicative goals. One focal student's (Adila's) essays clearly show her using multiple repertoires. This heteroglossic use of language could counteract negative attitudes around children's home languages that arise from standard language ideologies, especially if heteroglossic use is acknowledged as typical for the process of language learning. These findings corroborate findings from research studies that propose bilingual children are constantly moving between two worlds, as manifested through CS orally and in writing (Canagarajah, 2011; 2013; Garcia, 2009). Moreover, fourth graders constantly coined new terms that characterized and defined youth culture. This was at odds with the authoritative discourses. The principal, Mr. Kibwe, recognized this tendency when he noted that the students coined vocabulary items to reference their games. Mr. Jabari, the English teacher, was concerned that this was messing up with the purity of English and language learning.

Given the actual communicative lives of multilingual students, the findings of this study suggest a need for the creation of interactional spaces where bi/multilingual

students can explore their metalinguistic abilities, where they can perform their multilingual identities. Schools need to purposefully create interactive spaces where learners feel free and safe in their access to the linguistic resources of all of their languages, (Bloomaert et al., 2004; Gumperz & Gumperz, 2005).

The fourth grade students in Tumaini primary school transformed literacy practices into multimodal, multilingual representations of knowledge through translingual writing, singing, drawing, and so forth. This finding suggests that insisting on language separation in schools not only widens the gap between school and multilingual language practices at home and the students' lived worlds or experiences, but also affects students' access to school forms of literacy. As such, this study advocates for heteroglossic multilingual pedagogy marked both by the inclusion of the students' languages and the inclusion of multimodalities in the portrayal of knowledge. Numerous modalities of expression, such as drawing, labeling in different languages, storytelling, mixing languages, all resonate with such a heteroglossic ideology for education (Bakhtin, 1981).

As noted earlier, although translanguaging was the order of the day in students' communicative practices, it was not accorded legitimacy in the school, and this aggravated the relations between students and teachers. Despite the great pedagogical potential this practice has in classrooms, it is not accepted as a legitimate pedagogical strategy, even if teachers strategically employ it at times. The practice of TL should be accepted to promote diverse forms of expression among students and to promote access to literacy in multilingual classrooms. As Kamwangamalu (2010) noted, we need to understand that being allowed to use one's full range of linguistic capacities is the best way to develop bi/multiliteracy.

Translanguaging practices have not been accepted in other settings as well.. Blackledge and Creese (2010) argue that schools do not accord legitimacy for multimodalities, mixing of languages, hybrid forms and nonverbal varieties of expression, resulting to narrowing students' linguistic resources. The conversation about multiple communicative resources and flexible ideology of language emerged decades ago through works of Gumperz (1968) focusing on repertoire, and Hymes (1972) on communicative competence. However, continued powerful influence of standard monoglossic approaches to language ideology, language and literacy research and pedagogy have shut this discourse. Consequently, the literacy access of multilinguals has been affected. In light of co-existence of traditional monoglossic approaches and innovative heteroglossic approaches to education, there is a need for further consideration on multilingual pedagogy (Blommaert, 2006).

This study suggests that translanguaging (TL) could be a possible means for mitigating the current challenges of teaching in a foreign language in rural schools in Kenya. It suggests the need for a heteroglossic multilingual education built on home linguistic repertoires that students bring to school and including dialects and urban vernaculars. It advocates for providing children with access both to indigenous languages and global languages in order to provide high quality educational opportunities. This position does not downplay the importance of access to English, which remains the global language for most students, but argues rather for a need to move towards a heteroglossic multilingual pedagogy tolerant of home languages as a tool that not only empowers, envoices, and affirms students' identity but also enhances language acquisition generally. It remains important to build on students' home linguistic

repertoires in order to nurture their acquisition of school languages. This is because home languages supply bridges between school knowledge and the students' lived experiences. Considering the current prescribed language policies, teachers can mitigate any social disadvantages that TL practices may cause with respect to excellence in the school. Teachers may use translingual practices to guide students toward acquiring the formal school languages.

Ideologies: Selection and exclusion. The education stakeholders who participated in this study (teachers, parents, and students) articulated different language ideologies, and these ideologies were embodied in classroom practices. These ideologies included: language as a problem, and time-on-task ideologies. Two resultant effects of embodying these ideologies included washback and exclusion of students from knowledge production.

Analysis of data in Chapter Seven shows a lack of awareness around the role of L1 by education stakeholders. The evidence gathered shows that teachers, parents, and students at Tumaini primary school considered L1 a problem for, a hindrance to, academic success. The assumption was that home languages posed problems for English-only education. A claim was that *more time spent using English produces better results*. Stakeholders cited the private academies that introduced students to English-only education at the beginning of fourth grade as the parameter for the effect of English-only instruction. Stakeholder beliefs manifested, for example, in the scrapping of the MT lessons provided by the Ministry of Education and replacing it with an English lesson.

From my observations, lack of a basic understanding of the English language was an obstacle to knowledge production by the students. They would remain silent or would

only follow the teacher's recitation. Student familiarity and lack of familiarity affected the level of engagement in classroom.

The language ideologies articulated and embodied at the Tumaini primary school are analogous to Street's (1995) *autonomous literacy framework*, which assumes a *unidirectional* form of literacy development associated with progress, development, individual autonomy, and social mobility. As noted in Chapter One, the colonial view of English is entrenched in the current language-in-education policy and practices in Kenya. Thus, Kenyan rural children were taught to decode English at the expense of comprehension in most instances. The social consequences of this kind of literacy—in this context, the technical skill of being able to read and write in English—are assumed as opening greater opportunity for jobs, social mobility, and fuller lives. Literacy in English, then, gets classified in terms of *economic takeoff*. Students, teachers, and parents alike reiterated the financial gains that knowledge of English could accrue.

In this sense, the Kenyan language policy has successfully distanced language and literacy from the Kenyan children. Through this, Street's (1995) autonomous model of literacy has been achieved. Teachers, parents, and students retain their own experiences in their home languages but have conceptualized literacy in a language that is distanced from their social context. Literacy is seen as "a separate, reified set of neutral competencies, autonomous of social context" (Street, 1995, p. 28). The LOI is distanced from both the teacher and the learner, and, both are constrained by external rules and requirements as though they are simply passive recipients of an authoritative discourse, largely because of the economic gains claimed on behalf of English literacy. Graham (2010) similarly observed that the use of exogenous languages in education distanced

education from African culture. And Jagusah (2001) lamented the lack of a consciousness of the African self or a critical awareness of the other in the educational process.

Articulated and embodied English-only ideologies lead to further negative attitudes towards indigenous languages where English is linked to examinations comprising the gateway to educational, economic, and social advancement. The language-in-education policies that exclude MTs are cited as playing a key role in the process of reinforcing and re-enforcing the supposed inferiority of indigenous languages. The inferiority of indigenous languages is a situation deplored by a number of African writers (Alexander 2007; Djite, 2008). MT had no value outside the home, leading to the ideological time-on-task assumption that the earlier English becomes the LOI then the better the child will learn and understand the content matter presented. Contrary to these expectations, however, monoglossic language policies have led to poor achievements in rural populations, who otherwise rarely have an opportunity to hear English outside of the classroom (Brock Utne, 2005; Muthwii, 2004).

The autonomous view of literacy in Kenya has also been emphasized through a lack of materials in indigenous languages. Students mentioned they had not seen a Kimeru-language book, or that even if they'd seen one, they knew there was no need to read it; Almasi's mother, for instance, used a Kimeru book to light fire. Blommaert (2006) notes that ideological constructs about language, which are often stratified and ordered, have the following value comparisons: written language is valued more than spoken, standard language more than dialects, and expert registers over lay registers. According to Blommaert, language is laden with power relations and ideology and privileges reading and writing compared to oral discourse. As such, what constitutes a

book becomes seen as an *English* book, so that a book of written Kimeru language, conceived typically as originating more as part of an oral discourses, doesn't even have the status of a book and becomes kindling instead.

This analysis of language ideologies is consistent with research findings around the lack of adherence to the language policy of MT instruction for K-3. Schools operate by unwritten policies (Bunyi, 2008; Lisanza, 2011), and their choice of LOI is contravening the national language and education policy.

At the Tumaini primary school, the unfamiliar LOI constructed a distance between students and school literacy. Whole-class, collective yes/no responses excluded exploration of the meaning of what was being uttered or responded to. Both the teacher and student chanted formulaic phrases together. Acquisition and use of English was a problem to be solved; rules were set from outside of the child. The education stakeholders (parents, teachers, and other education stakeholders) were collaborators in responding to this hegemony. In literate homes, tests were as much part of literacy practice as school. For example, Mahiri's mother bought past papers for Mahiri to go through at home, then graded them.

Assessments were not developed from the content covered in class, but were already set in tests and thus were not authentic. Herrera, Perez, and Escamilla, (2010) note that authentic assessment is assessment that is generally developed directly either from classroom instruction, group work, or related classroom activities and that provides an alternative to traditional assessments. Testing, then, also created a distance between students' own perceptions of their knowledge. The assumed neutral status of the test

reduced the teacher and the student to passive recipients of authoritative knowledge rather than recognizing them as active negotiators of meaning (Street, 1995).

The impacts of time-on-task ideologies included a lack of understanding around both content and language. In order to meet the criterion of passing tests, this not only affected time allotment for remedial lessons but it also meant that test papers were used as teaching materials. This further affected teaching methods, feelings and attitudes by stakeholders, and the quality and quantity of learning in general. In general, more time was allotted to exams. Materials included exam-related textbooks and past papers. Using exams was seen as the best way to prepare students along with previously written papers, bought from as many different counties as feasible. Skills promoted in this way involve test-taking strategies and mastery of language structures observed from previous tests.

The assumption that MT is a problem for English acquisition is unfounded both in theory and empirically. Cummins (2009) notes that spending instructional time through two languages does not have long-term adverse effects on academic development in the student's majority language. This pattern emerges for both majority and minority students across widely varying sociolinguistic and sociopolitical contexts in programs with very different organizational structures. Additionally, there are significant positive relationships that exist between the development of academic skills in L1 and L2. This is true even for languages that are not similar; cross-lingual relationships permit transfer of skills, strategies, and knowledge. This might explain why spending instructional time through home language entails no adverse consequences for the development of the school language.

In the United States, August and Shahanan (2006) synthesize scientific findings on the education of ELL and concluded that bilingual education exerts a positive effect on minority students' English language achievement. Similar findings by Genesse et al. (2006) demonstrate that the amount of instruction in the majority at school is unrelated to students' outcomes and vice versa. Underachievement derives, instead, from other multiple factors, e.g., the devaluation of children's language and culture in the wider society.

As noted in Chapter One, approximately 20% Kenyans have access to English outside of school. The discussion above suggests that the current language-in-education policies in Kenya are determined by powerful institutional ideologies that lead to continued educational inequalities between rural children and the few elite. It is important for the education system in Kenya to reinvent itself, to construct an educational system that is based on the full complexity of the students, an educational system that bridges the gap between home and school. This would principally occur by adopting heteroglossic pedagogies in the classroom to include all children and provide them with access to the languages they need for education and professional success without compromising their identity and to draw from student funds of knowledge via scaffolding using home language varieties. In this way, the education system would enable opportunities to reconnect with children from different backgrounds.

Conclusion

Based on the above findings, I conclude that fourth grade students have not acquired the requisite English language proficiency to construct knowledge in that language. There is a disconnection between what a Kenyan child is expected to do and

the current competence to which the education system aspires. This may be either a pedagogical or contextual issue, along with a lack of learning resources. Excluding student languages erects an obstacle to knowledge production and prescribes a recipe for both continued stratification in education as well as an ineffective banking model of education for poor rural neighborhoods.

The language situation in Kenya can be best described by what Gogolin (2002; 2013) called monolingual habitus. Monolingual habitus is a linguistic self-conception that can make people blind to multilingual, multicultural ways of life. According to Bourdieu (1991), linguistic habitus is the symbolic power of language, where even limited proficiency in a certain language offers greater social capital than others. Monolingual habitus may correspond with the language as a problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984). According to Ruiz (1984), language as a problem views lack of competence in the dominant language as a disadvantage. The education stakeholders of Tumaini primary school considered English as the language for success both now and in the future, guided by the current trends and examinations. Similarly, Mr. Jabari's statement, that home languages affected negatively the purity of English, represented an ideology that was widely held by teachers and the community.

TL in classrooms is visibly a pedagogical strategy that supports multilingual learners. The findings in this study challenge the validity of language purist ideology by showcasing how multilingual students use their linguistic repertoires. However, language purism and normativity in education are strongly held attitudes that make it difficult to break away from viewing languages as compartmentalized. Nonetheless, fourth grade

writers broke the separate language ideological barrier, and thus brought their voices to their essays.

The findings in this study advocate for a heteroglossic multilingual education, one that does not focus on a hegemonic view of languages, but that views languages as both complementary and enriching each other along the way to also guiding students to master the language forms that are valued at school for academic and professional success. I advocate for heteroglossic pedagogies that encourage teachers and students to code-switch between languages and language varieties in the classroom strategically in order to scaffold students' learning and facilitate students' access to academic discourses. This is in line with Creese and Blackledge (2015), who argue that educators need to adopt a heteroglossic lens to ensure bringing into play—both in practice and in pedagogy—voices that index students' realities, localities, social histories, circumstances, and identities, that include and activate their voices and support their agency (Bakhtin, 1981). Garcia and Wei (2014) view TL as a transformative pedagogy for leveraging bilingual students multi-competence. My study adds to research that illustrates languaging practices of bilinguals in school and community (c.f., Creese and Blackledge, 2014; Velasco and Garcia, 2014 Canagarajah, 2014).

Heteroglossia and multilingualism represent lived experiences for Kenyan rural students. Students have a wide range of communicative repertoire—cultural and linguistic—to support their conversation and literacy goals. They draw from this repertoire strategically depending on the contexts (Velasco & Garcia, 2014). The complex realities of heteroglossia are unacknowledged in education. For example *Sheng*, a popular cultural literacy among youth in fourth grade, was considered an

impurity. Such institutional constraints restrict possibilities for the multilingual potential of students and consequently will silence students via negative attitudes towards their languages.

The present language-in-education policy in Kenya is a recipe for the continued reproduction of educational inequalities in Kenya, with the rural poor masses failing to reach their literacy potential due to linguistic challenges. Considering a classroom as a discursive site for reproduction and contestation of linguistic ideologies and hierarchies in Kenya, the legitimization of English relates to power and authority, as noted in Chapter One. It dominates other languages as inferior, with such nonstandard languages use being punished. Because this linguistic hierarchy is institutionalized, it produces the language purism ideologies seen in classroom English. Scholars have echoed the discourse of language as a clear marker of social class, with English being regarded as the language of social mobility (c.f., Busch (2010) in South Africa). Trudell (2010) proposes that the language-in-education choice plays a key role in the maintenance of power through the de-facto exclusion of those who do not speak the international language. Similarly, African elite maintain their power through an ineffective formal education systems that retains European languages as the main medium for teaching and learning. The power of English historically has created attitudinal challenges, as seen in the burning of a Kimeru book by Mama Almasi. Barbara (2010) points out the strong negative attitudes held by parents regarding the perception of English over L1; a common feature in sub-Saharan Africa involves being educated in languages one does not necessarily understand.

Implications for Practice

Professional development of practitioners in the areas of second language acquisition and bilingual education philosophies and practices is necessary for educators. It is important to encourage L1 reading. Piper et al. (2015) found that basic reading comprehension is easily attained in MT even with minimal attention. Therefore greater attention to MT use as LOI in classrooms would likely yield stronger reading comprehension levels for the same children. Piper et al. (2015) asserted, all things held equal, that children taught in their mother tongue would acquire reading skills more quickly than those taught in English. If children are taught with methods that simply use a new language rather than teaching how that language functions compared to L1, then a child's ability to gain language skills can be jeopardized and students may "never develop accurate speaking and writing skills" (Garcia 2009, p. 231). Mr. Jabari, the English teacher, believed in the exclusive use of English language but admitted it was ultimately unfeasible to do so, as students transgressed the bounds.

It is important to acknowledge the child's socialization process in the construction of meaning and of literacy development as well. Local literacies and languages are too substantial to be only tolerated or denigrated. Local languages should be used to enrich literacy learning and acquisition of the school languages and literacies.

It is important to educate teachers about code switching and translanguaging practices. Teachers need to use heteroglossic pedagogies to provide students access to content and the instructional language, and to provide them access to the outside world. Teachers need to develop systematic strategies for CS and TL. In this, it is important not to lose sight of the equal need to develop English and Kiswahili.

This study specifically serves as a call for use of a heteroglossic pedagogical approach and to further remove the traditional barriers between languages, subject areas, and speakers. Teachers are called upon to allow multilingual spaces to defuse negative attitudes attributed to African languages and to take multilingualism as a resource and a power, i.e. to understand that the use of a full range of repertoires is transformative for students (Gibbons, 2006). As Cummins (2005) has noted of patterns of colonization, devaluation of indigenous cultures and languages within school and wider society is one of the sociological factors that lead to failure, and any education program must challenge the colonial legacy and current discourses of devaluation. Students from rural Kenya could be empowered by affirming their identity through their language use. This is only achievable through acknowledging how multilingual children learn typically.

Educational Implications

The separate code ideology with regard to writing and other literacy practices in multilingual Kenya serves as a barrier to excellence of education for rural children. The schools fail to empower learners to discover and create their unique identities informed by their experience and interpretation of the world around them. Instead, they indoctrinate learners to perpetuate what worked in the past for the elites, as the only way to look into the world. This impedes learners' ability to solve their problems of existence in the present and increases the cultural load on the social world around them in a way disadvantageous for everyone.

Educators, instead, should consider multilingual resources and take them as a legitimate cognitive tool and resource for communication in school contexts. The school should challenge the discourses that devalue indigenous languages within the wider

society so as to increase opportunities for literacy engagement. Adila's use of a variety of languages to share knowledge of trees and animals attests to the need for indigenous knowledge production.

Production of multilingual or bilingual texts that have Kiswahili and English would be important, so that students might invest in their identity meaningfully and feel less constrained by their limited English language competence. Similarly, the teachers' training curriculum needs to be designed to reflect the multilingual realities of Kenyan children. Curriculum should include and train teachers on cross-linguistic theories and research in order to be equipped with bi-multilingual strategies for teaching English as a foreign language. For example, students' writing transgressed the norms, through the mixing of different languages, contrary to the writing guidelines. Teachers should be responsive by creating flexible opportunities in the process of writing and language acquisition. It is through teacher training that content teachers are able to consider translanguaging pedagogy as systematic rather than cue-based improvisation or simply chaotic occurrences in the classroom. Research shows that TL in the writing of emergent multilinguals serves specific strategic purposes and is meant to solve practical issues that arise during the writing process (Gort, 2012; Velasco & Garcia, 2014). Professional development programs that would teach MT as a resource and demonstrate how best to utilize it in classrooms to break monoglossic ideologies are necessary.

And while this may seem to add costs or difficulties to the process of teacher training, it should be remembered that—as translanguaging was observed occurring normally as part of the students' everyday lives—so nearly every local adult training to be a teacher will have at one time been one of those translanguaging children. As such,

the basic skills and concepts of translanguaging already exist as a competency for most who would be teachers, so that it is principally more just a matter of framing and licensing translanguaging in the classroom as a legitimate pedagogic process.

Policy Recommendations

If education in Kenya will actually strive to reach the noble goals that it claims for education, and not serve merely as a mechanism for supporting and reproducing the social inequities of the present status quo, then we must revise the theories governing language policy in Kenya beyond the current unitary view of language as an autonomous language system and instead acknowledge and incorporate the heteroglossic character of linguistic reality and languaging into policy (Mignolo, 2012). Based on the findings of this study, Kenya requires a *heteroglossic multilingual education*. This is a kind of education that recognizes and supports the presence of different codes and languages as resources for education, for teachers and students alike. It will be based on the understanding that language stratification in Kenya derives from historical character of state formation and are connected to ideologies. Simply on the grounds of social justice, student voices need to be acknowledged. Students must be allowed to build on their own language(s) practices and thus affirm their multiple identities. School administrations should be cognizant of the powerful language ideologies and be ready to debunk the myths now entrenched in those ideologies to open the way to an equitable education. This would also open the possibility of reconnecting education to rural children, who are typically distanced from education by the present situation.

Simply on pragmatic grounds, if the social justice argument seems insufficient, a modern nation-state functions less efficiently when more of its populace is uneducated. A

lack of quality of instruction, and more generally education, generates economic and social costs that the nation-state either must then address and solve, or ignore (for want of funds or will), thereby beginning to lay the groundwork for widespread civil unrest. Ignorance is costly; enforced ignorance is cruel. To incorporate heteroglossic multilingual pedagogies within educational policy will not solve every problem in education in Kenya, but it represents a morally just, cost-efficient, and (perhaps most importantly) easy gesture to implement.

Implications for Research

Educators should be sensitized on using home languages as a cultural tool (Freire, 2000) in order to avoid students' silence in classroom. Freire speaks about the "culture of silence," where the oppressed are overwhelmed by the oppressor's norms, effectively silencing people. This describes how students can feel overwhelmed by unfamiliar language and concepts, effectively silencing them. The students have internalized the devaluation of their languages and culture, and the masses have been imposed on with untruths about their languages, lies that do not take into account their reality but register only the view of the elite as legitimate. A study interrogating silence would be important in a multilingual classroom, since silence holds multiple meanings (Schultz, 2009; 2010). Some of the possible questions include: what is the meaning of silence in English only classrooms? What is the extent of silence in different grades, with varying English language proficiencies? How does the discourse patterns vary across the grades? These kinds of questions would be useful in determining the meaning and causes of silence in the ELL classrooms.

Additionally, extending writing studies research to lower grades (K-3) to understand how students perceive their multilingual resources in writing would further illuminate these several issues. It is important to document how writing is taught from K-3, to further understand how and when ELLs begin to separate languages in writing.

The focus of this study concerned the multiple linguistic repertoires in meaning-making practices in a fourth grade rural classroom in Kenya. Future studies might fruitfully embark on a longitudinal interventionist study of multilingual literacy practices rather than a descriptive study of those practices in order to devise multilingual strategies for TL.

Since this study did not examine teacher-training curriculum, research into teacher preparation curricula would inform the practices observed and shed additional light on teacher preparedness for teaching English to ELLs who are linguistically and culturally diverse. Action research with and by teachers would provide an opportunity for teachers to reflect on the effect of their ideologies on students' practices and outcomes.

Limitations of the Study

Although the study has shown how multilingual students appropriate their multiple linguistic and cultural repertoires, the study had some limitations. First, the sample size of study participants was small, a single fourth grade classroom in one rural primary school. This limits the generalizability of this study to a broader population in the world. However, case studies are undertaken to make the case understandable (Stake, 2010). Although this single case cannot be the basis for generalization, the reader who is familiar with other cases will learn much that is general from this single case, and will add to this case, thus providing a collection of cases from which to generalize. This case

may also provide a new opportunity to modify old generalizations of questions discussed in this study. The readers who are more familiar with this case may add their own part of the story. The reader's input will help the reader to form generalizations; the reader will take both my narrative descriptions, and my assertions to form a *vicarious experience* (Stake, 2010) and naturalistic generalizations, assertions to work with the present descriptive knowledge to modify existing generalizations. Generalizations from this qualitative study may be drawn in relation to the parent population from which the sample was drawn, (representational generalization), about other settings with similar conditions to this study (inferential generalization) and as a contribution to generating or augmenting of ideas and theories (theoretical generalization), (Lewis et al. 2014).

Second, as an interpretive inquiry approach was used, whereby data presented originates from my own researcher interpretation of the observations, the findings are thus situated in this setting. However, I have provided opportunities for vicarious experience by citing related research studies from the Global South and the Global North to include studies familiar to a wide range of readers globally. For the reader to gauge the accuracy, completeness, and bias of my report, I have also provided adequate raw data prior to interpretation for the readers to consider their own alternative interpretations. I have also described the methods that were used in data collection, analysis and triangulation to confirm my major assertions, or disconfirm them. I have provided my information as a researcher for the reader to gauge my biases.

Thirdly, I did not examine student learning and literacy practices in the MT partly because of language restrictions at the school. As such, this study does not give a complete picture of the students' oral, written and reading practices in their languages

separately. However, assessing the writing in the two languages allowed in school did reveal varying competences in both languages. Lastly, although I visited student homes, I did not get to observe some of the literacy activities that were reported there.

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Appendix A

Student's Interview Guide

Dear Student,

Thank you for participating in this study.

In order to better understand what goes on in your classroom, I would like you to respond to the following questions based on your views, perceptions, and experience of learning in English in the classroom. You are strongly encouraged to provide your views frankly, and to tell me as much as you can. There is no right or wrong answers. Your answers will be used solely for research purposes and will not affect your grades in any way. Your answers will also remain confidential and won't be shared with anyone outside the research team, including your teacher.

If you did not hear or understand a question, I want you to ask me to repeat the question. Do you have any question before we continue? (If the student says "yes", clarify the confusion, but if the student says "no", continue).

1. What do you like about your English class?
   a. Tell me about a day that you really liked in English class
   b. Tell me about a day when you did not like it
2. What do you do in your English classes?
   a. How do you learn speaking of English?
   b. How do you learn reading of English?
   c. How do you learn writing of English?
3. What activities do you carry out during; a) speaking, b) reading, and, c) writing lessons?
4. What challenges do you face in your English learning and in your schooling in general?
5. Do you use Kimeru in classroom? If yes, when? If no, why?
6. What language do you prefer to write in?
7. What language do you prefer to read/ write in? Why?
8. What language do you speak with your parents?
9. What language do you speak with your sibling(s)?
10. What literacy activities do you participate in outside school?
11. What would you rank your preference toward Swahili language and Kimeru and English languages?
12. How do you see yourself as an English reader, writer, and speaker?
13. How do you see yourself as a Swahili reader, writer, and speaker?
14. How do you see yourself as a reader in Kimeru: very good reader, okay reader, or a bad reader? What makes you think that?
15. What types of books do you read at school? At home?
16. What types of things do you write about in English at school? At home?
17. You have been reading and writing in English in this grade. What did you like about reading and writing in this class? Why?
18. How would you describe what reading in English is like for you?

19. Do you have similar experiences in reading and writing in Kimeru or Kiswahili? Please explain.
20. Tell me about your writing in this class. What do you like to write about? Why?
21. Do you use Kimeru/Kiswahili when you are writing in English? If so, how?
22. How would you describe yourself? Do you see yourself as a good, okay, or bad writer in English? Why? Do you feel the same in both Kiswahili and Kimeru? Explain.
23. When you are reading in English, do you use Kimeru or Kiswahili to help you?
24. When do you use Kimeru/Kiswahili? Is it before you read, during reading, or/and after reading?
25. How does using Kimeru or Kiswahili help you to read?
26. When the teacher is teaching English, math or science, does he/she sometimes use Kimeru or Kiswahili to explain things? Does that help you to learn understand?
   (a) How did that help you? Give me examples.
   (b) Why do you think it did not help you?
27. What challenges do you face when you are reading and writing in English in this class?
   (a) What would you like your teacher to do to help you to be a better reader?
   (b) What would you like your teacher to do to help you to be a better writer?
28. What would you like your family to do to help you with reading and writing in English?
29. Tell me what you like best about your school.
30. Tell me what you would like to change about your school.
31. Any other information you would me to know about your English learning and school?

Masaili ya Wanafunzi

Kwa Mwanafunzi,
Asante kwa kushiriki katika utafiti huu.
Ili kuelewa vizuri yale yanayoendelea katika darasa lako, ningependa unijibu maswali yafuatayo kulingana na maoni yako, mwelekeo wako, na uzoefu wa kujifunza kwa lugha ya Kiingereza darasani. Ninakuomba kutoa maoni yako ya ukweli, na kuniambia yote uwezayo. Hakuna majibu sahihi wala yasiyo sahihi. Majibu yako yatatumika tu kwa madhumuni ya utafiti na hayataathiri
matokeo yako ya darasa kwa njia yoyote. Majibu yako pia yatabaki kuwa siri na hayatapashwa kwa mtu yeyote aliye nje ya timu ya utafiti, ikiwa ni pamoja na mwalimu wako. Usiposikia au kuelewa swali, tafadhali niulize nirudie. Je, una swali lolote kabla ya kuendelea? (Mwanafunzi akisema "ndiyo", fafanua utata, lakini akisema "hapana", endelea).

1. Je,wewe unapenda nini katika darasa lako la Kiingereza?
   a.Niambie kuhusu siku ambayo ulipenda sana darasa la Kiingereza
   b.Niambie kuhusu siku ambayo hukupenda darasa la Kiingereza
2. Ni nini hufanya katika madarasa yako ya Kiingereza?

a. Unajifunzaje kuzungumza kwa Kiingereza?

    b. Unajifunzaje kusoma kwa Kiingereza?

    c. Unajifunzaje kuandika kwa Kiingereza?

3. Ni shughuli gani unazofanya wakati wa, a) kuzungumza, b) kusoma, na, c) kuandika?

4. Ni changamoto gani unazokutana nazo katika kujifunza Kiingereza na kimasomo kwa jumla?

5. Je, unatumia lugha ya Kimeru darasani? Kama ndiyo, lini? Kama hapana, kwa nini?

6. Je, unapendelea kuandika kwa lugha gani?

7. Je, unapendelea kusoma kwa lugha gani? Kwa nini?

8. Unaongea lugha gani na wazazi wako?

9. Unaongea lugha gani na ndugu y/zako?

10. Ni shughuli gani za kielimu (kusoma na kuandika) unazoshiriki nje ya shule?

11. Unajionaje kama msomaji, mwandishi, na msemaji wa Kiingereza?

12. Unajionaje kama msomaji, mwandishi na msemaji wa Kiswahili?

13. Unajionaje kama msomaji wa Kimeru? : Msomaji mzuri sana, msomaji sawa, au msomaji mbaya? Kwa nini unafikiri hivyo?

14. Ni wakati gani wewe husoma Kiswahili na Kimeru?

15. Ni vitabu vya aina gani unavyovisoma shuleni? Nyumbani?

16. Unaandika kuhusu nini kwa Kiingereza shuleni? Nyumbani?

17. Umekuwa ukisoma na kuandika katika lugha ya Kiingereza katika darasa hili. Unapenda kusoma na kuandika kuhusu nini katika darasa hili? Kwa nini?

18. Jinsi gani unaweza kuelezea namna kusoma katika lugha ya Kiingereza kulivyo kwako?

19. Je, una uzoefu sawa na huo katika kusoma na kuandika katika lugha ya Kimeru au Kiswahili? Tafadhali eleza.

20. Niambie kuhusu uandishi wako katika darasa hili. Unapenda kuandika kuhusu nini? Kwa nini?

21. Je, unatumia Kimeru au Kiswahili unapoandika katika lugha ya Kiingereza? Kama ndiyo, kwa jinsi gani?

22. Jinsi gani unaweza kujieleza mwenyewe? Je, unajiona kama mwandishi mzuri, sawa au mbaya katika Kiingereza? Kwa nini? Je, unajisikia vivyo hivyo katika lugha za Kiswahili na Kimeru? Eleza.

23. Je, unaposoma kwa Kiingereza hutumia Kimeru au Kiswahili kukusaidia?

24. Ni wakati gani unaweza kutumia Kimeru au Kiswahili? Je, ni kabla ya kusoma, wakati wa kusoma, au baada ya kusoma?

25. Matumizi ya Kimeru au Kiswahili yanakusaidia kwa njia gani kusoma?

26. Wakati mwalimu anapofundisha Hisabati au Sayansi, je, yeye wakati mwingine hutumia Kimeru au Kiswahili kueleza mambo? Je, hiyo hukusaidia kujifunza na kuelewa?

    (a) Ni jinsi gani hiyo ilikusaidia? Nipe mifano.

    (b) Kwa nini unafikiri haikukusaidia?

27. Ni changamoto gani unayopata wakati wa kusoma na kuandika katika lugha ya Kiingereza katika darasa hili?

    (a) Ungependa mwalimu wako afanye nini ili kukusaidia kuwa msomaji bora?

(b) Ungependa mwalimu wako afanye nini ili kukusaidia kuwa mwandishi bora?

28. Ungependa familia yako wafanye nini ili kukusaidia kusoma na kuandika katika lugha ya Kiingereza?

29. Niambie ni nini unapenda sana kuhusu shule yako.

30. Niambie nini ungependa kubadilisha katika shule yako.

31. Je, una habari nyingine zozote ambazo ungependa nijue kuhusu ujifunzaji wa Kiingereza na shule yako kwa jumla?

Appendix B

Parent's Interview Guide

Parent's profession _____

1. When did your child start speaking English?
2. When did your child start reading English
3. When did your child start writing English?
4. How do you describe your child's reading and writing ability in English
5. How well does your child read in English now? What are your child's strengths and weaknesses?
6. How well does your child write in English now? What are your child's strengths and weaknesses?
7. What challenges does your child face in the school?
8. What challenges do you face in your child's schooling?
9. Your child has been reading in English in this grade. Do you think she/he likes to read in English? Why? If she/he does not like reading in this class, what do you think contributes to this situation.
10. How easy or difficult is it for him/her to read/write in English?
11. What are literacy activities that your child participates in outside school? What activities does your child engage in at home? E.g. reading, writing, social activities, watch television, etc.
12. What have the school personnel told you about your child's reading and writing in English?
13. Do you visit your child's classroom? If yes, when? If not, why?
14. What academic materials are available at home for your child?
15. What language(s) does your child speak at home; at the church; with friends?
16. Which language is predominantly used by your child? a. at home b. with peers?
17. What language do you prefer your child to use at home?
18. Which language is your child's most proficient?
19. In your child's school, Kimeru is not used as language of instruction, what is your opinion about this?
20. According to Kenya's National language policy, English should be the language of instruction from standard four, what is your opinion about this?
21. As a parent/guardian, what kind of reading materials would you suggest to the teacher?
22. How do you see your child as a reader in Kimeru/ Kiswahili: a very good reader, an okay reader, or a bad reader? What makes you think that?
    (b) How do you see your child as a reader in English: a very good reader, an okay reader, or a bad reader? What makes you think that?
23. Tell me about your child's writing in this class. What do you think she/he likes to write about? Why? What does she/he not like to write about? Why?
24. What are your views about the teacher using Kimeru/Kiswahili to teach writing in English?
25. What problems do you think the child has when she/he is reading and writing in English in this class?

26. What would you like the teacher to do to help your child to be better reader and a better writer?
27. What do you think the family should do to help the child with English reading and writing? Why?
28. Describe to me your child's experience with English and school as a whole.

Biuria bia Aciari

Ngugi ya Muciari/Mumenyeri _____

1. Ni rii mwanoku ambiririe kuaria Gichunku?
2. Ni rii mwanoku ambiririe kuthoma Gichunku?
3. Ni rii mwanoku ambiririe kuandika Gichunku?
4. Niatia uumba kueleza uweza bwa mwanoku bwa kuthoma na kuandika Gichunku?
5. Niatia mwanoku athamaga Gichunku thaa ii? Nimbi aumbaga muno kana kuremwa muno?
6. Niatia mwanoku aandikaa na Gichuku thaa ii? Nimbi aumbaga muno kana kuremwa muno?
7. Niatia ukuthugania mantu ya kithomo/cukuru ya mwanoku?
8. Ni changamoto iriku mwanoku oonaga mathomone yake?
9. Mwanoku nathomaa na Gichunku kirasine kii. Niukuthugania niendete kuthoma Gichunku? Nii?
10. Niatia aandikaa na kuthoma, ni rahisi kana ti rahisi?
11. Ni changamoto iriku wonaga mathomone ya mwanoku mantu yariku ya kithomo ashughulikaa nayo ome ya cukuru? Ta kuthoma, kuandika, kuchora, kana kuona television.
12. Niatia aritani bakuirite mantu ya mwana oku yakonii kuthoma na kuandika na Gichunku?
13. Niwitaa kirasine kia mwanoku ? kethira yii, rii? kethira ari, nii?
14. Ni mauku yariku yari mucii ywaku ya mwana ya kuthoma?
15. Ni lugha iriku mwanoku aragacia mucii, kanisene, na acore?
16. Ni lugha iriku mwanoku atumaira muno muno mucii, na antu ba nthuki?
17. Ni lugha iriku upendeleaa mwanoku atumira mucii?
18. Ni lugha iriku mwanoku aicii muno?
19. Cukuru ya mwanoku, Kimeru kititumikaa kuritana, nimbi maoni yaku untune buu?
20. Kuringana na sheria cia lugha cia Kenya, Gichunku kibati kutumirwa kuritana kuuma kirasi kia bina. Nimbi maoni yaku untune buu?
21. Uri muciari kana mumenyeri wa mwana, ni mauku yariku ukienda kuira mwarimu acoere mwana?
22. (a) Natia wonaga mwanoku ta muthomi wa Kimeru, Kiswahili? Nimbi gitumi ukuthuania ou?
    (b) Niatia wonaa mwanoku ta muthomi wa Gichunku? Nimbi gitumi ukuthuania ou?
23. Mbira mantu ya kuthoma kwa mwanoku kirasine kii. Nimbi endete kuandika? Nii?
24. Nimbi maoni yaku riria mwarimu atumaira Kimeru kana Kiswahili kritana kuandika na Gichunku?

25. Ni changamoto irirku ukuthugania mwanoku ethairwa enayo riria akuthoma na kuandika na Gichunku?
26. Nimbi ukienda mwarimu athithia kutetheria mwanoku kuthoma na kuandika bwea na Gichunku?
27. Nimbi ukuthuania nja yeku niibati kubuithia kutetheria mwaonku kuthoma na kuandika bwea?
28. Ta mbiira tajriba ya mwanoku na Gichunku na cukuru?

Appendix C

School Principal's Interview Guide

Dear Principal,

Thank you for participating in this study.

In order to better understand the communicative practices in fourth grade classroom, I would like you to respond to the following questions based on your views, perceptions, and experience of language and literacy in this school. You are strongly encouraged to provide your views frankly, and to tell me as much as you can. Your answers will be used solely for research purposes. Your answers will also remain confidential and won't be shared with anyone outside the research team.

1. How long have you been a principal in this school? Have you worked as a principal before this school? (If yes) Where and for how long?
2. When did the school start?
3. What is the enrolment of the school?
4. What is the admission criterion for the school?
5. How many teachers do you have and what are their qualifications?
6. Before you became the principal, what subjects and grades did you teach and for how long?
7. As a principal of the school, with respect to literacy, what are your goals for the students at this school?
8. What elements of these goals are the easiest to reach? Please explain.
9. What elements of these goals are the hardest to reach? Please explain.
10. How is the performance of the school from standard one to eight over the years?
    a. What co-curriculum activities does the school have?
    b. How is the school's performance in co- curriculum competitions?
11. What are the languages of instruction in this school? Who decides language of instruction in the school; does the school adhere to the Gachathi report of 1976?
    a. When does instruction begin in English only?
    b. What role does English language play in the school?
    c. What about Swahili, Kimeru and others?
12. What are your views about the use of Kimeru/Kiswahili in the teaching and learning of reading and writing in English and content areas?
13. As an administration, what challenges do you face in running of the school as regards literacy of the children?
14. What opportunities do you create to improve students' skills in reading and writing in both children's languages and English at school? Please explain.
15. What support do you give teachers to enhance their teaching of reading and writing in English and content areas in English only classrooms? Please explain.
16. What are some of the successes and/or challenges of the language policy, especially with regard to the teaching and learning of reading and writing and content areas at the school in the transitional phase (fourth grade)?
17. How do you think the challenges can be addressed?

18. Overall, share with me your thoughts regarding what you think needs to be done to enhance the successes and improve on the weaknesses in the teaching of content areas and reading, writing and speaking in English.

Principal second interview questions

1. You said Monitor is used to emphasize use of English. Does it help them to speak English better? What are your views about how monitor works?
   a. Do you find monitor silencing the students

2. During lunchtime, children speak their home languages and Kiswahili outside school. How do you see this that the administration wants them to speak school languages but children speak MT?
   a. Do you think students here perceive the importance of speaking English at school?
   b. What is the reason they shift when there is no authority around them?.
3. In teaching content area subjects, sometimes teacher shifts languages to ensure students understand the instructions. What are your views?
4. What does syllabus say?
5. There has been several lessons for preparing students for the end of term exams. What are your views about testing in class 4? How does it take place?

Appendix D

English Teacher's Interview Guide

Today I would like to discuss with you your experiences and views on teaching English to your students. I am interested in learning what teachers experience and their concerns. There is no right or wrong answers. What you share with me are your views and experiences. As I ask you questions, if at any time you do not understand a question, please let me know so that I can clarify the question. Let us start with some general questions about your teaching background.

1. Tell me about your teaching background.
    a. How many years have you been teaching?
    b. What grades and subjects have you been teaching?
    c. How long have you taught this grade?
    d. What is your teaching back ground?
    e. How many languages do you speak? Do you speak the area catchment language?
    f. How would you describe the student's population in your class?
2. What is the role of students' home literacy practices (or home primary language) in your class?
3. How long does it take for the students to learn English language?
4. How long does it take to develop fluency in English?
5. How do you think your students learn best?
6. What has been the hardest thing for you about the English only instruction in fourth grade?
7. You have been teaching and will continue to teach literacy in English to your students. Please share with me your goals for your students at this level. What do you specifically want them to learn before they end the term?
        a. What elements of these goals are the easiest to reach? Please explain.
        b. What elements of these goals are the hardest to accomplish? Please explain.
        c. Why were some goals easier to reach and others more difficult?
8. What language(s) do you use in your class? What role does each language play?
        a. What language (s) do students use in class, playground and at home?
        b. What role, if any, does Kimeru and other home languages play in your students' learning of English? Please explain.
9. Can you think of specific examples where you found using Kimeru to teach reading and writing in English beneficial or not beneficial? Please explain.
10. According to the Kenyan language policy, English should be the medium of instruction from standard four in all schools, what is your opinion about this policy?
11. When do you think the students should be transitioned to English only instruction in all subjects?
12. How does the administration support the language policy and practice in the classroom?
13. Describe to me what happens in your English lesson?
        a. How do you teach speaking of English?

b. How do you teach reading of English?
c. How do you teach writing of English?
d. What activities do students engage in during a) speaking, b) reading, and c) writing lessons?

14. How do you know that the students have understood what you teach them?
15. What materials do you use in your English lessons?
16. What materials are available for the students in English?
17. What are your thoughts regarding the teaching/learning materials used in literacy in this grade?
18. How effective and/or ineffective are these materials in enhancing students' learning of literacy in this grade?
19. What improvements would you like to see regarding the selection of the teaching-learning materials in this class?
20. What things would you like the principal to do to support your teaching of the English language and literacy in this grade? Please explain.
21. What are your teaching guidelines? In terms of how you teach and what you teach? What role does the National syllabus play and language policy documents?
22. In teaching literacy in this grade, what strategies and/or skills have you found to be most beneficial to your students? What has not helped the students as much as you might have hoped? Please explain?
23. As you continue teaching literacy in English in this grade, what are some of the things you would like to improve on? Why? Please be as specific as possible.
24. Imagine someone has come to visit your classroom and they are observing one of your English lessons. Share with me what that person would observe.
25. Please explain why you approach literacy instruction in English the way you do. What drives your decision-making?
26. What challenges do you face in your English teaching?
27. What would you suggest the parents do to enhance their children's learning to read and write in general and in English in particular?
28. Please share with me the support that the parents give their children in their learning of the English language and literacy.
29. What would you change if you could? Please explain
30. Do you have any other information, which may help me in learning about language teaching in your school and in Kenya?

English Teacher Interview 2
1. From my observation children speak MT as opposed to English only policy enforced by the school. What are your views?
2. You mentioned the use of monitor for language use control purposes in this school. How is monitor used in enforcing English language speaking in fourth grade classroom?
3. What is the role of MT in this school?
4. Some students in fourth grade cannot write intelligible texts in English. What is your opinion concerning teaching writing in English only to these students?
5. Considering the current local setting, rural setting, what are your views of literacy learning of the fourth graders in English language?

a. What do you think about the students' attainment of literacy in English only by fourth grade?
6. Looking at fourth grade students, what are your views about their English proficiency?
7. In your teaching have you had a situation where students don't understand instructions that are in English?
8. In situations when you give instructions and you realize they have not understood; what do you do?
   a. Have you found yourself translating for the students?
9. Some kids have very low proficiency in English based on their writing samples. What do you think as teacher should be done to make the child's English competence match the expected outcome?
10. Students find it difficult to respond to WH- questions. If asked why they respond in Kiswahili or remain silent. How the students be engaged in responding in English?
11. There are times when students remain silent when you ask questions. Why do you think this happens during the question and answer session of the lesson?
12. In your views, do you think English only at the beginning of fourth grade is appropriate in the rural schools?
13. You mentioned that students like English so much. Why do you think students have a liking for English yet they don't perform well?
    a. Do you think fourth graders have already perceived the benefits of English?
14. What is the community view of LOI?

Appendix E

Science Teacher Interview

Today I would like to discuss with you your experiences and views on teaching math or science to your students. I am interested in learning what teachers experience and their concerns. Therefore, there is no right or wrong answers. What you share with me are your views and experiences. In case at any time you do not understand a question, please let me know so that I can clarify the question. Let us start with some general questions about your teaching background.

1. Tell me about your teaching background.
    a) How many years have you been teaching?
    b) What grades and subjects have you been teaching?
    c) How long have you taught this grade?
    d) What is your teaching back ground?
    e) How many languages do you speak? Do you speak the area catchment language?
    f) How would you describe the student's population in your class?
2. What languages do the students in your class speak?
3. Do the community languages play any role in your class during the math/science lessons? If yes, what role? If no, why?
4. What are your goals and objectives for math/science?
5. What activities do children engage in during the science/math period?
6. What is your opinion concerning the English only policy in the school/classroom?
7. What do you do if you realize the children do not understand what you are talking about in English? For example, if they don't understand your instructions.
8. How do you assess students' language competence? In what ways do you accommodate their English language levels?
9. Do you feel you need to adapt any materials or means of instruction to meet the needs of your students? What do you do?
10. Describe your experience teaching students math or science in English.
11. What do you see as the role of their native language in learning math/science in English? (e.g., is it important to allow students to use it when needed?)
12. What types of tests do you use in your class? How do you make any accommodations for students with differing English language proficiency?
13. What is your overall perception of the English only instruction at the start of fourth grade in this school? Do you feel that the objectives for learning math/science are met?
14. What do you perceive as the challenges/successes you have experienced as a teacher of math/science to English language learners?

Science Teacher Interview 2
1. What do you perceive as the challenges/successes you have experienced as a teacher of science to English language learners?

2. You mentioned earlier that language of instruction presents a challenge. How do you deal with the linguistic challenges in teaching science?
3. In the teaching of science, I realized you at some point found yourself teaching English, grammar. Why do you do that, and, how often?
4. You have mentioned that if students cannot respond to questions correctly, you reteach the lesson. Could you share an incidence where you had to reteach a topic? Which language(s) did you use?
5. You have been using different languages in teaching science. What are the indicators to you as a teacher that now I need to shift language? Is it voluntarily or planned?
6. Students are supposed to use English only in classroom. However during science lessons some students responded in their home languages. Why do the do that?

Format of the interview: I will keep defining the situation through a conversation by following these general questions.
- Could you say something more about …?
- Can you give a more detailed description of …?
- Can you give a more detailed description of how …?
- Do you have further examples of …?
- I would now like to introduce another topic: …
- You then mean that….?
- What do you mean by …?
- Does the expression… cover what you have just expressed

Appendix F

The Writing Rubric

1. Grammar/punctuation

Grammar/punctuation category focuses on tenses, subject-verb agreement, capitalization, and other punctuation marks. (Use of conventional and appropriate punctuation to indicate the structure and organization of the text to aid the reader)

2. **Sentence complexity** (authorial) how sentence or sentence parts are constructed. Sentence complexity deals with a variety of sentence structures, including simple, compound, and complex sentences.

3. Spelling

Accuracy, complexity of words attempted (pre-phonetic and phonetic) use of orthographic patterns and spelling rules.

4. **Rhetorical style/text structure**

The rhetorical style category includes word choice (vocabulary-range and precision of word choices. e.g. everyday language, topic, specific language, descriptive language), coherence (on how the students used transitional words and other cohesive devices to enhance coherence among the different parts of their stories), organization (structure, introduction, conclusion), and events/ideas.

5. Voice

Distinctive personal tone, use of a rich variety of descriptive and lively language (including figurative language) hyperbole, metaphor, personification, simile), and varied sentence structure to maintain the readers engagement.
emotions, opinions.

6. Translanguaging

This category simply indicates whether or not the students use translanguaging strategies in their writing. This includes use of different languages in one piece of writing.

1. Grammar/Punctuation

Score of 5 – Advanced

The student uses language conventions such as capitalization and punctuation appropriately. The student uses more than basic punctuation including commas, semicolons, colons, question marks and exclamation marks. The student capitalizes proper nouns as well as the first word in a sentence consistently. The student's writing exhibits subject-verb agreement.

Score of 4 – Grade-level

The student uses language conventions such as punctuation appropriately. The student's writing exhibits subject-verb agreement.

Score of 3 – Approaching grade-level

The student uses basic language conventions appropriately and exhibits correct use of subject-verb agreement most of the time. Errors do not interfere with the reader's comprehension of the text.

Score of 2 – Developing competence

The student uses capitalization and punctuation inconsistently. Lack of subject agreement may interfere with reader's comprehension of the text.

Score of 1 – Below grade-level
The student does not use capitalization and punctuation. Lack of subject –verb agreement interferes with reader's comprehension of the text.

2. Sentence Complexity

Score of 5 – Advanced
Student uses a variety of types of sentences including simple, compound, and complex (one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses) sentences

Score of 4 – Grade-level
Student frequently uses sentences of varying lengths and structure that may include simple, compound, and/or complex (one independent and one or more dependent clauses) sentences.

Score of 3 – Approaching grade-level
Student uses simple sentences correctly. There is some attempt at varying length and structure.

Score of 2 – Developing competence
The student uses run-on sentences or sentence fragments that may interfere with the reader's comprehension.

Score of 1 – Below grade-level
The student's lack of sentence structure interferes with the reader's comprehension.

3. Rhetorical style

Score of 5- advanced
The student demonstrates clear organization including a beginning, middle, and ending with an effective introduction and conclusion. Major points or events are appropriately paragraphed. There is clear flow (coherence) and logic to the order of events (narrative) or the points given (expository). the student develops the main points or main events in the paper thoroughly with relevant support and elaboration. this may include details, personal reactions, anecdotes, and or quotes/dialogue. The writer also includes second order ideas giving an explanation of the importance/value of the examples/evidence given.

Score of 4-competent
The student has clear organization with an effective introduction and conclusion. Major points or events are appropriately paragraphed. There is adequate flow and logic to the students writing. The student includes adequate support and elaboration, but there is not a rich use of different types of details, etc.

Score of 3 – Average
The student has a clear organization with an effective introduction and conclusion. Major points or events are appropriately paragraphed. There is adequate flow and logic to the student's writing. The student includes basic information and some support and elaboration for points or events.

Score of 2 –below average
There is general lack of focus. There are some difficulties with flow that interfere with the reader's ability to understand the text. The student includes basic information and some support and elaboration for points or events.

Score of 1-poor
There is no organization or focus.
There is no support or elaboration

4. Voice

Score of 5-advanced

There is a distinctive, personal tone-writers voice is present. The student uses a rich variety of descriptive and lively language including figurative languages-hyperbole, metaphor, personification, simile), precise verbs and varied sentence structure to maintain readers engagement.

Score of 4-competent

There is a distinctive, personal tone, a writers voice is present. The student frequently uses descriptive and lively language including figurative languages-hyperbole, metaphor, personification, simile), precise verbs and varied sentence structure to maintain readers engagement.

Score of 3 –average

There is a personal tone-a writers voice is present. There is evidence of descriptive and lively language including figurative languages-hyperbole, metaphor, personification, simile), precise verbs and varied sentence structure to maintain readers engagement.

Score of 2-average

There is little evidence of the writer's voice. Student tends to summarize, retell without using descriptive language or figurative language. There is lack of variety in sentence structure.

Score 1-poor

There is no evidence of writer's voice.

<div align="center">**Appendix G**</div>

Consent Letter for School Principal
April 5, 2014

Dear Principal,

My name is Lydiah Kananu Kiramba and I am a Ph.D student in the department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. I would like to invite you to participate in a research project on communicative practices in a fourth grade classroom. For this project I will be supervised by Professor Violet Harris.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Your participation will involve an audio recorded interview. The audio recorded materials will be transcribed and coded to remove your name and will be erased after the project is completed.

The results of this study may be used for a dissertation, a scholarly report, and journal article and conference presentation. Pseudonyms will be substituted for the names of participants in the project.

Given our commitment to the confidentially of individual responses, we believe there are no risks to individuals participating in this study beyond those risks that exist in daily life. If you have any questions, you can call me at 217-6931574 or e-mail me at kiramba1@illinois.edu, or e-mail Prof. Harris at 217-333 3057 or vjharris@illinois.edu or you can ask me questions when I come to your class. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaint, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 (collect calls will accepted if you identify yourself as a research participant) or via email at irb@illinois.edu. If you would wish to participate, please complete the information below.

Sincerely,
Lydiah Kiramba   Professor, Violet Harris,
2176931574   217 333 3057
Kiramba1@illinois.edu   vjharris@illinois.edu

I give permission to participate in an interview and be audio recorded during the interview (please circle one) YES   NO

<center>**Appendix H**</center>

Teacher's Consent

April 5, 2014

Dear teacher,

My name is Lydiah Kananu Kiramba and I am a Ph.D student in the department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. I would like to invite you and your fourth grade students to participate in a research project on communicative practices in the classroom. For this project I will be supervised by Professor Violet Harris. You must be a math, English or science teacher to participate.

The purpose of this study is to find out more about communicative practices in the fourth grade classroom. If you decide to participate in the project, I would observe your lessons in the classroom for a period of four months; three days a week. I would then write up field notes about my observations and audio record students' interactions during the period for the purposes of the project. The teaching interactions with the students will also be audio recorded, and the students' in-class writing will be photocopied apart from their tests. Participation also involves two individual interviews with you, which will take approximately 30 minutes each.

Your participation is completely voluntary. This means that you can decide whether or not you want to do this project. Also you don't have to answer any question you don't wish to answer in the interview. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason.

All your responses will be kept strictly confidential. Your interview will be audio recorded for transcription only. When I transcribe your audio recording, I will change any information that you provide that would identify you, and I will erase your voice after I finish transcribing. The results of the study may be used for a scholarly reports, journal articles and conference presentation.

In addition to your permission, each child will also be asked if he or she would like to take part in this project. Only those children who have parental permission and who want to participate will do so, and any child may stop taking part at any time. This means I will only audio record students in the classroom if they agree and if their parents agree.

I do not anticipate any risk to this study greater than normal life and I anticipate that the results will increase my understanding of the communicative practices (speaking, reading, writing, etc.) in the classroom. A benefit to you for your participation is the opportunity to openly discuss and reflect on communicative practices in the classroom. A broader benefit of your participation is that this study will produce knowledge that will be useful to teachers of fourth grade on workable strategies for ensuring comprehensible

<center>367</center>

input content areas taught in a foreign language/ second language. This may help other teachers and pupils learning in general. The observations are not part of the children's school record and won't be specifically shared with the school administrators.

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 (collect calls will be accepted if you identify yourself as a research participant) or via email at irb@illinois.edu

The IRB is a group of people that reviews research studies to make sure they are safe for participants.

If you would wish to participate, please complete the information below. You may have a copy of this consent form to keep.

Sincerely,

Lydiah Kiramba   Professor, Violet Harris,
2176931574   217 333 3057
Kiramba1@illinois.edu   vjharris@illinois.edu

I give permission to have the interview audio recorded (please circle one): YES   NO
I give permission to be observed in class (please circle one): YES   NO
I give permission to have class discourses audio recorded (please circle one): YESNO
I am 18 years or older and a fourth grade teacher of Gichunge primary school (please circle one): YES   NO

Signature _____
Date   _____
Print name _____

<center>**Appendix I**</center>

Consent Letter for Parents of a Minor
April 5, 2014

Dear Parent,

My name is Lydiah Kananu Kiramba and I am a Ph.D student in the department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. I would like to invite you and your fourth grade child along with his or her classmates to participate in a research project on communicative practices in the classroom. The communicative practices are the reading, writing and speaking activities. The classroom conversations will be audio recorded, and an interview with your child on communicative practices (speaking, writing, reading) he/she engages in the classroom will be done. I will also want to copy some of your child's school work as part of this research. Your participation will involve one interview approximately 45 minutes. For this project I will be supervised by Professor Violet Harris.

I do not anticipate any risks to your child beyond those they experience in their normal day at school. I anticipate that the results will increase my understanding of the literacy practices that take place in the classroom. You and your child's participation in this project is completely voluntary. In addition to your permission, your child will also be asked if he or she would like to take part in this project. Only those children who want to participate will do so, and any child may stop taking part at any time. You are also free to withdraw your permission for your child's participation at any time and for any reason without penalty. These decisions will have no effect on your future relationship with the school or your child's status or grades.

The information that is obtained during this research project will be kept strictly confidential and will not become a part of your child's school record. Any sharing or publication of the research results will not identify any of the participants by name.

All your responses will be kept strictly confidential. The interview and class discussions will be audio recorded for transcription only. When I transcribe the audio recording, I will change any information that you or your child provides that would identify you, and I will erase your voice after I finish transcribing. The results of the study may be used for a scholarly report, journal article and conference presentation.

Given our commitment to the confidentially of individual responses, we believe there are no risks to children participating in this study. If you have any questions, you can call me at 217-6931574 or e-mail me at kiramba1@illinois.edu, or e-mail Prof. Harris at 217-333 3057 or vjharris@illinois.edu or you can ask me questions when I come to your school. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

If you have any questions about your or your child's rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional

<center>369</center>

Review Board at 217-333-2670 (collect calls will be accepted if you identify yourself as a research participant) or via email at irb@illinois.edu

Sincerely,

Lydiah Kiramba   Professor, Violet Harris,
2176931574   217 333 3057
Kiramba1@illinois.edu   vjharris@illinois.edu

I give permission to participate in interview and be audio recorded during interview
(please circle one) YES   NO
I give permission for my child _____ (name of child) to
participate in the research project described above (please circle one). YES   NO
_____Date _____Parent's signature
I give permission for my child to participate in interview and be audio recorded during
interview (please circle one) YES   NO
I give permission for my child to be observed in class (please circle one): YES   NO
I give permission for my child's written products to be used for this project (please circle
one)
YES   NO
I give permission for my child to be audio recorded while working with his/her
classmates on reading, writing and speaking activities in English, math and science
lessons (please circle one) YES   NO
I give permission for my child _____ (name of child) to
participate in the above listed activities (please circle one). YES   NO
_____Date _____Parent's signature

Student Assent Letter
April 5, 2014
Dear Student,

My name is Lydiah Kananu Kiramba and I am a Ph.D student in the department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. I would like to invite you and your classmates to participate in a research project on reading, writing, and speaking practices in the classroom. I will find out more on the activities you engage in the classroom during your English, math and science lessons. I will be in your class three days a week for four months.

You can decide if you want to take part or not. Also, your parents/guardians will also be asked if they would like for you to take part in this study. Only students who have their parents'/guardians' permission and who want to take part will do so. Any student may stop taking part at any time and for any reason without penalty. Your decision will have no effect on your relationship with your teacher, or your grades. Participation also involves an individual interview that should take approximately 30 minutes and will be audio recorded. Additionally, your in-class written work will be photocopied for use in this study.

The information that I get during this project will be kept strictly confidential and will not become a part of your record. Any sharing of my notes will not identify your name. I look forward to working with your class and I think that my research will be enjoyable for you as I investigate how you learn.

If you have any questions, you can ask me when I come to your classroom.

Sincerely,

Lydiah Kiramba
2176931574
Kiramba1@illinois.edu

I give permission to participate in interview and be audio recorded during interview (please circle one) YES   NO
I give permission to be observed in class (please circle one): YES   NO
I give permission for my in-class English, math and science written exercises to be used for this project (please circle one)
YES   NO
I give permission to be audio recorded while working with my classmates on reading, writing and speaking activities in English, math and science lessons (please circle one)
YES   NO

Student's signature _____

Date   _____
Print name _____