

Examining the linguistic and multicultural practices of refugee children in a primary school in Cyprus: A sociocultural approach to language learning

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Statement of originality

I, Alexandra Georgiou confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where confirmation has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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December, 2019

Signature:

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Abstract

As a result of the 2015 refugee crisis, classrooms in the Republic of Cyprus are now becoming more linguistically and culturally diverse. Cyprus, as one of the neighbouring host countries, should be working on developing the appropriate conditions for the educational support of children with refugee trajectories. Following a sociocultural approach to second language learning, this ethnographic study is the first to provide empirical evidence of the linguistic and multicultural practices that a group of refugee primary school children develop in order to learn the target language (Greek) and also to become members of their learning community. The data come from an in-depth analysis of spoken classroom interactions and semi-structured interviews following a discourse analysis approach. The study suggests that multilingual research in education settings presupposes reflecting on participants' multilingual complexities and that is why a multilingual transcription and presentation of spoken discourse is provided. Multimodal artefacts were also examined and provided valuable insights for children's learning. The findings suggest that children experienced their languages coming together holistically and used them in a flexible way that mediated their learning and communicative interactions. The linguistic practices derived from this juxtaposition of languages were code-switching, translating and repeating. These linguistic practices were seen as scaffolding tools that enhanced children's learning of Standard Modern Greek, as the interactional data provide ample evidence of children's metalinguistic awareness. This study also provides examples of good teaching practices and considers that, when classrooms are seen as sites of multilingualism, refugee children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds become visible tools and have positive learning outcomes not only for the minority but also for the majority of learners. I argue that the understanding of the Communities of Practices concept goes beyond assimilationist perspectives on learning as the data suggest that this flexible use of linguistic and multicultural resources enabled the participants' roles to be reversed. I show that refugee children were not only expected to join in with the school's learning practices, but their linguistic and cultural experiences were actively implemented in the learning process. Thus, in some cases, the majority of children also needed to claim their legitimacy during teaching. The study considers pedagogical implications and emphasises the need for a better understanding of issues of multilingual education for policy makers, researchers and educators in Cyprus and beyond to recognise the rich value of children's available linguistic repertoires. This recognition will not only provide opportunities for language learning but will also add to the multilingual discourse that aims for social justice in education and wider society.

Impact statement

This ethnographic case study is the first to examine and shed light on the linguistic practices of a group of marginalised children (refugee) in Cyprus in primary education and, thus, bridges a gap in the literature. The results of this study show that, when children participate in contexts where multilingualism is seen as an asset, they can then develop linguistic practices that aid their learning of the new language. This study contributes to the body of literature in Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics but offers the addition of the sociocultural framework when it comes to knowledge construction and allows it to move beyond a descriptive sociolinguistics analysis of language use and return to the roots of knowledge construction. I have also highlighted the multilingual aspect of research as I have transcribed and translated spoken discourse drawing on a systematic representation that provides a fine-grained analysis not only of the linguistic features but also of content. This fine-grained analysis has methodological implications in the field, as collecting, analysing and representing multilingual data in participants' original languages lies in the essence of multilingual ethnographic research that advocates for participants' authentic voices to be visible.

In terms of wider societal implications, this study has a direct local impact on policy. The data argue for an implementation of a multilingual approach in teaching where children participate in contexts where their linguistic and cultural backgrounds are not only being valued but actively embedded in the learning process. Its implications should be of particular importance for directors at the Pedagogical Institute in Cyprus working towards developing policy documents, designing training workshops in second language teaching for primary school teachers, and designing resources that are intended to support the education of refugee children. The findings of this study should also prove to have an impact in terms of informing education policy in other countries that deal with similar phenomena within their educational settings.

The findings of this study have been disseminated in academic audiences locally and internationally through conferences and have engendered fruitful discussions. The findings have also been published in selected journals and books. The next step is to design collaborative projects on a larger scale that further deepen our understanding of how other countries support refugee children's language education.

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List of Abbreviations

SCT	Sociocultural Theory of Learning
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development
CoP	Communities of Practice
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
CG	Cypriot Greek
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
CS	Code-Switching

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale for the study

My interests in both language and education lie behind my decision to explore one of the most significant changes in migration patterns for Cyprus in recent times: the arrival of new groups of migrants mainly from the Middle East. By new groups of migrants, I mean the children of refugee and asylum seekers who have recently arrived on the island because of conflict in their country and who have limited knowledge of the Standard Modern Greek (SMG) language or the Cypriot-Greek dialect (CG).

The 2011 Middle East crisis found Europe unprepared in terms of administration, policy, economy and, last but not least, education. For Cyprus, the most crucial periods were between the years of 2015-2017 as it experienced a massive influx compared to the fact that it is an island of less than one million residents and that is why the education of refugee children is a new topic in the field of language learning and education, not just in the Cypriot context but internationally. The Asylum Service of Cyprus (2019) reported that, to date, Cyprus has accepted more than 20,000 applications from asylum seekers and people who seek protection. These are mainly people who come from Syria, Iraq and Somalia who seek temporary residency as they see Cyprus as an interim country for their life journey. However, recently, Cyprus has become a final destination as countries in central Europe refuse to accept more refugees, asylum seekers and migrants. The authorities are striving to develop the appropriate mechanisms to respond to the new societal demands and this is a situation of particular importance at this time for educational institutions as they struggle with the challenges of this new wave of migration.

As a practitioner primary school teacher in Cyprus in 2013, I had experience of this phenomenon from the teacher's perspective, and I found it very difficult to include and support, linguistically, newly arrived migrant children. These new realities raised some experiential questions, such as: How can I help these children? Will I be able to cope? What languages do they speak? Are they literate in their first language? Where can I get help/information about this kind of situation? It appears that I was not the only one raising these questions, as there is no rigorous policy for guiding children who do not speak Greek and teachers do not have the necessary training to cope with the linguistic diversities in their classrooms. Back in 2013, I happened to have two newly arrived migrant children. These two boys always sat together, and the Cypriot-Greek children used to call them *'τα παιδιά που μόλις ήρθαν'* (the children that just came). I used to approach these children, hoping that I could help them, but the Cypriot-Greek children kept saying to me *'κυρία εν μιλούν'*

Ελληνικά' (*Miss they don't speak Greek*). In other words, they were telling me not to bother engaging with these children. Despite their linguistic differences, however, these two children were willing to participate and interact with the other children. The Cypriot-Greek children were also very keen to guide and assist them, which made me feel less guilty, but I always knew that this was not enough. After my teaching experience in Cyprus, I decided to investigate language and its difficulties through undertaking an MA at the IOE. This was focused on Literacy Learning and Literacy Difficulties and, hence, shed light on children's practices that lead to language development. This kind of engagement with the academic literature raised more questions about communicative approaches and multilingualism with a focus on refugee and migrant children. Beyond my MA, another point that triggered my awareness in linguistic practices among migrant children was my teaching experience in multicultural schools in the UK. Specifically, I had the opportunity to witness some good practices in a school in West London where I was working as a primary school teacher. I saw teachers' appreciation and support for a wide range of linguistic backgrounds (Somali, Polish and Punjabi languages) and children's collaborative learning within the classroom setting.

As a result, my academic and professional experiences led me to research in-depth the linguistic practices among newly arrived refugee children in a Cypriot primary education setting. My aim is to first describe and interpret refugee children's linguistic practices and the conditions that support their participation in the classroom context and then theorise them as tools for enhancing language learning and, hence, to contribute to the existing discussion regarding classroom research concerning the target population of children.

Since I consider multilingualism as the linguistic phenomenon that frames this study, in the next section I take into account how the role of repertoire shapes my understanding regarding multilingualism and unpack terms such as 'repertoire', 'language' and 'linguistic practices', which allows for a deeper understanding of my position on language use.

1.2 The repertoire approach to multilingualism

Cenoz and Gorter (2011, p. 401) define multilingualism as 'the process of acquisition, knowledge or use of several languages by individuals or by language communities in a specific geographical area'. However, scholars such as Creese and Blackledge (2011), and Busch (2015) move beyond that and offer a perspective that embraces a more social turn regarding language use and learning. In this study, I follow a repertoire approach to multilingualism, which not only moves beyond the fixed categorisation of languages but refers to the use of participants' linguistic repertoires by taking into account their personal

trajectories and the ways that these repertoires have been used in different periods of their lives. That said, users are not expected to fully master their available linguistic repertoires in order to be seen as multilinguals that are able to communicate and learn. Furthermore, multilinguals do not always acquire new languages in a linear way in the sense that their knowledge of a new language is added after they have fully mastered one language, but, rather, their repertoire is an amalgam of the different languages that exist in their disposal. At this point, it is important to clarify that in this study, I chose to use the term 'second language' to refer to refugee children's learning of Greek for ease of reference, but I acknowledge that Greek may be children's third or fourth language.

In regards to repertoire, this sociolinguistic concept is associated with the work of Gumperz (1964), *Linguistic and social interaction in two communities* where he used it to describe the practices of code-switching among speech communities in North India and Norway. This concept also links to Hymes' (1972) notion of communicative competence, where he took into account the social aspect of language use and used the term 'communicative competence' to show that languages are learnt and used based on the social context. Snell (2013, p.115) provides a recent understanding and moves beyond linguistic structures on what counts as a repertoire. She proposes that 'repertoire refers to the set of resources that a speaker can actually commands' as it is about the ability of speakers to mix their resources, i.e., the languages that a speaker can draw on. Consequently, 'repertoire' is a broader term than the term 'language' as it describes the various ways that a user can draw on for meaning making. By meaning making I refer to the production of language (spoken or written, along with other semiotic resources) that is the result of a dialogic process with the self or with others (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995; Blackledge & Creese, 2009). By linguistic repertoire, I refer to the different languages that refugee children rely on to negotiate meaning. Standard Modern Greek (SMG), Cypriot-Greek dialect (CG), English and children's family languages are part of their linguistic repertoire. Perhaps none of these languages are their dominant one, but they are available for them to draw on to negotiate meaning with different people in different domains, such as at school, with their family and in their community.

A seminal scholar that leads the repertoire approach is Busch, whose article titled: *Expanding the notion of the linguistic repertoire - The Lived experience of Language* (2015), takes into account how recent phenomena, such as frequent mobility and migration, affect people's practices when their linguistic environment is changing. Busch stresses how this change can have a negative effect on people who already carry trauma and such change may bring to the surface horrific experiences. Following a biographical approach, Busch

locates repertoire in correlation with the self and the other, by which I understand that, based on peoples' personal experiences, their repertoires are used to encompass their relation to a given social environment at a given moment in their lives. Blommaert & Backus (2013) also relate people's personal trajectories with the development of their repertoires and argue that languages do not develop in a linear way, but the different points of people's lives define their exposure to them. Experiencing repertoire holistically and unevenly is crucial because of participants', especially migrants' and refugees', interrupted life trajectories. This particular point resonates with my study's participants who have recently moved from one linguistic environment to another and are required to participate in a community where their own repertoires are not at the surface. One of the purposes of education should be to be able to value and incorporate children's linguistic repertoires into the learning process.

Following this notion, this study uses the terms of 'language', 'linguistic repertoire' and 'variety' in an interchangeable way that refers to people's available resources that they draw on to make meaning.

As for the interpretation of the concept of language learning, this is unpacked in Chapter 3, where I discuss the theoretical framework on language learning. However, it is important to state what Li (2005) argues that there is no clear answer on what language is, as it can be understood from multiple perspectives. From a linguistics perspective, it is a system, which is divided into phonology, morphology, vocabulary, grammar, syntax and pragmatics, but from a sociocultural perspective, language can be seen as a social semiotic tool that is used as a resource that allows learners to communicate and become aware of linguistic structures. Gray (2016) offers a useful definition in which he claims that language is 'a set of culturally determined semiotic resources for the making of personal and social meanings' (ibid, p. 225). Thus, language goes beyond fixed categorisations which means that learners can experience language as resources that are meaningfully incorporated for meaning making in socially situated contexts. When it comes to language learning in terms of schooling, Gibbons (2015) refers to aspects of learning related to the four elements, which we understand as listening, speaking, reading and writing. Gibbons (2015) explains that listening is related to phonemic awareness, speaking about word formation and phonological awareness, writing about the use of script, and reading about comprehension. However, all these aspects are interrelated and not limited to the list above, but it is a useful way of understanding the different elements that make up language learning in terms of schooling. In this study, language learning is not only about producing the correct form of language grammatically, but it is about being able to use the new language in a way that scaffolds learning and enables the becoming of a member of a learning community.

Ochs (1996) describes linguistic practices as resources for developing social and cultural competence, while I see them as practices that people deploy that allow them to draw on all their available linguistic repertoires to make meaning in socially situated activities. Paugh (2012) gives examples of linguistic practices such as code-switching, verbal play and teasing. In terms of schooling, what children do within the classroom context to communicate and learn the new language. For this study, the term 'practices' is used to refer to linguistic and non-linguistic activities that the children and their teachers participate in to support their language learning. Even though I am placing emphasis on the spoken discourse of practices, some literacy practices - mainly focused on writing - are also examined. All these terms are taken into consideration when examining a multilingual situation in a community and, in this case, the classroom communities under study are representative examples of multilingualism where different linguistic repertoires come into contact.

The following paragraph sets out the research aims and questions that guide this study in relation to multilingualism and the education of newly arrived refugee children in Cyprus.

1.3 Research aims and questions

The aim of this study is to bridge the gap in the existing literature by critically reviewing previous studies and contributing to the field of second language learning and education with empirical data by drawing on a sociocultural framework in language learning to analyse and present the practices of a group of refugee children. I also aim to provide evidence that would stimulate new thinking around policies regarding learning support for newly arrived refugee children. The following questions drive this study:

1. What are the linguistic repertoires of refugee children in a Cypriot primary school?
2. What are the linguistic practices deployed by refugee children and how do these facilitate the learning of Standard Modern Greek in the classroom domain?
3. What multicultural practices arise and what semiotic resources are mobilised in the classroom and how do these facilitate refugee children's learning of Standard Modern Greek and their social participation in the classroom?
4. What are the implications of this study for developing an inclusive curriculum in refugee recipient settings?

These questions raise important issues in the areas of language and education for these minority children. The questions are geared towards facilitating the theorisation of children's

linguistic practices, as little is known about how these children acquire the new language (Greek) and the language practices they develop. It is argued that a comprehensive review of the existing literature along with the identification and analysis of multilingual children's linguistic practices is central to understanding the current situation in the field. Through addressing these questions, I aim to contribute to knowledge on the social aspect of language learning among refugee children and how their linguistic practices are developed through the everyday social interactions which they need to use as tools for mediating their learning. Specifically, my study provides evidence about the linguistic and multicultural practices among a group of seven newly arrived refugee children between the ages of 10-12 in two mainstream classrooms in a rural area in Cyprus. An additional aim of this study is to reveal how one European country's primary sector is coping with this new phenomenon and, through the identification and analysis of refugee children's linguistic practices, shed light on the linguistic resources that such children draw on to make meaning while interacting with peers and teachers.

1.4 Significance of the study

The significance of this study lies in the fact that, through fine-grained analysis of classroom discourse, it provides evidence of a phenomenon that has not been examined yet, which is refugee children's linguistic and multicultural practices in mainstream education when learning the language of the host country. At the moment, there are no studies unpacking episodes of mainstream classroom teaching drawing on sociocultural approaches to language learning.

Another important aspect is the incorporation of Sociocultural Theory of Learning (SCT) as the main theoretical lens, as I was not restricted to a sociolinguistic description, and this allowed space for pedagogical implications because I went back to the roots of learning which is embedded in social interaction. The findings reveal flexibilised roles of classrooms' communities of practice when it comes to learning as when all children's linguistic and cultural resources are embedded during teaching can create learning opportunities for all.

A methodological significance of this study is that I conducted a multilingual ethnographic research that lies in the essence of the field of Applied Linguistics as by collecting, analysing and representing multilingual data in participants' dominant languages it allowed for rich and authentic data to emerge and to be interpreted.

The study should inform teaching and learning practices as the findings occurred within a mainstream school and not in the second or foreign language classroom, and the participants were not settled minorities but refugees whose transition to the new context was not pleasant and, in some cases, traumatic. These factors highlight the fact that today's Cypriot schools are becoming more and more heterogeneous and that there is a need for more thoughtful and tailored educational policies.

1.5 Mapping the thesis

The thesis is organised into eight main chapters. In chapter one I presented the rationale behind this study, I described the repertoire approach to multilingualism, I demonstrated the research aims and questions, and I illustrated the significance of the study.

In chapter two, I present the multilingual situation of the Cypriot context and how this has developed over time with a reference to its diglossic context. I then refer to the two main factors that contributed to the Cypriot multilingual context, the influx of migrants and the Middle East crisis and I then refer to the educational policies that have been introduced for the support of linguistic minorities. I finally review studies in the Cypriot educational sector that focused on the support of multilingual learners and identify the gaps in the local context. I conclude the chapter with a small summary on the main points that I discussed.

Chapter three focuses on the literature review, where I present the theoretical framework that shapes my understanding when it comes to second language learning, which is Sociocultural Theory (SCT). Drawing on the Sociocultural Theory, I provide an extensive interpretation of Vygotsky's main ideas such as mediation and the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), and also of Vygotskian inspired concepts such as Communities of Practice (CoP) and peer scaffolding to explain the social nature of language learning. I then review educational studies on the development of cultural and linguistic awareness and studies that fall under the SCT umbrella that examined how the linguistic practices of code-switching, translating and repeating were used by multilingual learners in enhancing their learning of a new language. I then specifically review the current literature on what we know so far about the education of refugee children and, in doing so, I identify the gaps in the literature which I aim to fill with this study. I conclude the literature review with a summary on the main theoretical issues discussed.

Chapter four outlines the methodological approach that this study incorporates by situating myself within the interpretive paradigm and explaining the reasons why I have chosen an

ethnographic approach for data collection. After supporting my theoretical stance on methodology, I present the research site and the seven main participants in this study. I then present the ethnographic data collection tools that I used to gather the data, including: fieldnotes, recorded interactions in the classroom, interviews with the teachers and all the children and, finally, the collection of physical artefacts from the classroom setting. I then describe the data analysis approaches that I incorporated for the analysis of the data and I also refer to issues of reflexivity by providing a reflection about myself as a researcher in the field. Finally, I discuss issues around ethics, especially with regards to working with vulnerable children and finish the chapter with a small summary.

Chapter five is the first chapter of findings and considers learners' available linguistic repertoires such as Standard Modern Greek (SMG), Arabic, Cypriot-Greek (CG), English and Farsi, and their flexible use within the classroom domain. Following a repertoire approach, I argue that the classroom reality of this school allowed space for children to flexibly navigate between their linguistic repertoires to not only support their Greek language learning but to also to portray their shared linguistic affiliations. I conclude the chapter by providing a summary on the ways that children's flexible use of their linguistic repertoires allowed them to use languages purposefully and accommodate their learning needs.

Chapter six presents the linguistic practices that arise from children's flexible use of their linguistic resources: translating, code-switching and repeating. Through the use of translation, refugee children showed evidence of advanced Greek learners that support each other's meaning making. The role of the school translator was also deemed to be a catalyst for children being able to mediate their learning. Through the use of code-switching, children showed evidence of metalinguistic awareness and also evidence of being able to maintain communication with their peers and teachers. Through repetition, refugee children were able to experiment with the Greek language and extend their production of it. I conclude the chapter with a summary on the ways that these three practices were used as a scaffolding tool that allowed learners to move beyond their actual Greek skills.

Chapter seven is the final chapter of findings and considers the use of multicultural practices and semiotic resources that were incorporated in the two years (5 and 6) in Kilada (pseudonym that I used for the school) primary school. By drawing on tools from a multimodal approach, I analyse these practices and reveal how refugee children's roles were reversed, from being peripheral to being legitimate members of the classroom community. This reversal was the result of making refugee children's linguistic and cultural references visible during teaching, which resulted in developing multilingual and multicultural awareness

for all learners. I conclude with a summary on the ways these practices enabled for a flexibilised CoP to be revealed.

Finally, chapter eight provides a comprehensive conclusion of the thesis where I discuss its main findings in regards to the research questions and I consider how the findings yield theoretical, methodological and pedagogical contributions and implications. I also consider directions for future research based on the findings, point out its limitations, and I provide my personal thoughts in relation to the research journey.

Chapter 2: SETTING THE SCENE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the literature about the Cypriot context and its multilingual situation. I begin by locating Cyprus on the world map and referring to its crucial position and set out how this position was a matter of conflict throughout its history. I present the island's two main communities and how their conflict was the reason for their division. At this point, I clarify that, for the purpose of this study, when I state *Cyprus*, I mean the recognised legal entity where I conducted research and where Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cypriot-Greek dialect (CG) are used by its speakers. Following this, I briefly describe Cyprus' diglossic situation where the two varieties are used interchangeably and how this phenomenon is already defining Cyprus as a place where more than two linguistic varieties meet.

I then turn to explaining today's population and how the influx of migration and the Middle East crisis further transformed Cyprus into a multilingual and multi-ethnic place. The influx of different waves of migration has not only affected the civic but the educational sector and, by taking a historical view of the policies that the educational system developed in order to cope with the societal changes, this allows me to further examine the literature behind the education of a new group of children, the refugee children. I do that by reviewing some education circulars and existing studies on the Cypriot literature dealing with classroom pedagogies and ideologies. After that, I turn to researching the literature when it comes to the learning practices of linguistic and ethnic minorities in classroom settings and I point out some gaps when it comes to the investigation of this new phenomenon. Finally, I conclude with a summary of what I have discussed so far in the chapter.

2.1 Cypriot historical context

Cyprus is the third-largest island in the Mediterranean (the Italian islands of Sicily and Sardinia are first and second, respectively) located in the southeast of Europe and it lies between three continents: Europe, Africa and Asia. Due to its position - being at the crossroads of these three continents – it has been at the centre of conflict between powerful empires throughout world history. Today, Cyprus' total population is estimated at 840,407 (CYSTAT, 2019), which includes Cypriot-Greeks, Cypriot-Turkish and the ethnic minorities that have Cypriot citizenship. This number does not include asylum seekers or refugees, nor the illegal settlers who arrived in the northern part of the island in 1974.

Over the years, Cyprus developed as a multicultural and multi-ethnic society because it was occupied by several empires, including the Mycenaean-Greeks (2500-750 BC), the Assyrians (707-650 BC), the Egyptians (569-546 BC), the Persians (545-333 BC), the Greeks (333 -358 BC), the Romans (358 BC – 330 AD), the Byzantines (330-1191 AD), the Franks (1192-1489), the Venetians (1489-1571), the Ottomans (1571-1878) and, most recently, the British Empire from 1878 to 1960 (Mallinson, 2008).

In 1960, Cyprus becomes an independent state after years of anticolonial struggle against the British Empire (Varella, 2006) and, at that point, the Cypriot population was mainly comprised of two ethnic communities: the Cypriot-Greeks, which constituted 80% of the population, while 16% was Cypriot-Turkish (Hadjoannou, 2006). The 1960 constitution - article 3 (Government Web Portal, 2016) - recognises the Cypriot-Greeks and Cypriot-Turkish as the two main communities of the island and consequently, Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Standard Turkish (ST) as the two official languages.

Selecting a country's formal language is not based on superficial criteria such as aesthetics but, instead, reflects the economic, socio-historical and political situation of the country (Ioannidou, 2012; Holmes, 2013). Therefore, due to the strong ethnic and historical bonds with Greece, Cyprus has chosen SMG as the official language instead of the Cypriot dialect. This study conducts research in the areas where SMG and CG are spoken. Today, Cypriot-Greeks speak a variant of Greek which I refer to as the Cypriot-Greek dialect (CG). Most of the Cypriot-Greeks are Christian Orthodox and have strong linguistic and cultural ties with mainland Greece, a relationship that goes back when the Ancient Greeks settled on the island during the second half of the second millennium B.C. (Horrocks, 2010).

The second main ethnic community - the Cypriot-Turkish - come from the Ottomans, who settled on the island back in 1571 and were given land (Mallinson, 2008). Nowadays, the majority of these people are Sunni Muslims and, similarly, speak their dialect, which is Cypriot-Turkish.

Three religious minority groups: Maronites, Armenians and Latins (Roman Catholics) are also recognised by the 1960 Constitution as religious groups. As a consequence, their languages are recognised by the Republic of Cyprus but, in all likelihood, simply because this is required by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (2005). Today, Maronites are estimated to be at 6,000, Armenians from 2,600 to 3,500, and Latins close to 7,000 in number (Kyriakou & Kaya, 2011). Whilst these groups are recognised as religious

groups, no attention is paid to their minority languages in Cypriot-Greek schools (Kyriakou and Kaya, 2011).

The following paragraph demonstrates how the oppositions between the two main ethnic communities (Cypriot-Greeks and Cypriot-Turkish) came about, taking the British years of occupation as a starting point. I then refer to the result of these oppositions, which was the island's partition in 1974.

During the British years of occupation (1878-1960), Cyprus had already established a multilingual character as Greek, Turkish, English and the varieties of Greek and Turkish co-existed in this society. However, the British administration took advantage of the ethnic and religious differences between the two main communities and exercised a 'divide and rule' policy in order to strengthen its position (Panayiotopoulos, 1999). Throughout this period, English was the official language of communication in the government (Karoulla, 2004). Despite the pressure from the British Empire to use English as a medium of instruction in the schools, both communities kept their linguistic repertoires in order to protect their ethnic identity. Cypriot-Greeks used the Cypriot-Greek dialect (CG) for oral communication and Katharevousa (*Καθαρεύουσα*), the official language of mainland Greece at the time, for official purposes. On the other hand, Cypriot-Turkish used the Ottoman Empire's official variety of Turkish for official purposes and, for unofficial communications, the local dialect of Ottoman Turkish (Karoulla, 2004).

In 1963, serious inter-communal conflict between the Cypriot-Greeks and the Cypriot-Turkish resulted in the withdrawal of the Cypriot-Turkish from all government posts, and their isolation to the northern part of the island (Charalambous, 2012). This extreme division was also reflected to the communities' educational system, as this strengthened their desire to be unified with Greece and Turkey respectively. The serious conflicts between the two communities resulted in the involvement of the Greek Junta on the 15th of July, 1974, and subsequently, the military invasion of the island by Turkey in the same year (Arvaniti, 2006).

Since then, the Turkish army has occupied 36% of Cyprus and, as a result, the Cypriot-Turkish community resides in the North, while the Cypriot-Greeks are located in the South and are governed by the Cypriot-Greek administration (Republic of Cyprus), which is internationally recognised as a state (Hajisoteriou, Neophytou & Angelides, 2012). After 1974, and up until today, Cyprus has been separated into two major ethnic and linguistic communities: Cypriot-Greeks and Cypriot-Turkish.

The following figure shows a map of the island of Cyprus and the area that is occupied.

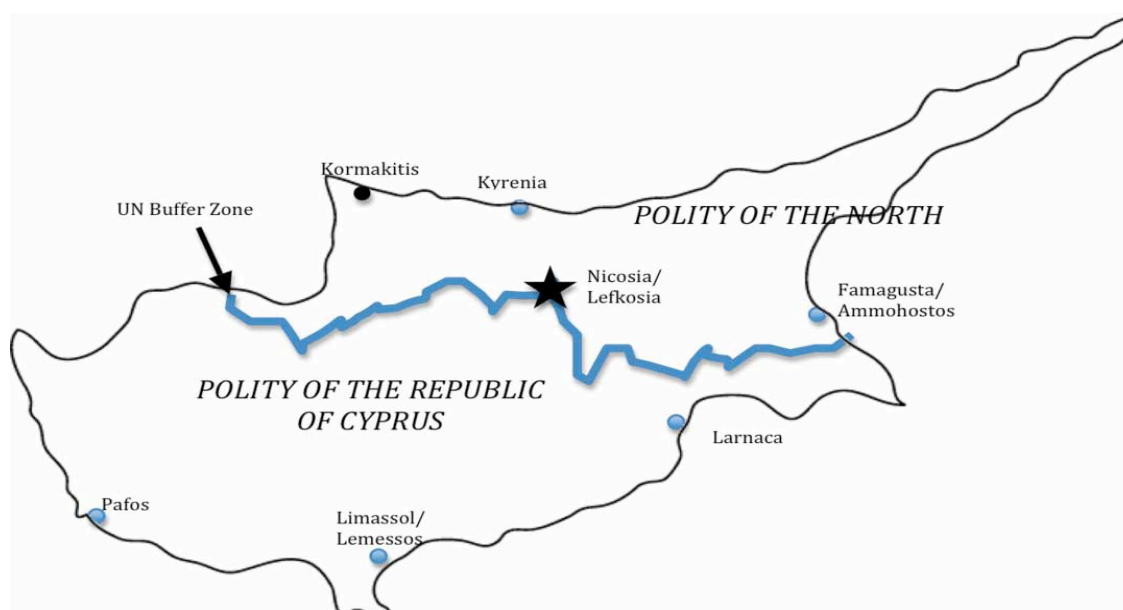


Figure 1: Map of Cyprus (Hadjiioannou, Tsiplakou & Kappler, 2011)

Since 1983, the northern part of Cyprus is under the control of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is only recognised by Turkey. Until today, the two communities are supported by the United Nations and the European Union to build a plan which will result in the island's unification. However, up to now, Cyprus continues to be separated into these two major ethnic and linguistic communities. It is worth mentioning that, within the Cypriot-Greek political arena, there are opposing ideologies which are reflected in the society's approach to what counts as language and national identity.

The following section briefly describes the diglossic situation of the southern part of Cyprus, where two varieties (SMG and CG) are used simultaneously.

2.1.1 The diglossic situation in Cyprus

Drawing on Ferguson's (1959) notion of Diglossia, I describe Cyprus as experiencing a diglossic¹ situation where two related varieties are used in the society: Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and the Cypriot-Greek dialect (CG). According to Ferguson:

In many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions. Perhaps the most familiar example is the standard language and regional dialect.

¹ Diglossia is also prevalent in the Turkish-Cypriot community

The key differences between these two varieties - SMG and CG - are that the former is described as high (H), and has the prestige of high status, whilst the latter is termed as low (L). CG also differs from SMG in terms of syntax, grammar, phonology and vocabulary (Pavlou & Papapavlou, 2004). Moreover, CG is not yet codified. However, both varieties are used in a complementary fashion, whereby there is a mutual intelligibility between the two varieties, with both existing alongside one another in the community, and, hence, this situation does not represent a strict version of Diglossia. SMG is the state's official language to be followed for both written and oral purposes, even though the first language that Cypriot-Greeks acquire is CG (Hadjioannou, 2006). SMG is learned through formal education. However, people do not use it in their everyday interactions as their prime tool for communication. The vernacular CG is naturally acquired, and it is used for everyday communication and for family purposes (Papapavlou & Pavlou, 1998).

Due to this linguistic situation, the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus (MoEC) calls for the systematic use of SMG in the classroom (Ioannidou & Sophocleous, 2010) and many studies have focused on examining the attitudes towards and use of CG and SMG in classroom settings (Papapavlou 1998; Ioannidou, 2014; Tsiplakou, Ioannidou & Hadjioannou, 2018). In terms of language learning, Tsiplakou *et al.*'s (2018) argument was that, despite some negative attitudes towards the dialect, more than one linguistic variety can coexist in classroom settings and have positive results for learning. The study reported findings from two case studies where scholars examined classroom discourse focusing on the use of SMG and CG in primary education. Through a qualitative analysis of interactional data and a pedagogical intervention, the results showed evidence of a dynamic use of both linguistic varieties by teachers and children and that this practice - of using both varieties - was implicitly used as a tool that positively affected the educational process. Tsiplakou *et al.* (2018), reported data in which children showed evidence of metalinguistic awareness as they were able to identify and comment upon linguistic features of the two varieties. This study brings to the surface the importance of incorporating students' linguistic identity in the classroom context, which can have positive effects in language teaching and planning and, moreover, that there is a need for change in the curriculum such that the two varieties are valued equally.

Due to the growing number of multilingual and multicultural children in Cyprus, this finding can also be transferred for the benefit of all children participating in the educational system and not only Cypriot-Greek ones. Thus, it is important to examine refugee children's

linguistic practices within the school domain to understand how children learn the new language and, thus, be able to support them effectively.

Having presented the Cypriot socio-political context, I move to the description of the Cypriot multilingual linguistic landscape by following a sociolinguistic point of view that defines my theoretical position when it comes to language use -multilingualism-. The following section refers to the arrival of refugees and to the different waves of migration that further enhanced Cyprus' multilingual landscape.

2.2 Multilingualism and the multilingual situation in Cyprus

A multilingual society is a society where 'several languages co-exist and large sections of the population speak three or more languages' (Li, 2005, p.6). Cyprus could be described as a multilingual society, where 'CG, SMG, and English are the three main codes used systematically in the Cypriot-Greeks' linguistic repertoire' (Sophocleous & Themistokleous, 2014, p. 10). In addition to these main languages, the three religious minorities also speak their own varieties. The Maronites speak Cypriot Maronite Arabic, also called Sanna, and the Armenians speak Armenian. Roman Catholics do not have a distinct variety as they have been fully assimilated into the Greek-Cypriot culture (Kyriakou & Kaya, 2011). Another addition to the Cypriot multilingual landscape is the influx of migration which I am discussing later in this chapter and this influx adds to the complexity of the Cypriot diglossic situation.

Apart from the two main official languages (Greek and Turkish) and their varieties, the languages of the religious groups, English has a special position in Cypriot society, as it is used as one of the main linguistic tools for everyday communication and in some official documents. It is used as a foreign language in public life, between Cypriots, tourists, foreign diplomats, in the courts of law, in some government reports, and in the field of private enterprise. Also, among the French, it is learned as a foreign language in schools. Most private schools and private universities have English as their main medium of instruction, alongside SMG (Hadjoannou *et al.*, 2011).

In recent years, Cyprus has further developed a multilingual and multicultural character due to the refugee crisis in the Middle East. This has led to a multilingual environment to which individuals have become increasingly exposed. Cyprus' multilingual character is confirmed by the Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (CYSTAT, 2019) which, according to the latest Census of Population (see the following table), which was in 2011, 20% of the population of Cyprus are foreigners.

Population by citizenship			
	Total	840,407	
	Cypriots	667,398	(79.4%)
	Non-Cypriots	170,383	(20.3%)
	Not stated	2,626	(0.3%)
Foreign residents by country citizenship (main countries)			
	Greece	29,321	
	United Kingdom	24,046	
	Romania	23,706	
	Bulgaria	18,536	
	Philippines	9,413	
	Russia	8,164	
	Sri Lanka	7,269	
	Vietnam	7,028	
	Syria	3,054	
	India	2,933	
	Poland	2,859	
	Ukraine	2,742	
	Other countries	31,312	

Table 1: Census of population 2011 - Main Results

The above table summarises the latest results of the Census of Population and presents the main countries of origin for foreign residents in Cyprus. However, this number does not include asylum seekers or refugees which, according, to the UNHCR (2019a), by the end of 2019, Cyprus will have granted refugee status to 1,588 people and has given 9,458 people subsidiary protection status. According to the Asylum Service of Cyprus (2019), the main country of origin for asylum seekers is Syria (more information about refugees' arrival is given in section 2.2.2).

Prior to describing the two main reasons for the development of the new multilingual situation in Cyprus - the migration influx and Middle East crisis - it is useful to clarify that different scholars choose to either use the term multilingualism or plurilingualism, based on their theoretical stance (Conteh & Meier, 2014). For example, the Council of Europe (2016) refers to plurilingualism as 'the ability to use more than one language and accordingly sees languages from the standpoint of speakers and learners' (ibid, p. 20). Jørgensen (2008) chooses polylingualism and defines it as a phenomenon where 'language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages' (ibid, p. 163).

Multilingualism considers to be the linguistic phenomenon that frames this study and I incorporate it in a way that also does not see languages as bounded systems with strict boundaries, but as resources that children draw on to not only communicate but also to learn the target language.

The following paragraph describes the different waves of migration (varying from economic, to asylum seekers) that Cyprus experienced and, in section 2.3, I examine how this change is reflected within the educational policies for the support of linguistically and culturally diverse children.

2.2.1 The influx of migration in the Cypriot socio-political context

After the Turkish invasion (1974) and the Greek Junta coup, Cyprus saw extensive economic development as '200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees who were forcibly expelled from the northern part' (Trimikliniotis, 1999, p.3) moved to the southern part of the island and started taking over working positions. At that time, Cyprus received millions of dollars of investment from the United States and the former European Economic Community, which led to substantial development and the need for a workforce from both home and abroad (Trimikliniotis, 1999). In fact, the southern part of Cyprus became economically, socially and technologically much more advanced compared to the northern part (Hadjioannou *et al.*, 2011). By the early 1990s, Cypriot-Greek society was open to influences, mainly from western societies, and migration was one of the effects that Cyprus was expected to face. Waves of migration also changed the linguistic demographics in Cyprus, as increasing numbers of people had more than one language to draw on. Legal changes put into effect in the early 1980s brought the first wave of modern-day legal migration to Cyprus. The earlier migrants to arrive in significant numbers were individuals from Southeast Asia, including Cambodians, Filipinos and Sri Lankans. These migrants arrived in Cyprus on special temporary immigrant worker visas (Trimikliniotis, 1999). Nevertheless, in the 1990s there was a radical change in government policy, when, for the first time, 'migrant labour was allowed to enter on a much larger scale to meet the labour shortage in those sectors of the economy that were no longer popular with Cypriots' (Trimikliniotis, 1999, p.4) and were typically low paid jobs. Individuals from countries from Eastern Europe (mostly Bulgaria, Poland and Romania) arrived on the island and dominated these positions.

Another milestone of migration influx into Cyprus was in 2004, when it joined the European Union and, as a result, there has been an impressive increase in the number of European immigrants (Hadjioannou *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, entrance into the Eurozone in 2008 led

to the relaxation of immigration controls and, thus, represented another important development in the country's migration history. At this point, people from Eastern and Central Europe were arriving at the island with the purpose of securing a better job in Cyprus. This kind of migrant can be described as economic migrants. The arrival of these people also meant the arrival of their linguistic and cultural resources that transformed Cyprus into a multilingual and multicultural society. However, their languages do not seem to have had a significant impact on the Cypriot linguistic landscape, nor in the educational system (Hadjioannou *et al.*, 2011).

Another addition to the Cypriot multilingual reality is the arrival of foreigners and, specifically, Russians, especially in recent times. Despite Bulgarians and Filipinos being in the island for a longer period of time, Russian's presence has been more established as the ones who arrive and own the Cypriot citizenship are mostly of wealthy backgrounds (Pavlenko, 2017). These wealthy Russians see Cyprus as an economic paradise and, by arriving in Cyprus, they also contribute to the existing multilingual landscape.

In addition to the extended possibilities of migration offered by entrance into the European Union, in recent years, the refugee crisis in the Middle East owing to the Syrian war starting in March 2011 has been another source of migration.

2.2.2 Middle East crisis and the arrival of refugees in Cyprus

Since 2011, the world has been facing one of the biggest challenges of the century, the refugee crisis in the Middle East that was triggered by the Syrian war. As a result of persecution, conflict, violence, and human rights violations, more than 70.8 million people have been forcibly migrated in order to look for safer places to reside, with 25.9 million refugees and 3.5 million as asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2019b). Nationals from neighbouring countries, including Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Somalia, started arriving in Cyprus as asylum seekers to avoid the political conflict in their countries. These people come to Cyprus due to its proximity and because, in previous years, Cyprus had been seen as a first step to reaching mainland Europe. However, in recent times, refugees and asylum seekers are forced to see Cyprus as their final settling place. Cyprus has responded to this humanitarian call and, as of 2019, has granted refugee status to 1,588 people and has given 9,458 people subsidiary protection status UNHCR (2019a).

At this point it is important to unpack terms such as 'migrants', 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers', as these are used in the public discourse, sometimes in an interchangeable way.

However, important differences do exist. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is:

A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.. is a refugee.

UN General Assembly, article 1A (2)

Thus, a refugee is a person who has been granted protection because their country is a dangerous place to live in. An asylum seeker is someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of their status (UNHCR, 2016). Before being granted refugee status, refugees were firstly asylum seekers. When it comes to the term 'migrant', in their website, the UNHCR (2016) clarifies that 'migrants choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work or education or for other reasons'. In contrast to refugees and asylum seekers, migrants do not face danger in returning to their homes. However, a clear-cut distinction between migrants and refugees does not reflect the complexity of the reality as any attempt to neutralise people's experiences does not fall into the scope of the study. I am aware that these terms are deeply politicised and may create hiercharchical positions and have consequences for communities and individuals (Crawley & Skleparis, 2017). In this study, I do not hold an absolute distinction as children's experiences vary, but I place emphasis on the education needs that newly arrived children have, however they are categorised, in comparison to the needs of settled communities.

All these terms reveal the reasons behind people's choice to move from their countries and, despite their desperate situation, they come across policies in their host country that do not show acknowledgment of their needs. In regard to the Cypriot case, Alecou and Mavrou (2017), state that there is a lack of evidence from the Public Employment Service in Cyprus that shows that refugee people's skills are taken into account for their better participation in their host country. The scholars' statement is also confirmed by one of the conclusions of the ECRI's (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) report for Cyprus (2019, p.6) which claims that 'the Office of the Commissioner for Administration has not carried out any activities aimed at supporting vulnerable groups or communication activities, and has

not issued any publications or reports, including annual reports, or recommendations on discrimination issues since 2016'. That means that Cyprus is unable, at the moment, to support refugees socially, administratively and culturally, and, as a result, these people are a marginalised community that do not enjoy equal living conditions in relation to the Cypriot-Greeks. This mistreatment is also reflected in the education sector where refugee children are requested to participate in a monocultural and monolingual environment. Taking into account the influx of refugees and asylum seekers which further developed the multilingual reality of the schools and considering language as one of main dimensions of diversity in a school setting, a greater focus should be taken placed upon both classroom and students' linguistic practices that enable them to learn the new language and, by doing so, participate in their new community.

The next section examines the language policy employed by the Ministry of Education and Culture in response to increased student diversity in educational settings.

2.3 Educational policies for the support of children with a language other than Greek

In this section, I refer to the policies employed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) in order to respond to the diverse student body in classroom settings. The focus of this study is in primary education, which is compulsory for children at the age of six to twelve years old. Primary education is free in state schools.

Since 2011, Cypriot classrooms, just like many classrooms the world over, are experiencing a change in their population as they accommodate children whose dominant language is one other than SMG. The following table summarises this change over the years 2016-2019 and shows the percentage of primary school '*Children who do not have Greek as their mother tongue*', a term that the MoEC uses in their website.

School year	Number of children who do not have Greek as their mother tongue	Percentage
2016-2017	7029	13.8%
2017-2018	7452	14.5%
2018-2019	8476	16.2%

Table 2: Statistical information for the percentage of primary children who do not have Greek as their mother tongue (taken from the MoEC, 2019a)

The table above illustrates an increase in the number of children that the MoEC (2017a) refers in a circular as *Children with Migration Trajectories* or as the above table shows, 'Children who do not have Greek as their mother tongue'. The MoEC (2019a) also mentions that the main countries from which the children come are Syria, Bulgaria and Georgia, and, thus, does not make any deeper distinction between settled minorities and newly arrived refugee children and, consequently, any differentiation in their educational support. 'Children with Migration Trajectories' as MoEC (2017a) calls them, include children that have experienced migration themselves or have migrant parents. Such a term implies that settled migrant and refugee children can be placed under the same umbrella and have the same needs. In this study, my participants' parents are mainly asylum seekers waiting for their status to be accepted and have been through the process of interviews and the examination of their documents. This study focuses on children that come from a war situation. Therefore; I am not dealing with children who belong to settled migrant communities. These differences between settled and refugee migrants have effects on children's mental health due to the trauma they carry and, thus, interact differently with their learning development.

Cyprus' values in language policy can be traced back to the years of British occupation where organised education started taking shape (Hadjiioannou, 2006). At that time, the church of Cyprus was responsible for education as it was very powerful economically (Panayiotopoulos, 1999). During these years, there was a strong tendency towards the development of national identity and specifically, Greek Orthodox identity (Ioannidou, 2012) and, even now, this is the line that the church takes. Despite the fact that the linguistic and cultural diversity of schools becomes more and more apparent, the MoEC still promotes a monolingual and monocultural approach to teaching and learning (Hajisoteriou, 2011) and, thus, refugee children's linguistic and cultural resources are not meaningfully incorporated as resources for language learning. A change in the MoEC's discourse requires going against the institution's dominant language ideologies (Blommaert, 2010) and also means a change in the whole infrastructure and, hence, such a change entails economic and cultural complexity. However, over the years, the MoEC introduced some changes in order to respond to societal demands but also to keep up with the EU's language policies and frameworks.

Shortly before Cyprus' accession to the EU the MoEC used, for the first time (2001-2002), the rhetoric of multicultural education to acknowledge the diversity within Cypriot society (Philippou, 2007). Multicultural education, therefore, became the predominant framework through which schools in Cyprus would be reformed in response to educational provision for foreign students (Angelides, Stylianou & Leigh, 2003). However, the educational system

proved to be inexperienced in accommodating the linguistic and cultural needs of migrant children (Hadjiioannou, 2006). Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou (2007) also confirm this, as in their study, they take a critical stance on the ways that the MoEC tried to cope with multilingualism and multiculturalism in classrooms. The scholars examined the attitudes of teachers, parents and CG and non-CG students when it comes to the inclusion of ethnic minorities and their analysis revealed that 'there is too little emphasis on the conditions necessary for integration into the local community' (ibid, p.78).

In 2008, for the first time in the history of Cyprus as an independent state, a left-wing party was elected, and an extensive educational reform took place at every level of education. In 2010, the newly reformed curriculum was implemented. This new curriculum was influenced by the notion of critical literacy, as the aim was to develop children's critical thinking to be able to adjust to the new societal needs (Ioannidou, 2012). Additionally, for the first time, there was recognition of the linguistic variation of the Cypriot-Greek reality, as CG could be used as a tool for the development of children's metalinguistic awareness. Before 2010, the language policy in Cypriot-Greek society ignored the existence of the dialect and, consequently, the existence of other languages. However, this enlightened approach did not last for long as, in 2013, when the right-wing party won the elections, language policies changed, and there was a return to a focus on SMG as the only acceptable medium of instruction in the classroom. A recent circular from the MoEC (2017b) entitled '*Teaching Standard Modern Greek in Public School*' states that the aim of language learning and teaching is 'the excellent acquisition of Standard Modern Greek' (ibid, 1). It does not make any reference to promoting bi/multilingual education and, consequently, does not help newly arrived refugees to be noticed and appreciated. In contrast, it sees the lack of Greek knowledge as a deficit. If Cyprus does not include and use its own variety within the educational system, it is less likely to include other linguistic repertoires as tools for language learning. My theoretical position is that all languages should be visible in a classroom context in order to facilitate language learning for all children (Cummins, 2005). At the moment, there is no analytical programme for the subject of SMG that explains its theoretical and methodological scope, but it has been replaced by *Success and Proficiency* indicators (MoEC, 2018).

At the moment, the MoEC's strategies in regards to social inclusion include a set of basic multicultural education principles and programmes such as the *Actions for School and Social Inclusion* and the organisation by the Pedagogical Institution (P.I) of Cyprus of a series of informative seminars on issues of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

'*Actions for School and Social Inclusion*' is a programme co-funded by the European Social Fund and has aims linked to 'strengthen public school pupils and at the same time to promote school and social inclusion' (MoEC, 2017c, p. 134). This means that schools that have high numbers of minority and non-wealthy children receive additional funding from the state to support them. For example, these schools are given extra hours of teaching for SMG, and extra hours for general teaching, planning and afternoon classes.

Regarding the linguistic support of children whose dominant language is one other than Greek, since 2008-2009, the MoEC (2008) has implemented Parallel Intensive Greek language learning classes which means that, for a specific number of hours, children are withdrawn from their classes to receive this support. The children are then taught by a Cypriot-Greek or Greek teacher who, for the most part, has not received professional training when it comes to multilingual teaching and learning. Each teacher is left to make their own decisions about the selection of teaching materials and there is no consistency in the use of the suggested materials from the Pedagogical Institution (Tsiplakou & Georgi, 2008).

A very recent addition to the MoEC's (2019b) steps is the publication of five actions for the better teaching support of children with migration trajectories, titled: *Teaching Greek as a second language to children with migration trajectories*. In this circular, five actions are required for adoption by primary schools and these include the division of teaching hours and division of children, diagnostic language tests for children and a questionnaire to parents, forming a welcoming team for children who are new arrivals, the use of supporting and educative materials, and, finally, schools' participation in training actions and seminars. This is a very first attempt by the MoEC to create some kind of guidance for teachers on the ways that they might support children with migrant trajectories. However, this circular is in an early stage and provides information only partially. Again, it leaves the teachers working independently when deciding on what is best for the education of multilingual children instead of embedding a multilingual approach to teaching in the curriculum or even assigning it to trained teachers with a background in multilingual teaching and learning.

The Pedagogical Institution (P.I.) (n.d) develops materials that are distributed on its website such as: *A guide for Welcoming children with migration trajectories: the first days at school*, *Teacher's guide for teaching Greek as a second language*, *A guide for parents as mediators* and *A guide for managing socio-political otherness* with the aim of informing educators about the better support of children whose dominant language is other than Greek. Moreover, the P.I. organises elective seminars on multicultural education introducing issues on how to

teach Greek as Additional language to teachers. The Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE) also released a diagnostic language test in 2016- 2017 in a pilot phase and then from 2017-2018 on a national scale to position children at their appropriate level based on their performance and decide whether the child will need extra support in language learning (CERE, 2019). At the moment, the results of these standardised tests are not utilised for the development of strategies that aim for the better support of children.

All these initiatives are intended to support the education of children from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds, but they do not specifically target the needs of refugee children coming from war-torn areas. Instead, these policies are umbrellas for all categories such as children who have Greek as their additional language. The evidence suggests that those policies have been put forward simply to satisfy the European Union's language policy remit, rather than being wholeheartedly supported by the government (Panayiotopoulos & Nicolaidou, 2007; Hajisoteriou, 2011). In what follows, I discuss studies that reveal that, despite the MoEC's efforts in introducing such programmes, these children still remain marginalised.

Papamichael's ethnographic study (2011) examined head-teachers and teachers' perceptions of the co-existence of minorities alongside majority Cypriot-Greek children. The author interviewed 27 head-teachers and teachers, as well as conducting focus-group interviews with 179 children, half of whom had national origins other than Cypriot-Greek. Her study showed that Cypriot-Greek teachers and children 'contribute to the racialisation and ethnicisation of minoritised children' (ibid, p. 250), as teachers' practices marginalise rather than include children with diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. In a similar vein, Theodorou's (2011) ethnographic study also examined teachers' perceptions on the integration of migrant children in a Cypriot-Greek public school. Her results also indicated that the teachers utilised an ideology and were creating the 'other' label that excluded children with different cultural, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. The study shows the significance of the linguistic aspect when it comes to belonging to a member of a group and, at the same time, unpacks the societal attitudes towards others.

A study from the European Commission (2013) assessing the educational support for newly arrived migrant children in Europe, compared how 15 countries effectively support the education of these children. The analysis showed that 'Cyprus lacks policy attention and resources to address the issue of multiculturalism in education' (ibid, p. 61). It goes on to state that teachers lack professional experience in teaching Greek as an additional language because teachers in Cyprus are working on their own to create practices for classes in the

development of Greek as an additional language. The report concludes by arguing that, in Cyprus, teachers, parents and local communities are largely left without clear guidance regarding the integration of migrant children.

Finally, I. Charalambous (2015) study confirms that the Cypriot educational system is unprepared in supporting children with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In her ethnographic study she describes how the migration waves changed the needs of the Cypriot school system and specifically focuses on the placement of children who have Greek as an Additional Language (GAL) in the parallel intensive language classes. After analysis of interviews with staff members at a school and classroom observations, Charalambous argues that all of the children in the study were misplaced and she explains that this happened due to the Hellenocentric anti-immigrant discourses produced in Greek-Cypriot society. Another issue that was identified was the lack of appropriate materials for teaching these parallel Greek lessons, as the available resources were developed in mainland Greece to support the language education of diaspora, thus, there were not meeting the linguistic needs of migrant children in Cyprus. Furthermore, the lack of specialised GAL teachers was also criticised, as teachers were found to be unprepared for working with children with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Overall, Charalambous' (2015) study is very important when it comes to informing our understanding of the policy position of the MoEC for the support of these children.

These studies suggest an oxymoronic situation in the Cypriot educational system. On one hand, the education system is experiencing linguistic diversity and claims to implement policies to support the needs of all children but, on the other, it is very inexperienced in terms of appreciating this diversity and incorporating it pedagogically. Consequently, language policies still need to be reshaped in order to respond to the new societal demands. These studies also indicate that there is a need for a change in discourse that aims for an inclusive pedagogical approach that will be reflected in language policies.

So far, I have presented how the Cypriot context has been subject to new waves of migration and the consequent new societal needs regarding the education of newly arrived refugee children. In what follows, I review the Cypriot literature on the practices that children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds develop to support their learning of SMG, as my study aims to add to this body of literature.

2.4 Researching the practices of children with migrant backgrounds:

What does the Cypriot-Greek literature say?

Researchers in Cyprus have developed an interest in revealing classrooms' multilingual and multicultural character and the underlying discourses behind language policies. Numerous influential studies have been produced focusing on teachers' attitudes and practices towards the education of children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Papamichael, 2011; Zembylas & Lesta, 2011; Theodorou 2011; Valanidou & Jones, 2012). However, they still lack when it comes to shedding light on refugee children's everyday practices when learning Greek. Since the phenomenon of the arrival of refugee children in Cypriot classrooms has not yet been examined, I refer to studies that describe the multilingual reality of migrant children in general. The main argument from the Cypriot literature is that, in certain situations, students use more than one language to communicate and learn because their multiple linguistic repertoires allow them to do it.

One of the first studies examining the learning of SMG for children coming from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds comes from Papapavlou (1999). The study focused on comparing the language abilities of Cypriot-Greek and non-Cypriot-Greek primary school children (Russian, Arabic, Romanian, and Filipino) by employing questionnaires and assessing children's final grades at the end of the school year. The findings showed that non-Cypriot-Greek children were as capable as the Cypriot-Greek children when it comes to mastering spoken and written Greek. The results were based on the analysis of questionnaires and final grades. Despite this study being valuable because it was one of the first to acknowledge the existence of the multilingual reality of the Cypriot classroom, it does not make any differentiation in terms of children's linguistic backgrounds and the use of SMG, as it was a large-scale, quantitative study. It also did not provide any interactional evidence (e.g. transcribed classroom observations) of the ways these children learn and use the new language - SMG - due to the quantitative nature of the analysis.

Tsiplakou & Georgi's study (2008) is ethnographically oriented and provides interactional data from primary school children with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Despite being discussed in relation to the trilingual teacher's multilingualism in a parallel Greek class, evidence of children's linguistic practices such as code-switching exist due to the fact that their interactional data are transparently presented and phonetically transcribed. Moreover, the interactional data are presented firstly in the original language and then translated into English, which adds to the richness of the analysis. Such analysis provides evidence about the ways that children's different linguistic repertoires (Russian and Georgian) were employed in developing the practice of code-switching to scaffold their learning of SMG.

However, the scholars did not focus on analysing children's language learning practices as their focus was on the teacher's linguistic practices and attitudes towards her own assimilatory bilingual teaching model.

Finally, Fincham-Louis's (2012) study focused on settled migrant children and the manner in which such children experience their language use and language identities. These children were bilingual and had Greek and English in their linguistic repertoire. The findings showed that children reported incidents of language separation in school and that they were struggling to use their languages in a flexible way, as teachers did not recognise their bilingualism. Thus, in many cases, children left without guidance on how to utilise their linguistic possibilities. Even though this study is important in terms of arguing for recognising children's bilingualism and making a claim for social justice and for a multilingual approach to teaching, it lacks when it comes to exploring children's everyday interactional practices as the main tool for data collection and analysis consisted of interviews. It also dealt with children whose linguistic varieties and identities were already accepted in Cypriot society, as English has a high status.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I examined the Cypriot historical context and discussed how Cyprus developed as a multilingual and multicultural state over the years. I then described the different waves of migration and the ways in which these contributed to the island's multilingual character and, consequently, changed the linguistic reality of Cypriot classrooms. By critically reviewing the policies implemented by the MoEC and the research studies, I reveal deficiencies when it comes to effectively supporting minority children learning the country's medium of instruction. Finally, a review of previous educational studies on the practices that children from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds develop in learning Greek, revealed a significant gap in the Cypriot literature. What distinguishes my study from the existing literature is that, despite making a deeper differentiation inside the group that the researchers in the field are engaging with, I also examine children's everyday linguistic practices by providing interactional data in the ways refugee children use their different linguistic resources to mediate their learning of SMG.

The next chapter provides the theoretical foundation for my PhD thesis that adds to the body of literature examining language learning through a sociocultural lens that draws on the argument that learning is a socially situated activity.

Chapter 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0 Introduction

This chapter draws on Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory (SCT) and it is where I set out the theoretical foundation by adopting an SCT lens on second language learning in the primary school classroom. At the beginning of the chapter, I introduce some biographical information about Vygotsky, situating his theories in their Marxist origins, discussing his contributions to education and the interest that developed around language learning. Following his work and the work of the people who interpreted him, I explore Vygotsky's two seminal hypotheses on learning: - mediation, and the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) - with the aim of highlighting the social element when it comes to the construction of meaning. I also point out the analogy between Vygotsky's ideas around mediated tools and a semiotic view of language as a system of signs. I then turn to Vygotsky's successors who applied the social element of learning within the educational field and developed the concepts of Communities of Practice (CoP) and peer scaffolding. I examine how these ideas were appropriated into the field of education in order to examine the ways that children learn by participating in socially situated activities.

The second part of the literature review includes an examination of the ways that SCT has influenced the field of education in applied and sociolinguistics. I firstly discuss how cultural awareness leads to linguistic awareness and I then turn to examining the role of practices such as code-switching, translating and repeating in second language learning by reviewing educational studies. Following this, I turn to review studies of multilingual education in the context of refugees' education and, by doing so, I provide a critical discussion of the gaps that I identify and describe how my study contributes to the body of literature in regards to the linguistic practices that a group of refugee children develops so as to learn the language of the host country with the aim of theorising them drawing on an SCT lens. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main arguments discussed.

3.1 Taking a Sociocultural approach to second language learning

It is necessary to address the importance of selecting SCT as the theoretical lens to examine social interaction in relation to second language learning and its outcomes in education. This is because many scholars in the field of applied linguistics investigate second language learning drawing on more cognitive approaches – Second Language Acquisition - (SLA). These approaches are mainly concerned with brain processes and individual interventions and do not take a holistic view of language learning. As a result, the social component of

learning is neglected. On the other hand, SCT's proponents see language as a symbolic tool for mediating our understanding of the world (Wertsch, 1991; Lantolf, 2006) which is a position I hold. SCT is a theory of mind, which refers to the claim that human activities are culturally and historically mediated. Thus, on this view, language learning is a situated social activity which is the result of social and individual processes. It is important to draw on such an approach as it allows for the examination of refugee children's learning practices from an emic and more holistic perspective and does not concentrate on solely measuring the amount of correct SMG production.

Lev Vygotsky was a Russian psychologist and is the main figure when examining language learning from a sociocultural point of view. His work had a huge impact on the fields of psychology, philosophy, sociology and, more recently, in education and second language learning and teaching (Toohey, 2000; Ohta, 2001; Chen & Gregory, 2004; Kenner, 2004; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Kirsch, 2008). Thus, a brief biography of Vygotsky is necessary to understand his influences on the concepts that he developed.

Vygotsky was born in Belorussia in 1896 and died in 1934 from tuberculosis at the age of 38. He wrote between the years of 1920-1930 but his work only received recognition in the West after it was translated into English in 1962 (Newman & Holzman, 1993). Vygotsky was opposed to teaching psychology in an isolated manner, as he observed connections with philosophy and the humanities when investigating the human mind. It is important to refer to the historical context within which Vygotsky operated as it inspired him to develop a Marxist theory of human development. His theory was influenced by Hegel's philosophy when it comes to moving beyond dualisms as he tried to overcome the separation of thought and language by focusing on a dialectic when examining the human mind (Derry, 2013). Vygotsky was also influenced by the writings on the economy and society of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1846/1970) and, of course, by the political situation of his country at that time. These influences affected Vygotsky in following a socio-historical approach to trace the origins and development of human cognition, which it sees as a historically situated practice emphasising the collectiveness of knowledge. In other words, Vygotsky tried to describe the ways individuals are affected by and affect their social environment, and the ways in which this interaction results in development (Cole, 1985). Vygotsky's theory contradicts traditional theories of learning that place less emphasis on the social element of development, as these see learning as a linear process with discrete stages focusing on the individual's development (see Piaget, 1926). Vygotsky's work relies on collectiveness, on the notion of social interaction and the claim that human practices are historically and culturally situated activities (Wertsch, 1991).

Although SCT is not a theory about language learning, it provides an explanation of how human higher mental functions are developed. Vygotsky (1986) made a distinction between lower mental functions and higher mental functions. He referred to lower mental functions as natural and biologically determined, e.g., sensation and perception and in contrast, higher mental functions as socially acquired, mediated by social meanings and include voluntary attention, decision-making, reasoning and language. This study focuses on the latter, which is seen as both symbolic and a material tool used to mediate human activities. It specifically seeks to examine the linguistic practices that a group of refugee children develop to enhance their learning of Greek while participating in socially situated activities in a mainstream classroom setting. The role of language as a tool is explained in the next section where I refer to Vygotsky's two key hypotheses, mediation and ZPD, which are perceived as cornerstone concepts in education in understanding children's processes and potentials when learning a new language. After explaining what mediation and ZPD are, I then make the link between mediation and a social semiotic view of language by reviewing relevant studies to support my argument.

3.1.1 Mediation and the Zone of Proximal Development

A central hypothesis in Vygotsky's theory is that of mediation. Mediation refers to Vygotsky's hypothesis that all higher mental functions (voluntary attention, decision-making, reasoning and language) are mediated by both symbolic and material tools (Wertsch, 1991). The concept of tools that inspired Vygotsky's work comes from Engel's creation of 'tools', whereas Vygotsky saw them as having a historical dimension (Daniels, 2001). This means that people interact and have been interacting with the world through the use of tools. Vygotsky saw a difference between the two (symbolic and material); he claimed that people use material tools to cause change in the environment but symbolic tools (signs) to direct their thinking (Vygotsky, 1978). For Vygotsky, symbolic tools are conventional signs and include music, counting, art and language. These symbolic tools are used by people to mediate their thinking (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996; Lantolf, 2000). Material tools are also mediated by human activities but are used to cause change to the environment (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Examples of material tools are books, computers or pencils.

Vygotsky attempted to present learning as a mediated activity by using the analogy of sign and tool. The following figure illustrates Vygotsky's powerful representation of how mediation works.

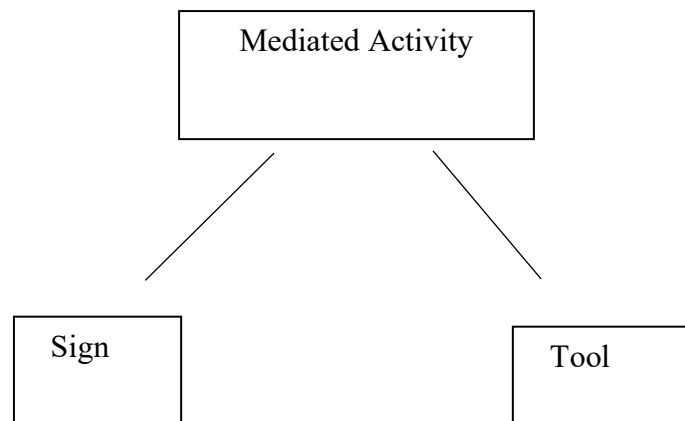


Figure 2: Vygotsky's mediated activity (adapted from Vygotsky, 1978, *Mind in Society*, p.54)

The above figure illustrates that learning is a mediated activity and it is reached through the analogy that exists between signs and tools. 'Sign' here refers to the symbolic tool (e.g., language) and 'tool' to material tool (e.g., book). Vygotsky saw both material and symbolic tools through a dialogic lens, which means moving beyond separation and integrating both when mediating human activity and considered language to be both a symbolic and material tool. When language is used as a symbolic tool, it is used to mediate social interaction and through this social interaction, people learn how to self-regulate their thinking (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In regard to language learning, the self-regulation process is about gaining control and agency over the use of the newly acquired knowledge, e.g. language. Self-regulation becomes possible when learners internalise knowledge that is socially constructed (Ohta, 2001; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). On the other hand, language can be seen as a physical tool, for example, a language activity (rules of a system) in a grammar book that learners engage in order to attain their goals.

It is important to highlight the pedagogical perspective of the concept of mediation, which is that learners' knowledge about the world and their selves comes through the resources that human culture is made available to them as it is not something that can be grasped individually, meaning that learners' lived experiences are mediated by their collaborative use of semiotic resources (e.g. language, text).

Lantolf (2000), whose name is also associated with Vygotsky's theory and its connections with language learning, argues that development can be defined as 'the appropriation by individuals (and groups) of the mediational means made available by others (past or present) in their environment in order to improve control over their own mental activity' (ibid, p. 80). This comes through internalisation, which is a process that emerges from mediation where people transform the external experiences (knowledge) into internal form. Through language use, we internalise knowledge. From the external, knowledge is transferred to the

internal. This concept was introduced by Vygotsky (1986, p. xxvi) and defined as ‘the process of transformation of external actions into internal psychological functions’. By this I understand that knowledge exists first in the external world and it is later internalised through social interaction and the use of language. Extending this notion to language learning, internalisation is the process where ‘individuals develop new linguistic resources that potentially can be used to mediate their mental and social activity’ (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p.179). Similarly, in a classroom context when a child is asked to work on a task, they will use signs and tools to direct their understanding. In this way learning occurs through the negotiation of sign and tools when participating in socially situated activities. In this study, the aim is not only about children producing grammatically correct forms of language, but it is about being able to use their available resources (material and symbolic) in a meaningful way that results in their enhancement of the Greek language.

Vygotsky’s (1978) second main hypothesis that relates to teaching and learning is the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). During his clinical work, when observing ‘normal’ and ‘special needs children’, Vygotsky tried to explain children’s learning potentials and the ways in which children make progress when assistance is provided to them. In one of his experiments, Vygotsky realised that it wasn’t enough to assess children in individual tasks without a mediator (Lantolf & Poehner, 2008). When offered assistance, children’s performance varied. The well-known definition of ZPD is mentioned in *Mind in Society (1978)*:

It is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers.

(ibid, p. 86).

According to this definition, the area where children explore knowledge according to their abilities but still require support is the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). This concept reveals the need for addressing the issue of future growth. There is also the assumption that interaction is needed between a more capable peer or adult and a novice for the novice to achieve in the task. When children have benefited from the assistance provided in the ZPD, they become independent and able to construct their own knowledge. However, scholars in the field of education and second language learning are moving beyond the expert-novice binary when it comes to the internalisation of knowledge and suggest that learners of equal capabilities can support each other’s understanding (Donato, 1994; Antón & DiCamilla, 1999; Ohta, 2001; Chen & Gregory, 2004).

Daniels (2014) also takes a dialogic view on ZPD and argues that it goes 'beyond the image of the lone learner with the directive and determining tutor' (ibid, 25). Daniels understands that learners' own experiences and prior knowledge can transform the ways in which teaching and learning occurs. This dialogic view of ZPD can inform the theorisation of educational practice and specifically the literature of applied linguistics in the ways in which language learning occurs.

It is important to clarify that the ZPD is not scaffolding but when scaffolding (assistance) is provided, then learners can move beyond their current (achieved) development. The ZPD can be used as an educational tool in a language-learning context as it is important for teachers to be aware of their children's potentials to create the appropriate conditions and materials to effectively support them.

In regards to children's language learning, an important element that is observed when children are experimenting with language in order to develop new skills is play. Play is seen as an activity that creates a ZPD as 'through play the child achieves a functional definition of concepts or objects, and words become parts of a thing' (Vygotsky, 1978, p.99). For Vygotsky (ibid, p.93) 'imagination represents a specifically human form of conscious activity' that enables children to rehearse their available cultural tools. Cook (2000) holds that language play should be at the centre of education as it is a source of knowledge and an indicator of language development because it involves the manipulation of linguistic features. Thus, this imaginary situation that children develop can be observed while learning a new language through its playful use which indicates their awareness of the language's features (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). This manipulation is related to metalinguistic awareness which is about knowledge of language (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991). Sullivan (2000) also places emphasis on the learning potentials of playful talk but in adults' second language classroom. Sullivan studied the playful interactions of Vietnamese university students in English classes and identified that when students were participating in playful interactions that were marked by their laughter and repetitive utterances, then opportunities for developing awareness towards sound formation and word meaning, occurred. Language play in children's talk is thus an indicator of potential growth and it is related to second language learning (Cook, 2000). It is important for educators to be able to recognise and value children's playful use of language as they can then provide appropriate guidance and allow for playful interactions to evolve. By analysing classroom discourse focusing on meaning negotiation can reveal how opportunities of playful talk, occur.

In the following section, I explain the relation between mediation and a semiotic view of language by arguing that learning is not only mediated by the linguistic but by other symbolic tools such as images and gestures.

3.1.1.1 Mediation and a semiotic view of language

Drawing on the fourth chapter of Wertsch's book (1985), *Vygotsky's Semiotic Analysis*, in this section, I bring together Vygotsky's understanding of the role of signs in human communication in relation to recent scholars' approaches to social semiotics in an attempt to conceptualise meaning construction. Wertsch (1985) argues that Vygotsky's insights into social semiotics and the nature of meaning in sign systems (especially language) opened up a new pathway in the examination of language learning. Even though he did not develop a language learning theory, Vygotsky was interested in the ways that signs could be used as mediators for human development within a social context. Similarly, scholars in the field of social semiotics (Halliday, 1993; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) developed multimodality theory, which sees language as a social sign – among others - that is used for meaning construction. Despite the fact that these key scholars do not explicitly refer to SCT or only refer to it in passing, I observe a parallel between multimodality and sociocultural perspectives in regards to meaning making and the sociocultural aspect that it is involved in learning. Even though, in their book, Kress and Hodge (1988) only mention Vygotsky's name once - on page 20 - and in relation to other philosophers' work, there is a link between Vygotsky's theories and social semiotics, as Kress and Hodge's work is also rooted in Marxism and its views on the collective and social elements of learning. Kress and Hodge (1988) explicitly refer to Marx's notion of historical materialism and how tools have evolved over time and have been transmitted through a sociohistorical process. Similarly, Kress and Hodge (1988) view signs as social constructions and one of them being language. As previously stated, Vygotsky's understandings of human development are based on Marx and Engel's work on the sociohistoricity behind the creation of tools and their use in mediating human activity. At this point, it would be an omission not to refer to Volosinov and his work 'Marxism and Philosophy of Language (1929/1986) where he attempted to theorise the dynamic use of sign by relating it to social interactions. Volosinov, like Vygotsky, was a Russian researcher, influenced by Marxist theory. Volosinov was specifically a linguist whose ideas are related to the non-essentialist views of language, as opposed to Saussurean ideas, he saw language as a sign that is socially constructed. Thus, Hodge and Kress's work seems to be drawing on Vygotsky and Volosinov's understandings of the social construction of sign making (Yandell, 2014).

Drawing along these lines, I aim to understand the mediational aspect of signs and their potentials in language learning. By doing that, I find multimodality a useful framework in understanding human communication and especially when examining refugee children's language learning practices as, in many cases, language may not be adequate enough to support children in claiming control over their learning.

Multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; Jewitt & Kress, 2003) is a theory that is rooted in M.A.K Halliday's (1978; 1993) work on the study of signs, or, in other words, Systemic Functional Linguistics, which focused on the social functions of language. M.A.K Halliday saw language operating as a tool within given socio-historical contexts to serve different purposes (express meaning, ideas). Multimodality can be defined as 'the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 20). Modes are 'socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resources for making meaning' (Kress, 2010, p.79). This means that, like any other mode which is socially constructed, language serves its community's social functions (interactional, personal). Other modes include images, gestures, gaze, colour and moving images. It is important to discuss multimodality theory and its potentials when conducting multilingual research as most of the studies conducted under the multilingual framework mainly focus on the analysis of the linguistic mode. The interpretation of other modes seems to be a necessary practice in cases where the linguistic mode cannot stand on its own, for example, when learners come from different linguistic backgrounds and aim to convey meaning in classroom settings. As will be seen in the data, I draw on the language of multimodal analysis and on its tools (analysis of linguistic, gesture, image and colour) offered by a multimodal approach (Kress, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen 2006) to analyse children's practices when drawing on different modes to make meaning. I also use this approach to interpret the school's use of signs as a way of developing linguistic and cultural awareness between learners (see chapter seven, section 7.2).

Researchers have examined the multimodal construction of meaning in educational institutions (Kenner, 2004; Flewitt, 2006; Kirsch, 2008) and provide important data for supporting the multimodal nature of learning.

In her book *Becoming biliterate: young children learning different writing systems*, Kenner (2004) examines the practices that six bilingual learners (aged six years old) developed in order to support their reading and writing skills. The children were observed while attending both primary and community schools. The children were of Chinese (two) Arabic (two) and Spanish (two) origin. Through a social semiotic perspective, Kenner observed and analysed

childrens' interpretations of the ways children experience the symbolic meaning of different linguistic systems. Kenner reveals that children were able to identify the different linguistic features between their home language and English, such as directionality, spatiality and character formation (design of the symbols) and that this enabled them to experience reading and writing in a multimodal way. Specifically, children developed an awareness that Chinese has a different writing system than English (logographic instead of alphabetic), and that Arabic writing goes from right to left in comparison to English. For Spanish, children needed to remember the phonetic differences for the same letter (e.g. *i* is pronounced differently in Spanish and English). Kenner suggests that children showed evidence of metalinguistic awareness as they were able to identify and put in practice all these differences in the visual and phonetic representations of the different systems and their conventions. This development allowed children to meaningfully experience their rich linguistic resources as it provided opportunities for their smooth navigation into their multilingual-multicultural contexts but was also a way of allowing them to reveal their linguistic expertise.

A similar approach to the understanding of the interwoven relationship between language and other modes was followed by Flewitt (2006), who paid attention to how young children, aged 3, negotiate meaning when interacting with their peers. By using videos as her main tool for data collection and through a multimodal analysis of interactions, Flewitt examined how preschool children draw on their available modes to create and express meaning at school. Flewitt also paid attention to the notion of peripheral and legitimate participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991), as she claimed that a multimodal analysis (video recordings) could identify incidents where children move from peripheral to legitimate involvement as the notion of becoming a member of the learning community is an important factor in children's socialisation. In this case, Flewitt provides a multimodal representation of one data extract about how one child who has been characterised as silent by their teachers is actually an active and creative learner. The multimodal analysis of classroom interaction reveals that the child needed to draw on other semiotic modes in order to be inducted into the community's learning practices. Flewitt showed that the child's lack of verbal behaviour did not prevent her from drawing on other modes to communicate and be responsive. For example, movements and gaze directions were seen as indicators of willingness to share her materials and practices. This finding is very important in cases where the linguistic mode is weaker but communication between participants is still achieved and especially in educational contexts where children do not share the same linguistic mode and then other modes become more apparent for the facilitation of communication.

When examining what kind of meaning the combination of modes carry, it is impossible not to examine the surroundings that learners participate in, as the linguistic landscape can prove to be an important source for becoming aware of the linguistic reality of a context (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). In her book, Kirsch (2008) devotes an important part to the role of schools' linguistic landscapes regarding the development of multilingual awareness. In her study she presents two London primary schools' practices when teaching foreign languages to children from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Kirsch argues that, when children's home languages are displayed in the school's corridors or in the classrooms or when their traditional costumes and different signposts and posters are displayed in the school, these kinds of practices 'can have a stimulating and motivating effect, and encourage learners to engage with foreign language' (ibid, p. 81) as children can familiarise with different languages and scripts. She goes on to say that it was also a means for developing intercultural understanding between learners. This intercultural understanding also created the appropriate conditions for knowledge about language which was taught implicitly. For example, she refers to learners' abilities to compare linguistic features between German and Bangladeshi when it comes to word order. In the given example, children were able to identify that the verb in both of these languages goes at the end of the sentence. In other instances, children started discussions about differences in the script of languages as they could identify them while observing the linguistic artefacts on the walls. This study is important in viewing language as semiotic signs that can be used as pedagogical tools that promote multilingual awareness.

In the following section I describe the ways in which SCT concepts have been appropriated in education to examine how learning occurs when learners participate in socially situated activities.

3.1.2. Classrooms as communities of practice

In an attempt to theorise the role of social contexts and the social element of learning, in their monograph titled *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (1991), two anthropologists, Lave and Wenger, developed the concept of Communities of Practice (CoP) by analysing five cases of the ways that groups of people (midwives, tailors, butchers, navy quartermasters and alcoholics) construct their own learning by sharing their practices. Lave and Wenger (1991) hold that learning occurs when newcomers engage in 'legitimate peripheral participation' which will lead to full participation within the community, as learning 'is an integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in world' (ibid, p. 35). This learning model that these scholars suggested is also rooted in Vygotsky's social element of learning where participants jointly construct their knowledge by internalising what is in the

external into an internal form. The process the authors describe to be able to participate in the learning community is that the community's newcomers firstly participate within a legitimate peripheral participation from where they are still less engaged with the established community's practices, before becoming full participants. The authors describe how this form of apprenticeship learning is similarly negotiated within the five communities in the sense that it involves access to learning resources. For the newcomers to become full members, an extended period of time is required in order to be able to observe the practices of the community and gradually start negotiating roles. In their later work Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002) offer a clearer definition of what a community of practice is by defining it as 'a group of people who share a common concern, set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis' (ibid, p.4). By this, I understand that learning is not something that is on the outside but something that evolves between people when sharing their linguistic or material resources in a given setting. Despite the fact the Lave and Wenger's examination did not include classroom contexts and focused on a single direction, from periphery to full membership, it provides an important theorisation of the ways that people learn through a cultural cultivation of practices. Similarly, a classroom could be described as a community where its members (children) share the same concern, which is how to grasp new knowledge while participating in socially situated activities.

In her longitudinal ethnographic study, Toohey (2000) utilised Lave and Wenger's concept of the CoP and stressed the social element of language learning when investigating migrant children's practices in a classroom context. Six primary school children of minority language backgrounds for whom English was an additional language, were observed during their first three years of schooling in Canada. Toohey claims that learning is distributed when children have access to knowledge, which means opportunities for language use. Drawing on the notion of peripheral participation, Toohey argues that, due to the limited access that minority children had to the community's practices, they could not become full members as their expertise was not powerful enough. She suggests that the access can be given by their classmates or through material resources. For example, when children participated in imaginative play or in choral work, they were given the opportunity to become 'legitimate peripheral participants in activities' (ibid, p. 127) and to appropriate their English voices. Also, when learners were able to participate in what she calls *language subcommunities* and draw on their dominant language to communicate, the more opportunities were gaining in terms of language socialisation which then led in accessing the target language -English-. However, these opportunities diminished when children moved to the next years of schooling as they did not have access to the physical and linguistic resources that they did before. For

example, their seating arrangements prevented them from having access to their home languages, as their teacher followed an ideology of individuality and the idea of children participating in a community that could assist each other's understanding was not welcome. Toohey (2000) critiqued such exclusionary practices by building an argument regarding the ways that our pedagogical systems need to not normalise these children, but, transform the system so that children's resources (linguistic, cultural) can be seen as assets to society. This conclusion entails pedagogical implications for teaching as, when children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds are not valued in the classroom community, it is more likely for minority children to remain marginalised. However, her interpretation remained of the view that new members (minority children) need to be inducted into the main community's practices in order to be able to learn.

By applying the CoP concept in my study where I examine language learning practices and, thus, highlight language use as the most significant part of classroom practice, I am able to understand the underlying processes of the 'newcomers' when trying to gain access to the community's (classroom) linguistic resources (SMG) in order to become members of it. However, the notion that learning occurs only when novices engage in practices where long-established peers are the experts with an aim of becoming legitimate participants, presupposes an assimilationist view of learning. Fuller, Hodkinson, Hodkinson and Unwin (2005) provide a critical stance on the way that Lave and Wenger (1991) envisaged the concept of communities by providing empirical evidence from two research projects focusing on the learning that occurs in workplaces. The examples the researchers provide suggest that further dimensions need to be explored as in many cases, the experienced workers were holding the role of the learner. Despite their work being prominent when it comes to recognising the limitations of Lave and Wenger's linear view of participation, it is not a study located in the fields of applied linguistics.

Haneda (2006) provides a critical review of the ways that the CoP has been adopted in second language literature and suggests that a holistic view of the ways that newcomers are inducted in the community's norms is necessary, as she questions the hierarchies between the participants. However, Haneda (2006) did not provide any empirical evidence regarding challenging such approaches and, as it stands, there is no study challenging the assimilationist view of participation by providing interactional data regarding the ways that all learners' linguistic and cultural backgrounds can be valued equally when participating in CoP contexts.

It would be useful to understand CoP as a form of ZPD as both concepts view learning taking place in a socially situated activity. Daniels' (2014) dialogic understanding of ZPD allows for a multi-layered understanding on the roles that learners take when participating in heterogeneous learning communities. In that way we can view classrooms as a place where meaning is negotiated and not transferred in a linear way.

In the next section, I discuss the concept of scaffolding and how it is understood when learners interact with each other in classroom settings in order to construct their knowledge.

3.1.2.1 Peer Scaffolding

'Scaffolding' was first coined by Bruner (1975) as an attempt to understand the role of assistance provided by a mother and her child. Bruner provided synonyms to the verb scaffold such as 'assist' and 'reciprocate' to define 'mother's efforts to limit, so to speak, those degrees of freedom in the task that the child is not able to control -holding an object steady while the child tries to extract something from it, screening the child from distraction, etc' (ibid, p. 12). Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) later developed the concept of 'scaffolding' to describe the process where adults assist children (3, 4 and 5 years old) to reconstruct a wooden block to form a pyramid. They referred to scaffolding as a practice which 'enables a child or novice to solve a problem, carry out a task or achieve a goal which would be beyond his unassisted efforts' (ibid p. 90). In other words, scaffolding refers to the assistance provided to learners by more knowledgeable adults so as to regulate their learning process. According to Lantolf and Thorne (2006) it may also involve external factors such as use of objects. Even though Wood *et al.* (1976) made no reference to Vygotsky's (1978) ZPD, it is obvious that they also refer to children's learning potentials when assistance is given. However, scaffolding occurs not only within the interactions of novices and adults but also between peers themselves and, hence, the concept of peer scaffolding has been developed and examined in the literature of second language learning in an attempt to analyse the ways that peers can support each other's language learning.

Donato (1994) moved beyond the binary of teacher-student interaction and appropriated the metaphor of scaffolding in second language learning to investigate how three university students learn a grammatical feature (the perfect tense of reflexive verbs) in French when mutually constructing each other's language learning experiences. His results showed that, through peer scaffolding (indicators: interest in task simplification, maintaining aim, making critical comments, controlling external factors when problems occur and demonstrating the ideal response), learners were able to minimise their frustration by relying on their shared knowledge. One of the practices that allowed for peer scaffolding to evolve was that the

participants alternated between their dominant (English) and target (French) language to negotiate meaning so as to manage the available information and focus on the task. The significance of this study lies in the role of interaction and the negotiation of meaning between learners who have equal experience and knowledge. That means that the assistance provided was the result of peers' constant negotiation. That said, this study goes beyond the adult-novice dichotomy that was developed in Wood *et al's.* (1976) model, as the participants were collectively trying to move beyond their potentials and were not relying on an expert's demonstration to allow their participation. All the learners in this study were of similar linguistic and cultural background, thus, they consisted of a homogeneous group of learners. However, we cannot infer whether peers who do not have the same cultural and linguistic background could participate in such peer scaffolding activities.

Following a similar view of peer scaffolding, Ohta's (2001) study not only reveals the joint construction of knowledge but also demonstrates that all learners, despite their different linguistic abilities, are provided with opportunities to stress their learning potentials. Ohta studied the practices that a group of seven young adults developed when learning a new language (Japanese) at an American university. By analytically transcribing and analysing her data, Ohta identifies practices that learners engage with when privately (talk directed to self) internalising the new language such as repetitions, vicarious responses (when the learner privately responds to corrections made by the teacher to another student) and the manipulation of oral language (utterance construction). When learners were working together, Ohta identified several practices of peer assistance such as: waiting, prompting, explaining, indicating an error, recasting, and asking the teacher for help. Ohta also makes the claim that more proficient learners also profit from interactions with less proficient peers by enhancing their awareness of their own status of knowledge. However, most of the excerpts provided pointed out the expert-novice relationship when it comes to linguistic support, as the more knowledgeable peer or adult provided the necessary assistance to the less skilled learner. Similar to Donato's (1994) case, the members of this CoP come from similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds and share the same concerns. In that sense the group is a homogeneous one.

Up to now, I have set out Vygotsky's main ideas when it comes to the social nature of learning and how his work inspired scholars in developing concepts such as Communities of Practice (CoP) and peer scaffolding to examine how social interaction contributed to knowledge internalisation. I also reviewed studies that have adopted these concepts to examine second language learning. These studies inform our understanding when it comes to viewing classrooms as communities where participants share common interests and

practices and aim to become legitimate members. When it comes to peer scaffolding, I considered the positive outcomes that second language learners gain when participate in peer scaffolding activities such as collective use of language in understanding linguistic features. However, these studies did not provide evidence of how primary school children can foster their second language learning and, specifically, what happens when these children have refugee trajectories and participate in mainstream classroom settings where the majority speaks other language than theirs.

In what follows, I consider how language practices are understood in SCT theory when examining multilingual educational contexts. I begin by discussing some key ideas when it comes to multilingual education and I also refer to Cummins' work. I then turn to reviewing the literature by explaining the ways in which a multicultural approach towards teaching and learning, has a positive impact on developing linguistic awareness by making children's cultural and linguistic resources visible. I then turn to the literature of second language learning and specifically examine the three linguistic practices that are key for language learning and are important for this study: code-switching, translating and repeating. In doing so, I reveal that these practices can be used as scaffolding tools that facilitate language learning.

3.2 Sociocultural Theory and its application to the education of multilingual learners

Vygotsky's social element of learning influenced many scholars working in the fields of education (Toohey, 2000; Chen & Gregory, 2004; Hélot & Young, 2006; Kirsch, 2008; Kenner, Gregory, Ruby & Al-Azami, 2008) and applied linguistics (Donato, 1994; Ohta, 2001; Mondada & Pekarek-Poehler, 2004; Creese & Blackledge, 2011) in shifting their views on what multilingualism is and moving beyond seeing languages as discrete and bounded entities. As discussed in chapter one, seeing languages as bounded entities is a very limited way to represent language in today's real-life situations (globalisation, forced migration) and this perspective fails to capture the fluidity and the dialogic manner in which people use language and manage to support their learning. The scholars who shifted their views on what multilingualism is, examine second language learning practices by following a non-essentialist view, a repertoire approach, which allows them to see language as set of resources that learners draw on to not only learn a new language but also to be able to reflect on their multilingual identities (Busch, 2010, 2015; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Preece, 2018). Hence, moving beyond essentialist views it allows to witness the agency behind the use of language learning, as it is not a mechanical activity.

This shift has not only led to a plethora of terms in an attempt to theorise linguistic practices such as ‘plurilingualism’ (Council of Europe, 2016), ‘polylingualism’ (Jørgensen, 2008), ‘metrolingualism’ (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), ‘flexible bilingualism’ (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), and, more recently, ‘translanguaging’ (Garcia & Li, 2014) but has also enabled researchers to approach the needs of language learners from diverse backgrounds, such as refugees and migrants, with a critical stance.

Translanguaging, which is a recent turn in the field, first emerged from an educational background. The term was used in Welsh schools and was called as *trawsieithu*. Translanguaging obtained when children used two languages (English and Welsh) at language immersion schools. It was first analysed by Williams (1996) and was then transferred into English by Baker (2001), who translated the Welsh term as translanguaging. More recently, Garcia and Li (2014) argue that translanguaging differs from code-switching in the sense that it entails a non-structured notion when it comes to moving across languages. The scholars state that ‘translanguaging refers to new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories’ (ibid, p. 21). Scholars drawing on translanguaging theory avoid referring to named languages, however, the participants in my study are required to produce Greek utterances and the practice of code-switching is reflected through my data, as it allows me to identify the named languages and interpret how children use their languages meaningfully so as to enhance their learning. Thus, for the purposes of this study, I choose to use the term of code-switching to describe the practice of alternation between named linguistic resources which I approach through an SCT lens that also sees the alternation of resources not as static but as a mediating activity for internalising new knowledge (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). I am aware that the terms code-switching (Baker, 2011), code-mixing (Kachru, 1978) and code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011) are used in many cases interchangeably but also that some scholars see differences between them. For example, code-mixing is referred to the alternation that exists within the sentence boundary whereas code-switching at the alternation outside the sentence boundary. For Kafle and Canagarajah (2015), code-meshing is about the ability of using the different languages in an integrated way. For this study, I choose to use code-switching as an umbrella term that includes the alternation of named languages within the sentence or clause boundary and outside of that.

According to Lantolf, Thorne and Poehner (2015), learning ‘may occur over relatively short periods of time where learning takes place during a single interaction’ (ibid, p.9). In this study, I do not aim to measure linguistic performance over a long period or assess children’s

linguistic abilities based on traditional language tests, as this is not the aim of the study. In this study, I intend to explore how refugee children use language as a tool to make meaning and grasp an understanding of Greek linguistic structures, while participating in activities in which the Greek language is not their primary tool to draw upon.

Cummins is an important figure in the field of pedagogical language learning frameworks. He focuses on the support of students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds. Cummins developed different language learning models, and after years of research, argues that the incorporation of children's home languages during teaching aids the learning of the target one. A useful concept of Cummins' (1984) in teaching multilingual learners that is closely related to social justice approach when it comes to linguistically empowering minorities, is the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP). Cummins' meta-analysis of studies (1991) in the field of second language learning in educational contexts suggests that, when learners acquire a language, they acquire a set of skills. These skills can be transferred when learning another language. This transfer is called cross-lingual transfer (Cummins, 1991) and refers to the claim that learners can transfer their written and spoken skills between their shared languages as they operate within an integrated system (CUP). This means that the skills that children acquire in their home language can be transferred to the new language and, through the use of home language, the new language also benefits. This entails the development of children's metalinguistic awareness, by which I mean not only children's knowledge of linguistic features but also the knowledge of the various functions of language in different social and cultural contexts (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991). Robertson (2007) provides an example of Cummins' CUP model of how conceptual knowledge can be transferred. She explains that when a learner understands 'that print carries meaning, or alphabet, or understanding that each spoken word can be segmented into separate phonemes that can be represented by written symbols, the learner does not need to relearn the same concept in another language' (ibid, p. 46). Cummins' framework on second language learning has pedagogical implications for the support of children who come from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds, as it suggests that working in educational environments where children's home languages and cultures are valued, does not harm the learning of the L2 (second language).

3.2.1 Understanding culture and understanding language

On the SCT approach, language learning presupposes children being exposed to cultural exchanges that lead to mutual recognition and valuing. Banks and McGee (2010) give a definition of what multicultural education should mean and argue that it 'is an idea stating that all students, regardless of the groups to which they belong, such as those related to

gender, ethnicity, race, culture, language, social class, religion, or exceptionality, should experience educational equality in the schools' (ibid, p.25). This interpretation sets the boundaries for incorporating a social justice approach when examining second language learning, as there are multiple dimensions that need to be taken into account when examining language learning and, consequently, when designing curricula, materials and assessments. Education has a role to play in supporting the development of a multicultural society and, by doing so, it prepares its future citizens for living together.

In *Multiculturalism and Second Language Learning* research article, Kubota (2012) argues that it is essential to incorporate a multicultural approach to teaching, as learning a new language requires the engagement in learning of the self and the other. She goes on to point out the interrelationship between multilingualism and the non-essentialist hybrid views of applied linguistics. A multicultural approach towards learning is important for this study as, in order for newly arrived refugee children to be welcomed in a new context and, especially, an educational one, a correspondence between home learning experiences and school experiences must be achieved.

In regards to language learning, Kubota's statement is supported by Hélot and Young's (2006) multilingual project in France in which they present one school's good practices in developing an inclusive discourse. This longitudinal project (3 years) is an example of the incorporation of multicultural approaches to second language teaching. It depicts how teachers in one primary school managed to raise children's cultural and linguistic awareness by giving status to all children's home languages. The scholars define a multilingual school:

as a place where linguistic and cultural diversity is acknowledged and valued, where children can feel safe to use their home language alongside the school language... it is also a place where the plurilingual repertoire of bilingual/multilingual pupils is recognized and viewed as a resource to be shared and built upon, rather than as a problem.

(ibid, p. 69).

This school they describe, falls into this definition as its teachers aimed for multilingual awareness to be developed as a way of addressing the linguistic and cultural diversity of their classes by developing a common classroom culture. The aim of the project was not for all children to learn all the languages used in the school (18 different languages) but to come into contact with and appreciate the richness of them. The participants in this project were children in three classes aged 6-9 and their parents, who collaborated with the teachers for the development of pedagogical activities that would enrich children's linguistic and cultural

awareness. Practices such as repeating new sounds and words via singing songs in different languages, reading stories in different languages and learning Italian words - by comparing them with words in their known language (French) - through cooking activities - enabled children to compare how different words are written and pronounced in different languages. In this way, all children developed an awareness of the different languages around them and, by equally valuing their existing knowledge, children were seen as equal members of the learning community. This study is a good example of when educators are agentive and, despite participating in a monolingual, top-down model, they managed to create the appropriate conditions for the development of language awareness by legitimising their children's languages. The teachers here were not themselves multilingual. However, the study has shown that, rather than focusing on teachers' linguistic abilities, we need to focus on their linguistic attitudes. When teachers develop awareness around issues of multilingualism, then they can make real changes regardless of linguistic ability, at least at an institutional level.

One of the good practices that the two primary schools in Kirsch's (2008) book developed when supporting the learning of foreign languages, was the development of cultural awareness. Following Kirsch's (2008) interpretation, by cultural awareness, I mean the ability to develop an understanding of our own culture and the culture of others. Kirsch extends this into cultural competence which is not only about understanding but also developing sensitivity towards other cultures, and this includes knowledge of how different cultural and linguistic practices can operate equally in society. In this study, cultural awareness includes cultural competence. The two schools in Kirsch's study were promoting the teaching of foreign languages due to the high number of students with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Through a number of practices, such as having children compare the origins of two languages (e.g. Spanish and Arabic), children implicitly acquired the new language in terms of etymology and vocabulary. Other practices that allowed children to develop cultural awareness included pen-pal exchanges between children from the UK and Luxembourg, learning traditional rhymes, poems and songs in French and German, and the learning of traditional tales and fables. The main argument that Kirsch (2008) emphasises is the importance of cultural awareness when learning a new language, as these kinds of practices create opportunities for second language to be produced, shared and examined.

These two studies show that learning a new language goes beyond the acquisition of linguistic features as, in order to be able to reach these, there is a presupposition of the development of sensitivity towards cultural aspects. A sociocultural approach to learning assumes that this cultural awareness is developed when people participate in their

communities' practices (Rogoff, Matusov, and White, 1996). The development of cultural awareness then leads to the learning of language, which is also seen as a (symbolic) tool that people use to mediate their (high or low) mental activities. Taking this approach to learning, Norton and Toohey (2001) confirm that second language learning occurs when 'learners are seen to appropriate the utterances of others in particular historical and cultural practices, situated in particular communities' (ibid, p. 312)

My interests in applied linguistics are tightly linked to pedagogy, in particular, to the ways in which students' linguistic practices are developed and employed within a mainstream classroom setting. Within applied and sociolinguistics literature, the most common linguistic practices that are employed by learners when learning a language are code-switching, translating and repeating. Thus, a review of studies that examine such practices within multilingual education is necessary. After reviewing how these practices are understood, I then review studies at an international level that specifically examine refugee children's language learning practices in mainstream education. I then identify the gaps in the field and conclude by bringing together the main elements of the literature and set out how my study contributes to the field of second language learning drawing on SCT frameworks.

3.2.2. Drawing on different linguistic resources to make meaning

Code-switching (CS) constitutes an everyday practice for multilingual speakers and, in its simplest form, it can be described as the practice of alternation between two or more languages (Macaro, 2005; Baker, 2011). Specifically, Baker defines code-switching as 'any switch within the course of a single conversation, whether at word or sentence level or at the level of blocks of speech' (ibid, 2011, p.107). Thus, code-switching is seen as a practice that can be identified both inside and outside sentence level. Within the language learning literature, there are a number of studies that have stressed the importance of allowing learners to switch between their home and target language, drawing on an SCT lens (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999; Drury, 2004; Moodley, 2007). By approaching CS via an SCT lens, switching from one language or uneven parts of one language to the other, can be seen as a sophisticated learning practice which allows participants to have better access to the target language while socially interacting. CS can be used as a practice that supports learners' linguistic production (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999; Drury, 2004), to keep the conversation going (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003), for identity construction (Creese & Blackledge, 2011) and for seeking clarifications, explanations and checking for meaning (Moodley, 2007). These different functions of CS allow learners to navigate their repertoires with ease, projecting their multilingual identities and revealing evidence of language learning as they do so.

A seminal study that emphasises the flexible use of young learners' linguistic repertoires within a classroom setting comes from Creese and Blackledge (2011). The scholars examined the linguistic practices employed by children who participate in complementary schools which they attend to learn their heritage language. The target heritage languages were Bengali, Cantonese, Gujarati, Mandarin and Turkish, and the complementary schools were located in four English cities. The interactional analysis revealed instances of flexible bilingualism (viewing language use as a flexible mean and not a restricted one), as the scholars identified data where students' alternations between their home and the English language provided opportunities for meaningful and playful negotiations between them and their teachers. The scholars present extracts where students are able to create new words, to keep up with conversation (formal and informal situations), and appropriate multimedia voices. Drawing on a non-essentialist view of language, Creese and Blackledge call for a flexible bilingual approach towards language teaching which affords children the possibility to 'use a wide range of linguistic resources' (ibid, p.1201) to make and recreate meaning, in a way that a monolingual ideology would restrict them. The scholars suggest that the use of two or more languages during teaching can enable children to make sense of their own reality as their data indicate that children's complex use of their linguistic repertoires reflected their position towards monolingual ideologies regarding teaching. This study shows that the practice of CS employed by learners allowed complementary schools to be seen as sites of multilingualism where communities maintain their heritage language by incorporating students' social and linguistic experiences. However, the study does remain at a descriptive level in terms of the use of languages and does not provide evidence or interpretation of the ways that children support the learning of their home languages.

On the other hand, a study that is oriented towards language learning comes from Antón and DiCamilla (1999) who drew on an SCT framework to examine the pedagogical function of code-switching and the way it can be used as a practice that mediates language learning. The scholars examined the role of the dominant language (English) in second language learning of adult learners of Spanish. While working collaboratively on their writing activities (essays), the learners were observed code-switching during three instances: firstly, when students scaffolded each other's knowledge by using their dominant language to access the target, e.g., the production of a lexical item/production of a grammatical verb form. Their fine-grained analysis showed that, by drawing on their dominant language, the learners were able to take control and direct each other's Spanish production. Secondly, the CS had a social function as it was a way for learners to share their common understanding of the task (intersubjectivity). For example, when learners were using English to ask questions or form their hypotheses, they were able to maintain the group's active engagement in the task.

Thirdly, by means of CS, they were able to externalise their private speech (talk to the self) to guide their thinking and perform their writing activities. The scholars conclude by reiterating the mediated function of the students' use of dominant language when learning a new one. It is also worth paying attention to the way that Antón and DiCamilla approached peer interaction. They say that peers were at the same level of linguistic proficiency, and, thus, each student's contribution was valuable for accomplishing the task. However, there is no evidence of how the task would be accomplished if the learners could not equally provide each other with their linguistic expertise. Another factor that needs to be taken into account is that the students in this study were adults who participate in foreign language lessons and, as such, the classroom is homogeneous in the sense that all participants have the same dominant language (English) and, perhaps, that is why they felt more comfortable in incorporating code-switching in their learning.

An ethnographic case study that also draws on Vygotskian frameworks of language learning comes from Drury (2004), who examined the linguistic practices of one learner (4 years) and her younger brother (2 years) at home. The children came from Pakistan and their home language is Pahari. However, they live in an English-speaking community and the 4 year old attends English speaking nursery school. The school observations showed that, despite Samia (4 year old) being a confident learner, her peers do not respond to her utterances when interacting with them and that limits her opportunities to practice her second language and become an equal member of the nursery community. However, things change when she interacts with her little brother, Sadaqat at home. Drury argues that, during siblings' interactions, Samia has the opportunity to practice English. The researcher provides a precisely analysed extract where the two languages are interwoven and in which Samia takes the authoritative role of the teacher and instructs Sadaqat in school activities. While doing so, Samia code-switches between English and Pahari, as she has the freedom to do so. Samia's CS while instructing her brother shows evidence of metalinguistic awareness as she provides equivalent vocabulary in both English and Pahari. Also, when Samia wants to capture her brother's attention, she switches into Pahari (communicative reasons). Thus, we can see the sophisticated role that CS plays for both learning and social purposes. The scholar concludes by arguing that, when children take control of their own learning and participate in environments where all of their languages are recognised, they can move beyond their ZPD as they feel free to practice the target language and, thus, their desire for learning can grow. In this educational setting, there was, however, no evidence of the ways that a bilingual child could maximise their language learning potentials while participating in classroom's activities and this indicates the importance of teachers being able to value their children's linguistic resources.

A study that also supports the dual role (cognitive and communicative) of CS when learning a new language comes from Arnfast and Jørgensen (2003). Seeing CS as a tool that mediates communication, the scholars hold that the practice of CS 'takes place when the interlocutors want to establish a meaning' (ibid, p. 27) and, thus, CS does not reveal incompetence. In their study, Arnfast and Jørgensen examined two groups of foreign language learners through interviews. The first group were English-speaking students learning Danish (high school students) and the second group were Polish students learning Danish (young adults). Their linguistic analysis shows that CS was used for both learning and communicative reasons (easing the flow of conversation). In regards to learning, CS was used by students as a way of understanding the vocabulary and linguistic production in the target language. In regards to its communicative role, it was used as a way of keeping the conversation going and as a way of establishing common understanding between the interviewer and the interviewees. The work of Arnfast and Jørgensen highlights an important finding - the sophisticated use of CS in the sense of recognising learners' agentic role towards their learning. CS was not only used when there was lack of competence in the target language, but it was seen as a tool that was used for constructing linguistic production. Learners were code-switching as a way of clarifying, checking meaning or commenting on the target language. Again, this study engages with adult learners participating in homogenous classes and, thus, we cannot infer whether these findings could be applicable to primary school children who come from refugee backgrounds and have been asked to join in an environment where their dominant language is not the classroom's dominant one. Also, their findings are the result of the analysis of one research tool, interviews.

Moodley's (2007) ethnographic study supports the pedagogical role of CS in multilingual classrooms. Her qualitative classroom study examines learners' interactional talk when working in groups in the language lesson (English) in a South African classroom. What is interesting in this study and resonates with mine, is that the learners participate in a mainstream classroom where the medium of instruction is English (some of the participants are English monolingual), but these children have a dominant language other than English. The participants (aged 14) came from different linguistic backgrounds and relied on CS as a means of seeking clarification and providing explanations when needed to engage in a deeper understanding of their tasks. For example, Moodley provides interactional analysis of the ways that the bilingual participants scaffold each other's understanding by providing explanations when alternating between English and Zulu. During group work, one of the members seems to have a lexical gap and, by switching into Zulu, seeks clarification. The

explanation comes from another participant who also provides the answer in Zulu. Thus, this reciprocal practice marks participants' ability to negotiate meaning. Moodley's finding regarding the notion of intersubjectivity (shared knowledge) while learners are code-switching resonates with Antón and DiCamilla's (1999), as they also thought that the use of CS supports the development of group responsibility while working on a common activity. In regards to the learning potentials of CS, Moodley provides a fine-grained analysis of her interactional data. For example, in the presented extracts, there was evidence of vocabulary enhancement as learners were able to provide synonyms to each other while code-switching, which enabled knowledge construction. Moodley concludes by arguing that, when learners switch to their dominant language, this also provides opportunities for production of the target language. Her study has pedagogical implications because she challenges the monolingual ideology in schools. Despite the educational policies arguing for multilingual practices, the literature has shown that CS is not a welcomed practice in South African schools. However, Moodley's findings suggest that, when children's dominant languages are incorporated in the classroom, the learning opportunities are expanded. Moodley showed that the participants still alternated between their available linguistic resources to direct their learning of the target language. However, they only did it when they were interacting with their other multilingual peers, and not the ones who were English monolinguals. Finally, the data did not reveal whether the English speakers also benefited while participating in a multilingual classroom.

Code-switching was also examined in learners' more playful use and this also revealed its learning potential. However, most of these studies (see Ohta, 2001; Broner & Tarone, 2001) in second language learning identified this playful use of CS in learners' private speech (talk to the self). One study that focuses on social speech and reveals CS' playfulness, comes from Cekaite and Aronsson (2005). They examined recently arrived refugee and migrant children's (aged 7-10) playful talk in a reception classroom (only for refugee and migrant children) in Sweden. Cekaite and Aronsson identified incidents of playful use of language such as nonsense words, deliberate mislabelling, and simple puns by drawing on phonological, paradigmatic and syntactic rules. One of the ways of producing playful talk was through code-switching. Other practices included alliteration, parallelism, word elongations, onomatopoeia, loud talking, laughing, and repetition. However, in regards to CS, Cekaite and Aronsson only provide one extract of data. Their fine-grained analysis illustrates that, while a child is playing a card game with his peer, he creatively employed CS and the result was the poetic improvisation of a nonsense word. The child's laughter is supported by another peer who also joins in and shows his approval by laughter. The scholars suggest that the boy's CS was an indicator that he was becoming an emergent

multilingual and the laughter by both learners indicated an understanding of shared knowledge. Despite providing only one example of the playful use of CS, this empirical study is important as it presents classroom-based evidence of children's playful approaches to language, which indexes signs of metalinguistic awareness. In regards to their participation in the classroom community, the use of playful talk allowed children to claim their legitimacy within their community, as it was important for these children to create opportunities for the joint use of the target language. This evidence is also supported by Cook (2000), as he suggests that playful talk creates opportunities for knowledge to be shared between participants. One limitation is that this classroom was a reception classroom for refugee and migrant children, and not a mainstream classroom, which means that all children were experiencing, in a way, the same trajectories in their linguistic development, and, in this sense, the classroom was homogeneous. Thus, we cannot assume what would happen in a mainstream learning environment, or deduce whether the children would feel the same comfort in producing playful talk while code-switching.

To conclude, it could be said that the aforementioned studies support the argument that the field has moved from a monolingual approach towards learning where students are expected to acquire equal competence similar to their dominant language, and this is confirmed through the ways in which the practice of CS has been studied within the fields of applied linguistics and education. The aforementioned studies aimed to reveal language alternation's pedagogical functions when it comes to language learning. Some studies focused on the cognitive aspect of CS (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999; Cekaite & Aronsson, 2005; Moodley, 2007), others on its communicative element (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), and some on both (Arnfast & Jørgensen; 2003; Drury, 2004). However, only two of them included primary school children as their main participants (Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Cekaite & Aronsson, 2005). Moreover, only in Moodley's (2007) study did the learners participate in a heterogenous classroom where their dominant language was not the school's dominant one.

I now turn to review how the practice of translation is examined within second language learning inspired by the SCT literature.

3.2.3 Translating language, translating culture

Another practice that has been viewed through an SCT lens within the literature of second language learning, is translation. Straightforwardly, translation can be described as 'a process of replacing a text in one language by a text in another' (House 2009, p.4). However, a number of researchers in second language learning (Baynham, 1986; Chen &

Gregory, 2004; Cook, 2010) state that translation entails a transformative aspect when navigating between languages and cultures. As previously mentioned, multilingual practices presuppose engagement with multicultural practices, which means that being able to translate from one language to the other also presupposes elements of crossing linguistic and cultural borders. In this way, people can transform meaning that would be comprehensible across two or three languages and cultures (House, 2009). This kind of approach towards the practice of translation could have pedagogical implications, especially for the education of children coming from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds in the sense that their languages would be seen as tools for the support of their new language. For example, when children translate from one language to the other, it means that they start developing a good command of the target one because, by explaining the meaning to another, you also establish your own awareness (Ohta, 2001). Translation, as a process and as a product, plays an important role in language teaching (Cook, 2010) and that is why it needs to be embedded in a wider pedagogical approach when it comes to multilingual education. It is important to examine how the practice of translation is expressed in classrooms where the teacher does not share the same linguistic resources as the children because this is today's educational reality, especially with the arrival of refugee children in monolingual institutions.

Cook (2010) provides a comprehensive analysis of the use of translation in teaching and learning by firstly tracing its history and by offering suggestions for teaching activities (focusing on meaning, fluency, authenticity, procedural knowledge and collaborative learning) regarding how translation can be used as a communicative tool that supports second language learning. He suggests that a holistic focus and a social turn in translating activities can benefit students from different contexts and experiences as translation is an essential part of multilinguals' identities. Cook goes on to state that, when learners translate, their awareness of the target language also develops. Taking into account the contemporary multicultural world, Cook argues for the flexible use of translation despite teachers being monolinguals. Translation as a practice does not link with teachers' linguistic competences but rather whether they follow a monolingual or multilingual approach to their teaching. However, Cook's pedagogical arguments emphasised teacher-children interactions and lacked evidence of children-children interactions when it comes to the role of translation as a scaffolding tool between them.

A study that examines the role of translation as a scaffolding tool for learning, comes from Sgranyes-Ernest and Gonzalez-Davies (2015). The research held in a mainstream primary school where the main medium of instruction is Catalan. However, the majority of the

participants (aged 11-12) were speaking languages other than Catalan or Spanish. The observations took place during English lessons where the researchers investigated the role of translating storybooks in different languages as the children were asked to create their own stories in English and then translate them in their dominant languages. The results revealed evidence of children's metalinguistic awareness as they were able to reach to conclusions in regards to their linguistic choices and identify similarities between their spoken repertoires. Also, the results showed evidence of children's positive attitudes towards learning languages as the children had an opportunity to incorporate their dominant languages in the classroom. The researchers concluded by adding that translation is a powerful pedagogical tool that allows for meaningful teaching and learning interactions to take place, especially in an environment where children and teacher do not share the same linguistic resources. The study's importance lies in the suggestion that translation can be incorporated in the teaching process systematically as it would remove the stigma of only using the target language. This systematic use of it will then give status and normalise the use of children's available linguistic repertoires. However, the claims in regards to children's development of metalinguistic awareness and motivation towards learning English are only based on one interview extract as the authors did not provide interactional data from teaching time. Also, the data were collected in English language lessons and not during Catalan which is the medium of instruction of the school's subjects.

In their study Kenner, Gregory, Ruby and Al-Azami (2008) also investigated the ways in which second and third generation British Bangladeshi children fully utilised their bilingual potentials when attending Bengali after school classes. The aim of the Bengalis classes was to support children in language and numeracy in their mother tongue despite children being more fluent in English than Bengali. Two groups of children (17 in total) in two primary schools aged (7-11) were observed for two terms. Through qualitative analysis of audio and video-recordings, the scholars identified that the practice of translation had a role to play in enriching children's understanding in different subject concepts. Scholars' interactional extracts and commentary on fieldnote observations, revealed that, for example, when children were asked to translate Bangla stories into English, their choices and discussions in regards to the selection of the appropriate word showed that children were required to make grammatical and morphological adjustments in order to select the appropriate verb in Bangla. Children also explained their translation by referring to their shared understanding of Bangla rules. The scholars mentioned that other examples of children's evidence of metalinguistic awareness when translating was provided through the practice of transliteration. Transliteration was the practice of children using English letters to represent Bangla sounds. This practice showed that children were aware of the different phonological

functions between the two languages. The scholars concluded by arguing that when learners draw on their available linguistic and cultural knowledge 'they can develop deeper understanding of concepts, activate metalinguistic skills and generate new ideas that enrich learning' (ibid, p. 134). However, in order to be able to fully utilise their repertoires, a systematic support of their mother tongue needs to be implemented. This conclusion of theirs, goes back to Cummins' (1984, 1991) CUP hypothesis where children can transfer their cognitive skills from their dominant to the target language when support is provided by the educational system. This study could open up a path way into incorporating multilingual models of teaching in mainstream education for second and third generation migrant children.

Drawing on a sociocultural framework on language learning, Chen and Gregory's (2004) study examines bilingual children's learning practices. The scholars refer to the metaphor of 'synergy' to describe the guidance that two peers provide to each other through the practice of translation. The learners in this study are two girls of Chinese background. Yuan (8-year-old) is British born but fluent in both English and Chinese and Wington (9-year-old) and is a new arrival in a London primary school. Both are students in a mainstream classroom and working together on a biology text trying to understand its specialised vocabulary. The scholars provide a fine-grained analysis of how the two peers negotiate meaning through the use of translation. The more knowledgeable peer, Yuan, becomes aware of her bilingual status in her attempt to explain to Wington the meaning of the words 'constraint' and 'relax' and by doing that she finds herself dealing with specialised vocabulary that has to look for and then interpret for Wington. In doing so she gets guidance on where to look for information from Wington. What is important about this study is that it does not only reveal the importance of translation as a scaffolding tool between two bilinguals in mainstream schooling but it also shows that the process of translation moves beyond literal one as the learner needs to firstly understand the meaning in both of the languages in order to reformulate its meaning. It also showed that despite of Yuan's bilinguality, the one who took control over the activity and was directing on where to look for answers was Wington. The researchers argue that peer scaffolding here was reversed, as it was not only the novice peer who benefited from the interaction but also the expert. The expert peer needed to engage with translation practice in order to become more aware of her own understanding before being able to support her less knowledgeable counterpart. Again, the peer scaffolding takes place between learners with similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Baynham's (1986) article on bilingual folk stories provides an argument relevant to Sugranyes-Ernest and Gonzalez-Davies's (2015) study on the multilingual approach towards

teaching in relation to the practice of (written) translation. The author describes how an unpredicted incident during English as a second language lesson, created opportunities for a bilingual practice to take place. The author describes how the story of Nasreddin² was used as a tool for literacy development. During discussions on reading materials, an Iranian girl brings into light the story of Nasreddin which referred to people's judgements towards other people's appearance. After the girl's narration, the teacher took that opportunity for spoken speech to be transferred into a written one. After the story was written down in English by the Iranian girl, it was then used as a base for children to create a new version of the same story by translating it into Farsi (transformative use of translation). The scholar argues that the transformation into a bilingual story (English and Farsi) which aimed to be used by newly arrived Iranian students who were lacking literacy skills in English, allowed all of the children to develop their literacy skills such as lexical production, grammar and stylistic adaptation-tone of language- (Baynham, 1986, 1995). By analysing how a group of students were engaged in the transformative process of translation from Farsi to English and vice versa, the author suggests that translation does not only allow for children's linguistic backgrounds to be visible but it also enables them to develop their literacy skills (lexical production, grammar and stylistic adaptation). This process of translation was transformative in the sense that children's collective work created a new version of the original story as it involved creation of a new discourse. The author suggests that despite being monolingual himself, he managed to use language as a teaching tool for the enhancement of the target language (English) drawing on children's cultural and linguistic backgrounds and the result was the production of a bilingual story that could be used by all the children. Baynham's (1986) finding is also supported by Cummins' (1984, 1991) model of CUP where emergent bilinguals can operate cross-lingual transfer and in this case the author's observations support the cross-linguistic transfer where children could make conscious decisions with the help of their teacher on the ways that translation could support meaning in both languages.

These studies reveal that the practice of translation is not a linear process as it entails knowledge of both dominant and target language. When translating, learners make deliberate choices which reveal their understanding of the different functions of language. Thus when translating, learners show evidence of their metalinguistic awareness. It is then a matter of educators to maximise children's linguistic potentials by developing activities where children could draw on their available linguistic repertoires. However, it is not frequent in monolingual institutions for teachers to create such activities as teachers feel that they need

² Nasreddin or Nasreddin Hodja is a prime figure in the literature of the Arab speaking community

to know their children's languages in order to create such spaces so as not to lose control of teaching (Cook, 2010).

The final linguistic practice that is examined in this review is the one of repetition and the next paragraph considers its pedagogical implications as a scaffolding tool for language learning.

3.2.4 Repetition as a transformative resource

Another important practice when examining language learning through an SCT lens is repetition. In its simplest version, repetition refers to the practice of saying an utterance twice or more (Mauranen, 2012). However, in Cook's eyes (2000, p.29), 'even when repetition is exact, the self-same sequence of words takes on new meanings in new circumstances, or in the light of what has been done or said before'. That said, we understand that repetition entails a transformative action as when a child repeats, they perform and thus 'no two live performances can ever be the same' (ibid, p. 29), as each performance is recontextualised. Drawing on an SCT lens in regards learning a new language, repetition does not always take a mechanical form but has a more sociocultural function as it indicates that learners use repetition to mediate their learning but also to indicate the common ground that has developed with their interlocutors (DiCamilla & Antón, 1997; Moore, 2012). Cook (2000) and Cameron (2001) suggest that when learners repeat, in a way they allow time for themselves to process the new information and experiment with the new language. DiCamilla and Antón (1997) reinforce this view as they suggest that repetition is found in the ZPD, where learners use it as a scaffolding practice to build common space and produce more utterances in the target language. Duff (2000) has also stressed the importance of allowing learners repeating the utterances that they hear and are exposed to, as a way of noticing their gaps and by doing that, to learn the new vocabulary. Repetition can take different forms such as explicit correction provided by others through recasting (Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Ohta, 2001) which means that the teacher or peer repeats the incorrect answer in an attempt to signal the learner the mistake and this allows learners to reflect on their choice. It could also take the form of self-repetition which is about directing our own understanding while experimenting with the language, acting as an indicator of work in progress (Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004) or as an attempt by learners to perform a language task and by repeating, they are allowing themselves time to practice (Duff, 2000). In the literacy literature, repetition can take the form of self-correction which is seen as a key practice for children's reading development as it is an indication that learners begin to make sense of the printed text (Goodman & Burke, 1973; Goodman & Goodman, 1994). Such an understanding of repetition is useful when examining learning to read *per se* but also learning to read in a new language.

DiCamilla and Antón (1997) examined the sociocultural function of repetition within learners' ZPD as they saw repetition as a mediating practice that allows learners to move beyond their linguistic potentials when working collaboratively. The participants in this study were the same as in their 1999 study: ten adult Spanish learners whose dominant language was English and were asked to work in dyads to produce a common essay. The scholars recorded the linguistic practices of the learners and identified utterances of repeating speech (themselves or their peers) either in Spanish or English while working together. The scholars' fine-tuned analysis of interactional data revealed that, when participants were repeating what was previously produced, they were able to evaluate and refine the produced utterances, to seek clarifications, confirmations, raise questions and work on grammatical features of Spanish. By doing that, they were able to produce more utterances of the target language. The second finding is related to participants' shared perspectives of the task as the authors provide examples where the participants are repeating what each other says by adding words, part of words and even syllables and by doing that they manage to hold a collective perspective and motivation on the writing task. This kind of repetition also allowed learners to produce more of the target language. The scholars add that repeating each other's' utterances was an indicator that learners were accepting their peers' contributions and were acting as one voice. The study shows that when learners work collaboratively on tasks can move beyond their linguistic potentials and create more opportunities for linguistic production and consequently more opportunities to learn the target language. This finding supports the collective notion of scaffolding where peers work together in an attempt to support their own understanding.

Duff's (2000) study on repetition in the foreign language classroom adds to this body of literature in second language learning drawing on an SCT perspective. Similarly to DiCamilla and Antón (1997), she reveals the collective function of repetition and sees it as an indicator of learners signalling their participation and acceptance towards their learning community. Duff also sees the learning potential of repetition as she argues that it is 'a way of providing learners greater access to language forms' (ibid, p. 109). In order to support her argument, Duff provides micro-analysis of classroom discourse from three contexts: one high school and two university classrooms where learners were a homogeneous group aiming to learn English, German and Hebrew respectively. In regards to high school students, Duff shows that repetition could foster learners' metalinguistic awareness as the learners were playing, experimenting with new vocabulary provided by the teacher and by doing that they were identifying its lexical associations. Thus, their experimentation with language resulted in meaningful production of the target language. Repetition was also examined in its social

form as, when learners' repetition of taught terminology was accompanied by laughter, it seemed to be helping them to build solidarity with the members of their community. This resulted in their joint production of English utterances. On the other hand, for university learners, repetition did not provide the same opportunities as they did not show any interest in repeating linguistic forms. University students did not see repetition serving any meaningful interactions between them. Despite teacher's aim to use repetition as a way of eliciting grammatically correct form of language, the students avoided this by switching to their dominant language. An explanation was that for university students, repetition is a common practice but because it is embedded in difficult grammatical forms they do not engage with it meaningfully. Drawing on Duff's comparison between the two different classroom contexts for the use of repetition, it can be said that in lower levels of education, participants seem to be more willing to draw on repetition to support their linguistic production as they see a more joyful aspect of it.

Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler's (2004) study also focuses on second language learning and offers an in-depth analysis of spoken discourse between teachers and learners in various activities. Their data come from two educational contexts, from one reception classroom in a primary school in Switzerland when migrant children learn French and from the analysis of French as a second language in a German speaking high-school, also in Switzerland. The scholars applied an SCT framework in their analysis in the sense that they saw knowledge construction as a socially situated activity that takes place in 'interactions' sequential organisation' (ibid, p.484) and thus, they offered a fine-tuned analysis of classroom talk to identify the instances of learning co-construction. Their analysis of spoken discourse indicates that one of the linguistic practices that learners employ in order to learn French, was repetition. Specifically, migrant children were strategically incorporating the practice of repetition as a way to control their learning. One of the extracts shows that when the teacher nominated a child to provide the answer in regards to grammatical tasks, the child repeated the question before submitting the answer as a way of allowing themselves time to generate their answers 'while retrospectively exhibiting their understanding of the question' (ibid, p. 469). In the same extract, the children's repetition of their previous word is seen as an attempt to self-repair their first production before providing the final answer to their teacher. However, it wasn't only the children that were repeating but also the teacher in an attempt to model the correct answer (direct repetition of children's utterances). In regards to children's repetition, it is important to be noted that it serves as learning practice that multilingual children employed in order to reveal their work in progress and allow time to experiment with the new language. The article provides important theoretical and methodological considerations when examining classroom interactions as the scholars

suggest that in order to identify learners' linguistic skills, an observation and a fine-tuned analysis of classroom talk through a socio-interactionist approach needs to take place. In that way, instances of second language discourse can be observed as the essence of learning lies in the engagement of group work.

In her book '*Young bilingual learners at home and at school: researching multilingual voices*', Drury (2007) examines the learning practices of three bilingual children at home and at school. The author argues that the sociocultural approach that she takes is also embedded in the methodology as she explores the learning practices of children in both home and school as she sees learning development situated in children's cultural heritage and home experiences and not only in school classrooms. One of the learners in this study is Maria (4 year old), who speaks Pahari at home and who is an emergent bilingual. The author provides interactional data on how she took control of her learning by drawing on the practice of repetition. Specifically, Drury analysed transcripts showing that, during her communicative interactions with adults, Maria used repetition (repeating teacher's last utterance) as a way to practice her English but also to maintain communication with an adult in the nursery classroom. Another example of Maria's repetition as a way of practising English utterances on her own and with adults is seen when she engages in a cutting activity at the same time as she performs the key vocabulary involved with this activity (singing a song about cutting). This kind of repetition of her own utterances (song) was a way of practicing what she had already learned, embedding it in her own repertoire (transformative nature of repetition), which was a way of developing her vocabulary. The association with the physical activity goes back to the Total Physical Response method (Asher, 1977) which emphasises on the association between linguistic and embodiment performance. This approach explains that when learners perform what they listened to, they can easily recall vocabulary. This teaching model takes account children's kinaesthetic emotions as the children produce language only when they feel ready (Kirsch, 2008). Similarly in this case, Maria is practicing through repetition what she has previously learnt through 'Total Physical Response' and while interacting with an adult she is displaying her knowledge. The author argues that Maria's simple repetitions were seen by her teachers as indicators of a capable, confident student who was ready to be linguistically challenged. This means that despite the fact that Maria could remain silence or respond by drawing on her dominant language she chose to practice the new language by partially repeating her own or others' utterances of the target one. Again, this study supports the argument that when children repeat utterances they do not always do it because they lack vocabulary but because they want to expand it.

Up to this point, I have reviewed how the practices of code-switching, translating and repeating are examined by scholars working in second language learning drawing on sociocultural approaches. The examination of these practices showed that learners can use their linguistic repertoires strategically, creatively and in transformative way when the necessary conditions are created (working in groups, teachers' acceptance when children use their home languages). The review also showed that through these linguistic practices the participants were experiencing their repertoires holistically and not in a restricted way as they could easily navigate on what they were holding in their linguistic disposal in order to take control over their learning of the new language. It could be said that when learners code-switch, translate and repeat while participate in second language learning contexts, could most likely result to their cognitive and social development. However, if the necessary conditions are not created, then the children may be seen as contradicting their schools' linguistic policies which in most of the cases follow a monolingual norm (linguistic production in the target language) and as having a linguistic deficit.

I now review the recent literature specifically focusing on the education of children with refugee trajectories and the ways that they experience their learning in mainstream education as these children are the focus of my study. In doing so, I consider theoretical and methodological gaps that I aim to fill in with my PhD work.

3.3 Researching the linguistic practices of children with refugee backgrounds when learning a new language: What does the international literature say?

Language learning is not a linear process and this process is further complicated by an additional dimension when it comes to learners' trajectories, especially when the learners come from refugee backgrounds. In most of the cases the learners are carrying traumatic experiences and their least priority is learning a new language. According to Sinclair (2001), trauma can be a significant obstacle for refugee children and can affect their learning abilities. Research has also shown that refugee children have more obstacles to face in their education compared to their migrant peers (McBrien, 2005). However, education can bring children a sense of stability and normality (McBrien, 2005; Capstick & Delaney, 2016) and that is why it is necessary to examine what the literature has to say on the education of children with refugee backgrounds. As Due, Riggs, and Augoustinos (2016) observe, there is lack of research when examining the language learning of refugee students in resettlement countries but after an extensive review, I identified three representative studies that capture the ways that these children experience their language education in their host country.

A recent project that sheds light on the role of language when it comes to supporting the education of Syrian refugees that are in transition comes from Capstick and Delaney (2016). Their data come from a larger project funded by the British Council with the aim of examining the ways in which Syrian refugees (children and adults) use language to build resilience. Language for resilience was a central focus on this study as language is an important tool when refugees are trying to recover from the disastrous results of the war. The four host countries that the researchers conducted fieldwork in were Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Turkey and through an ethnographic methodology which included classroom observations and interviews in formal and informal education settings, the researchers identified five different practices in which language can build resilience. These five practices of language use included: the incorporation of every available linguistic repertoire (new or dominant) at an individual and communal level, storytelling as a practice where learners claim their voice and express their emotions, language learning activities that support social cohesion and intercultural communication, language learning activities that support overcoming trauma and lastly supporting language teachers can also build resilience in both formal and informal education. For the purpose of this study I am focusing on the education experiences of children (aged 8-12) despite the researchers examining the education of adults as well.

In regards to classroom practices, in Lebanon, where the medium of instruction is English or French, the Syrian refugee children were observed drawing on their different dialects of Syrian Arabic despite that their teachers were using Lebanese Arabic, in an attempt to construct their understanding during teaching time. The authors claim that this practice of children have proved to be beneficial in terms of building resilience as they were able to draw on their available linguistic repertoires to build relationships in both groups: Lebanese and Syrians. However, in the available transcribed extract from a Lebanese classroom setting during an English lesson, it was observed that in many cases the teachers were not grasping the opportunities for Syrian children to be included in classroom discussions and as a result the children were unable to participate. Furthermore, not providing Syrian children with the opportunity to share their life experiences was also creating distance between them and their Lebanese peers. This isolation was also evident in the interviews where children reported that they were reluctant to participate in an attempt to hide their linguistic identity as this would be a marker that could trigger discrimination. The researchers suggest that one way of overcoming children's isolation was by supporting educators in understanding issues around multiculturalism in education. Such knowledge would allow educators to build the appropriate relationship with all of their students in order to support their inclusion in the learning process. During their visits to Jordan, the researchers observed positive practices

such as the use of language in playful activities such as drama or storytelling. In a camp in Jordan, volunteers were engaging learners in storytelling and drama activities when teaching them English. In these activities, refugees could use their dominant language and also English in order to express their feelings. This way of using language seemed to be a catalyst factor for refugees to build resilience and overcome displacement and trauma. However, the report did not mention whether these activities were used to teach children or adults or whether they have been also used in formal settings as well. In Turkey it was observed that there was a need to develop materials and programmes to teach Turkish as a second language and also a need for more language play to be implemented in early stages of education. In Iraq it was observed that there was a competition between different dialects of Kurdish, Arabic and English in the curriculum and this created difficulties as refugee parents were requested to choose between their home languages and the economic benefits of knowing Arabic and English.

The authors call for pedagogical implications such as promoting a multilingual approach to teaching as it could make language learning an easier process for the traumatised refugees. Some examples that the scholars suggest are valuing and making use of refugees' home languages. This value would come after training teachers and volunteers around issues of multilingualism and multiculturalism. In terms of supporting refugees' emotional needs, the scholars suggest creative activities such as storytelling and role play that could create a safe space where refugees can be given the opportunity to be heard as they could use their dominant language but also could practice the target one as well.

Even though this study is timely and follows an emic perspective when examining the views of refugees, it does not provide enough evidence and, especially, classroom data about children's linguistic practices when learning a new language. Hence, it is difficult to understand how refugee children were using language to mediate their learning. However, this study is very important in terms of valuing language learning and its impact on the lives of refugee children because it was observed that, when safe environments are created where children's languages and cultures are valued, this kind of approach gives some structure in their lives. Similarly, learning Greek in Cypriot schools can support refugee children to overcome their trauma as it will provide them with a sense of structure and, consequently, this structure will enable them to participate in their new learning community.

Due, Riggs, and Augoustinos (2016) published an important article that contributes to the literature concerning the education of children from refugee and migrant backgrounds, following sociocultural disciplines on learning. The study examines three primary schools in

Australia whose participants attend Intensive English Language Classes, which are reception classes that prepare children before entering the mainstream ones. The authors address that they examine two different groups (children with migrant and children with refugee backgrounds) but they do not distinguish whether migrant children belong to settled minority communities but offered an analysis under the same umbrella. The authors describe how these classrooms created both opportunities and challenges to students for their language learning and social participation. In regards to the opportunities, the authors report positive practices that foster children's learning of English and support their social interactions with their peers. For example, the invitation of children's family members to come and cook with them and learn about their culture, created opportunities for literacy development such learning to produce a new genre (recipe) which led to vocabulary learning. Also, by bringing children's cultural backgrounds in the classroom, the teachers used this opportunity to teach children conversational English. The authors also claim that such literacy activities create bridges between children's home and school literacies that result in positive learning outcomes. However, the extremely diverse communities were also seen as sites of tension as, teachers often reported that they were lacking support when needed to work with children that their abilities were extremely different from the ones that were trained to teach. In some cases, due to lack of communication, the teachers held incorrect assumptions and were mistakenly assessing children as having developmental disorders. The authors also provide evidence of children feeling discomfort and anxiety due to their language difficulties. The scholars advocate for holistic models of teaching to be embedded which allows for students' linguistic repertoires to be at the foreground as they acknowledge that their observations did not extend in the mainstream classroom. Due *et al.*'s. (2016) study provides a broad perspective on the challenges and opportunities that refugee and migrant children face and opens up spaces for further investigation on what is happening in mainstream classrooms.

A later report that also aims to fill in the gap in the literature of the education of refugee children in today's crisis comes from McBride, Lowden, Chapman and Watson (2018). The scholars examined the experiences of refugee learners in Scotland (in four cities) by conducting qualitative research in different institutions, schools, health and social care services. The researchers carried out interviews with 25 refugee (between 5-18 years old) learners, 21 parents and 18 stakeholders (head-teachers, class-teachers, school staff, and community officers). Through thematic analysis the scholars identified various aspects related with refugee's educational experience such as language development, family involvement, the involvement of local authorities and refugee's wellbeing. In regard to language provision the scholars reported that refugee learners expressed academic

difficulties as they were not able to participate in the learning process due to language barriers and thus, were turning their preferences into more practical subjects such as chemistry and physical education. Also, during their interviews, the learners seemed to be criticising the system's examinations process as they were claiming that due to the fact that all exams were held in English, they were not able to do well and thus held back. Another finding came from the interviews with EAL workers who claimed that schools' too great a focus on teaching English may have caused negative impact on children's participation in extra-curriculum activities which are not only important for their socialisation but also for their linguistic development. The workers emphasised that extra-curricular activities such as sports, music and games are also beneficial for children's language development. This finding was also supported by a child who claimed that they were learning English by playing sports. However, it is not mentioned whether learners' academic language and especially their literacy skills were as much developed as their everyday communicative skills. Another finding that the scholars reported was the importance of schools' translator as this supported the communication between the schools and the parents. These findings however need to be taken with caution as this report did not provide any interactional data in regard to learners' language learning practices as this was not the aim. Also, scholars' interpretations are based on the analysis of the interviews. Similarly to Capstick and Delaney's (2016) research, this study does not come from an academic article but from a research report funded by a funding body (What Works Scotland). As such, not enough extracts of data were provided as it aimed to reach non-academic audience. However, this work remains a valuable source of evidence regarding how refugee learners experience their education in the host country.

3.3.1 Identifying the gaps

In this chapter I reviewed the literature in the field of multilingual education inspired by SCT frameworks and I identified two categories. Studies that focus on settled migrants and studies that focus on refugee children.

The literature in the field of applied linguistics mainly focuses on the linguistic practices of settled migrant learners (Drury, 2004, 2007; Kenner, 2004; Chen & Gregory, 2004; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004; Kirsch, 2008; Sugranyes-Ernest & Gonzalez-Davies, 2015) and in most cases on adult learners where some of them were not migrants (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999; Duff, 2000; Ohta, 2001; Arnfast & Jørgensen, 2003). Also, the studies that appropriated SCT approaches in examining language learning practices focused on a linear understanding of scaffolding – the more knowledgeable peer provides support to the less knowledgeable - so the latter can acquire full membership in the community of practice.

(Toohey, 2000; Ohta, 2001). In addition, the learners were participating in homogenous groups and shared the same concerns (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999; Duff, 2000; Cekaite & Aronsson, 2005; Kenner, Gregory, Ruby & Al-Azami, 2008). As such, these studies did not provide evidence of the ways in which refugee children experience their language learning when participating in mainstream education where their peers' language is not the same as theirs.

In regards to the learning experiences of refugee children, the extant literature lacks in providing empirical data in terms of refugee children's linguistic practices in a mainstream classroom setting in their host country. Even though Due *et al.*'s (2016) study provides evidence conducted in a classroom, they do not solidly focus on language learning and also do not make any differentiation on the language experiences between settled minority and refugee children. Also, because their aim was not to examine language learning practices, the scholars did not provide rich linguistic extracts where children negotiate their new linguistic resources. The studies of Capstick and Delaney (2016) and McBride *et al.*'s (2018) provide interpretations of refugee children's language experiences and needs, however, again because the focus was not an in-depth analysis of classroom discourse but a broad scope of the needs of refugees (children and adults) these studies fail in providing rich linguistic data of these children's interactions. In terms of methodology, Capstick and Delaney (2016) conducted ethnographic research (fieldnotes and observations) where they spent a week in each country observing formal and informal settings of learning, but their participants not only included children but adults as well. In regards to classroom analysed discourse, they only provide one extract, and, thus it is difficult to understand children's language practices.

McBride *et al.*'s (2018) study focuses on the needs of refugee learners but again, does not provide any data of classroom discourse as the only methodological tool used for data elicitation was interviews. However, it is again, a timely study that stresses the importance of examining refugee children's education experience holistically (learning, wellbeing, social inclusion).

To date, there have been no studies specifically examining the linguistic practices of refugee children which inform the SCT literature on second language learning and the field of education in terms of practice and policy. This study aims to fill in this gap in the literature by providing evidence of the ways that refugee primary school children negotiate their linguistic practices in a mainstream setting, while learning the language of their host country. In doing so, both sociocultural and sociolinguistic approaches on second language learning are taken into consideration, which allow for a rich analysis of interactional data.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I stressed the importance of drawing on SCT as the prime theoretical driver to examine second language learning. In the first part of the thesis, I examined the theoretical concepts that underpin the study and discussed the importance of an SCT approach when examining second language learning in formal educational settings. I discussed how the concepts of mediation, ZPD, CoP and peer scaffolding can explain language learning process in socially situated activities by reviewing relevant literature. In the second part I examined how these concepts have been appropriated in the field of multilingual education and provided a review of the available studies that inform our understanding when it comes to the practices of code-switching, translating and repeating. By doing that I concluded that the practices of code-switching, translating and repeating are seen as scaffolding tools that mediate learners' second language learning. However, these studies were either dealing with second language learners, settled migrant children or adults. Yet, these studies are valuable in terms of providing empirical data on the ways that emergent multilinguals negotiate their knowledge of the target language. In the third part of this chapter, I turned to examine language learning practices within refugee contexts, as this is the focus of this thesis. After reviewing the three studies, I concluded that there is a need for empirical data to be provided when examining refugee children's linguistic needs as, despite these studies (Capstick & Delaney, 2016; Due *et al.*, 2016; McBride *et al.*, 2018) being very timely and providing important suggestions for the education of these children, such as the incorporation of their home languages into their teaching, they yet remain at a descriptive level.

This study is located in the fields of applied linguistics and education and aims to address how a group of refugee children experience multilingual learning in primary education in Cyprus. It aims to fill in a gap in the literature by providing rich transcribed data extracts of good classroom discourse where refugee children reveal their linguistic potentials. The theorisation of these empirical data under the sociocultural framework, will open up new lines of investigation when it comes to the language education of refugee children and will allow researchers and practitioners to move beyond assimilationist approaches and practices.

In the next chapter, I focus on the methodological part of the study where I discuss my theoretical perspectives to research, my aims and research questions, present my research design and data analysis approaches.

Chapter 4: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological framework and ethos that lies behind this study, which is a qualitative approach that is ethnographically oriented. I begin by restating the aim and research questions that drive this study and discuss their importance. I then justify the choice of the qualitative-interpretive paradigm that I am following that locates the participants' experiences in the foreground. I explain that this paradigm allows me to explore in-depth the ways in which refugee children use the different languages in their repertoire when learning Greek in the host country's classroom setting. I then introduce the research design where I explain why my study falls into the ethnographically oriented case study design. In that part, I refer to the pilot study which I conducted, describe the school where the fieldwork took place and introduce the seven main participants featured in this study. Following that, I discuss the methods of data collection (classroom recordings, taking fieldnotes, interviews and collection of physical artefacts) and, then, I present the approaches that informed my thinking when analysing spoken interactions in the field of education. I explain that the approach that I followed in my analysis is discourse analysis informed by the tools of conversation analysis. By doing that I reveal complexities when researching multilingually but also point out a gap in the education research, as there is not a fully developed discourse analytical inquiry specifically dedicated to the analysis of language practices in classroom settings. This is because scholars in the education field need to draw on different methodological inquires to provide a concrete analytical framework. Finally, I refer to issues concerning reflexivity and ethical considerations that occur when conducting research, especially when vulnerable children participate. I conclude with a brief summary of the chapter.

4.1 Aims and research questions

As stated in my introduction, the aim of this study is to explore the linguistic practices that a group of refugee children develop in order to learn the Greek language in a mainstream primary school in Cyprus. The following questions are intended to fill in a gap in the literature as, at the moment, there are no studies investigating such educational phenomena drawing on sociocultural frameworks.

1. What are the linguistic repertoires of refugee children in a Cypriot primary school?
2. What are the linguistic practices deployed by refugee children and how do these facilitate the learning of Standard Modern Greek in the classroom domain?

3. What multicultural practices arise and what semiotic resources are mobilised in the classroom and how do these facilitate refugee children's learning of Standard Modern Greek and their social participation in the classroom?
4. What are the implications of this study for developing an inclusive school curriculum in refugee recipient settings?

Currently, these questions are of importance for the educational institutions in Cyprus. They are intended to tackle the challenges posed by the new waves of migration caused by the ongoing war in the Middle East. Providing answers to these questions by following an ethnographic case study will shed light on the linguistic resources that refugee children draw on to make meaning with their peers and teachers. This would be of particular importance in order to be able to respond to children's needs. It will also enable us to move beyond negative assumptions in terms of language teaching of diverse groups of children in primary education that see the addition of more languages in a classroom setting to be a deficit. These negative assumptions are reflected by teachers and children's understandings of multiculturalism in the Cypriot educational setting (Papamichael 2011; Theodorou 2011) where the language policy implemented by the MoEC promotes a monolingual and monocultural approach. This study aims to deepen teachers', policy makers' and scholars' understanding of refugee children's linguistic practices and educational needs and also to shed light on the ways that these practices could inform language policies of Cyprus' educational sector for the development of an inclusive educational framework.

4.2 Theoretical perspectives on research: following a qualitative approach

The two main research paradigms in social sciences are positivism and interpretivism (Flick, 2009). These two, entail different philosophical and methodological views when conducting research. This study falls into the latter paradigm as such an approach allows me to interpret my participants' lived experiences and practices in a classroom setting in a way that a positivism approach would not. The theoretical perspective on research methodology (observation of lived experiences) is also tightly linked with the SCT concepts when it comes to the social construction of meaning, as sociocultural researchers consider language learning to be a culturally and socially situated activity. Such a view presupposes that the researcher be in the participants' actual setting in order to have a rich understanding of their everyday practices. Following an interpretive-qualitative paradigm on research the aim is not to generalise the results or find cause and effect in fixed settings but to explore and have an in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon by putting participants' views in the

foreground (Flick, 2009). A comprehensive definition of what qualitative research entails comes from Denzin and Lincoln (2017):

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

(ibid, p. 43)

The above definition shows that emphasis is given to participants' natural settings and how they affect and are being affected by their interactions with the environment. An interpretive paradigm allows the researcher to provide rich data by interpreting social phenomena whilst following an emic perspective (locating the views of participants in the foreground). However, it also implies that the researchers' positions are also projected and that is why it is important to address issues of reflexivity (see 4.6).

There are different routes to follow when conducting qualitative research such as ethnographies, narration, psychoanalysis and others (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). For this study it was most appropriate to follow the ethnographic route to collect data but also it enabled me to have a deeper understanding of the sociocultural context and of the ways that children use their different repertoires to make meaning from the new language.

Over time, the meaning assigned to the term *ethnography* changed. However, a definition is given by Creswell (2014, p.14) who defines it as 'a design of inquiry coming from anthropology and sociology in which the researcher studies the shared patterns of behaviours, language, and actions of an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time'. Ethnography is a qualitative methodology that has been adopted by scholars in the field of sociology, psychology and education in order to investigate in-depth social phenomena by mainly drawing on observations and interviews (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland & Lofland, 2007). Within the applied linguistics and education research methodology, ethnography has also been used to examine how people use and learn a language (Watson-Gegeo, 1997; Ohta, 2001; Dörnyei, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2011). Specifically, Watson-Gegeo (1997, p. 137) points out that 'classroom ethnography

involves the intensive, detailed observation of a classroom over the period of its duration (e.g. semester or year), recording a large sample of classroom activities on audio or videotape'. Thus, this study falls under the classroom ethnography approach to research where I intensively observe the practices that a group of children developed within a classroom setting. The use of these ethnographic tools (observations, recordings) allowed me to examine participants' spoken discourse with the aim of identifying the ways in which their discourse exchanges allowed them to learn the new language. Such an approach enables me to build on existing understandings of language learning that follow qualitative paradigms. For these reasons, I locate myself within the qualitative research paradigm where I draw on ethnographic tools for my data collection with the aim of holistically interpreting my participants' practices.

The following section explains the ways in which my research design is a case study that is ethnographically oriented.

4.3 Research Design

The methodology is a classic empirical work in the field of applied linguistics and education and, since I am focusing on the practices of a single group of children with the aim of gaining a deeper understanding of the group's linguistic practices, an ethnographic case study is deemed most appropriate for this research. Yin (2014, p.16) defines a case study as 'an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth within its real-life context'. This definition is aligned with the research design that I followed, as, through my exploratory study, I examined the practices of a single group of people (refugee children) in their real setting (classroom). Also, the arrival of refugee children affected by the Middle East war is a contemporary phenomenon in the Cypriot education system and beyond.

In terms of this study being ethnographically oriented, this study is not an ethnography in a strict anthropological sense, as I did not reside for an extensive period of time with an 'exotic' population aiming to study their culture. However, it is ethnographically oriented (Blommaert & Jie, 2010) as it entails an in-depth study of social interactions, practices and beliefs of a community where the researcher needs to closely observe and interpret the practices of a group of people over a period of time (Delamont & Atkinson, 1995). Dörnyei (2007) states that the aim of following an ethnographic methodology in the language classroom is to provide thick descriptions of the children's multiple meanings regarding their learning during school time. Also, the tools incorporated were observations and recordings which are classical ethnographic tools used when trying to holistically understand the practices of a group of people. For this study, I followed the everyday practices of seven refugee learners

for a period of eight weeks (see appendix A) where I visited Kilada (pseudonym) primary school every day (Monday-Friday) and sometimes stayed for the all-day afternoon programme.

The headteacher of Kilada school agreed for my research to take place there due to family connections. Before entering the school, I needed to prepare my ethical proposal for both the UCL-IoE in the UK and the Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE) in Cyprus. Therefore, the time period for designing the study started months before entering the school. In doing so, I was in touch with the school's headteacher since October 2016 through emails and phone-call conversations in order to have a solid understanding of the school's population, languages spoken, whether there were translators available and to discuss any bureaucratic issues that may arise. After the final negotiations and the acceptance from CERE (see appendix B), I was able to enter into the fieldwork.

The following table presents the different phases of the data collection process.

Date	Data collection phase
Nov. 2016	Obtaining ethical clearance from UCL-IoE in the UK
Jan. 2017	Obtaining ethical clearance from CERE in Cyprus
Feb-March. 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collecting data from Kilada school and visiting the Reception Centre for Asylum Seekers • Pilot study in another primary school (one day-13.02.17)

Table 3: Phases of data collection

4.3.1 Pilot study

An important element when conducting research is the pilot study as, in most cases, it allows the researcher to refine the data collection tools or any procedures that have been planned and perhaps pay attention to things that would not have been noticed in the first place (Yin, 2014). I decided that it would be good practice to pilot my interview questions with teachers and students of another school as, at that time, I was only conducting classroom observations in Kilada Primay School and had not moved into the interviews. Again, through

family contacts, I was able to identify one more school with large numbers of refugee and migrant children. This school was located at the centre of an urban area. Due to ethical considerations, I only managed to pilot my questions with three teachers and the headteacher there.

Piloting the interview questions was a valuable practice for my research design, as, based on the teachers' and headteacher's responses, I gained greater contextual understanding of the difficulties that the teachers were facing in terms of supporting refugee children and the problems that the children themselves were coping with in terms of language learning and becoming equal members in their classrooms (issues of isolation). Their answers were not very encouraging regarding children's learning and socialisation, as teachers revealed that there was nothing that they could do due to language barriers. This process enabled me to fine-tune my research questions and to refine some of my interview questions directed to the teachers at Kilada primary school, as I discovered that there were many issues in regard to lack of governmental support in providing teachers the appropriate training. Also, after listening to and transcribing the pilot interviews, I noticed that I needed to pay attention to my interview techniques. For example, in many cases, I was interrupting the speaker and, as a result, I was preventing them from providing valuable information. After having this realisation, when I interviewed my main participants in Kilada primary school, I was conscious about enabling my participants (teachers and children) to express themselves, allowing pauses to be heard and being able to follow up with a relevant question.

4.3.2 Research site – Kilada primary school

The fieldwork in this study took place in one primary school named Kilada and involved the observation of thirty primary school children in years 5 and 6 (see appendix C). Sixteen children were in year 5 and fourteen children in year 6, aged between 10-12 years old. From the thirty children, I mainly focused on the practices of the seven children (refugee children), three in year 5 and four in year 6.

The school was located on the outskirts of a Cypriot town and I chose to conduct my fieldwork there due to the large numbers of newly arrival refugee children. The school was also close to the asylum seekers' reception centre where most of the refugee children and their families were accommodated. This enabled me to visit the centre a few times and collect more data that would help me have first-hand experience of children's everyday lives. All the names used in the study are pseudonyms. These include school and participants' names. For children's pseudonyms, I chose names that reflect their cultural identities.

Kilada was a small primary school located in a rural area with a total number of one hundred students, twenty of whom came from refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds. This is a unique school as it is usually the first one to receive children coming from war torn areas due to its proximity to the asylum seekers' reception centre. The school was multilingual and multicultural as many of the students had languages other than Greek as part of their repertoires. Other languages included Arabic, Bulgarian, Russian and Romanian. The school was also very colourful. The children's work was displayed in every corridor. Signs and posters were also translated in Arabic in an attempt to promote an inclusive policy for welcoming refugee children (see 7.2.1). This practice was also found in the two focal classes that I was observing: years 5 and 6. The two teachers of these years were Ms Roula and Mr Grigoris respectively. Although the school did not have a formally laid out social inclusion policy, my discussions with teachers and the observations of the practices of the school suggest that there was a strong informal social inclusion policy. At that moment, no one else has conducted research in this unique school examining the linguistic practices of its refugee students.

The following picture shows the school where I conducted my research.



Figure 3: Kilada primary school

The following table presents the list of teachers that I interviewed and observed during classroom observations in years 5 and 6 and their respective roles in the school. The list includes Ms Lena, the Asylum service administrator who was closely collaborating with Kilada school and whom I had the opportunity to interview.

Name	Role	Ethnicity
Ms Niki	Headteacher	Cypriot-Greek
Ms Roula	Class teacher of Year 5	Cypriot-Greek
Mr Grigoris	Class teacher of Year 6 Responsible for teaching the Parallel Intensive Greek language lessons	Greek
Ms Mysha	Morning school translator	Syrian and Cypriot-Greek
Mr Petros	Afternoon school translator	Cypriot-Greek
Ms Chrysa	Actions for School and Social Inclusion teacher	Cypriot-Greek
Ms Margarita	School Violence Intervention Team teacher	Cypriot-Greek
Mr Antonis	Design and Technology teacher	Cypriot-Greek
Ms Lena	Asylum service administrator	Cypriot-Greek

Table 4: Information about Kilada's staff members

The two teachers that I observed were Ms Roula (year 5) and Mr Grigoris (year 6) along with Ms Mysha who was the school's translator and was bilingual, having Arabic and Greek as part of her repertoire. The two teachers were responsible for teaching all subjects for their classes apart from Music, Physical Education and Design and Technology.

Ms Roula was a highly involved individual on Cyprus' political scene, with studies in education and a master's degree obtained from the Institute of Education in London. Mr Grigoris was also politically, socially and culturally active individually and, at the time, was studying for a master's degree in Intercultural Education at the University of Cyprus. Mr Grigoris was also a book author and a theatre critique. The two teachers were a couple and, most of the time, their teaching approaches were shaped by inclusive pedagogical theory. During my eight weeks of observations, I split my time between the two years. The total number of observations was 28 and I conducted 15 observations in year 5 and 13 in year 6 (see appendix A).

The following illustrations show how the two classrooms were organised during teaching time. The bold font represents refugee children.

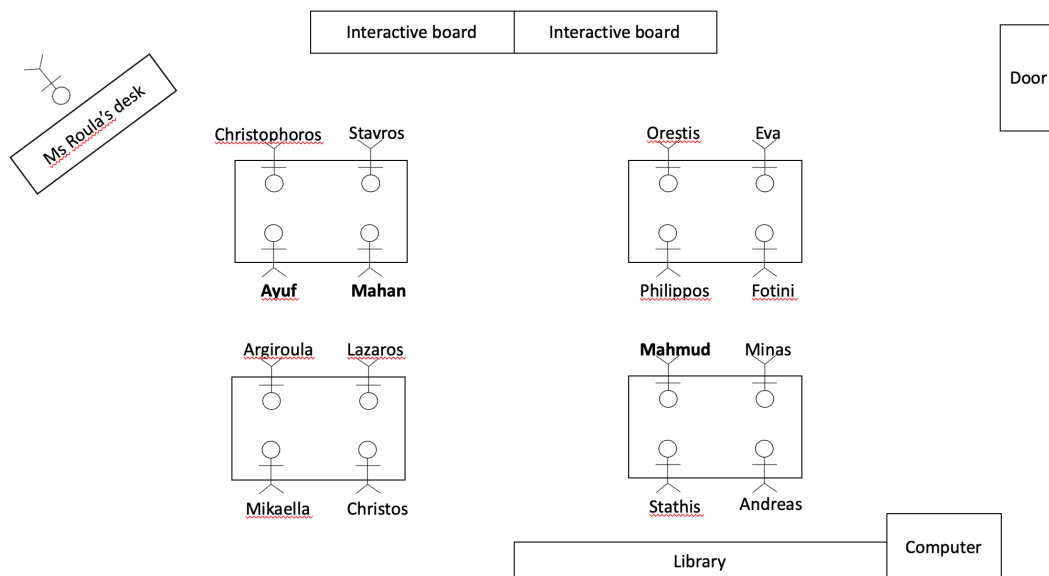


Figure 4: Classroom layout of Year 5

Both teachers reported that their arrangements encouraged peer interactions and also allowed the teacher to have easy access to all students.

In year 5, there were three refugee children, Ayuf, Mahan and Mahmud and, in regard to their seating arrangements, Ms Roula reported that she put them together to enable Ayuf and Mahan, who shared the same language (Arabic), to be able to interact and assist each other. In many cases, I observed Ayuf and Mahan drawing on their home languages during teaching time and, thus, such an arrangement seemed to be beneficial for them as they were given opportunities for collective scaffolding. Also, these children's table was placed close to Ms Roula's desk so that she could immediately respond to their needs. Mahmud was sitting at a table with other Cypriot-Greek children and next to Minas, who was considered to be close to him.

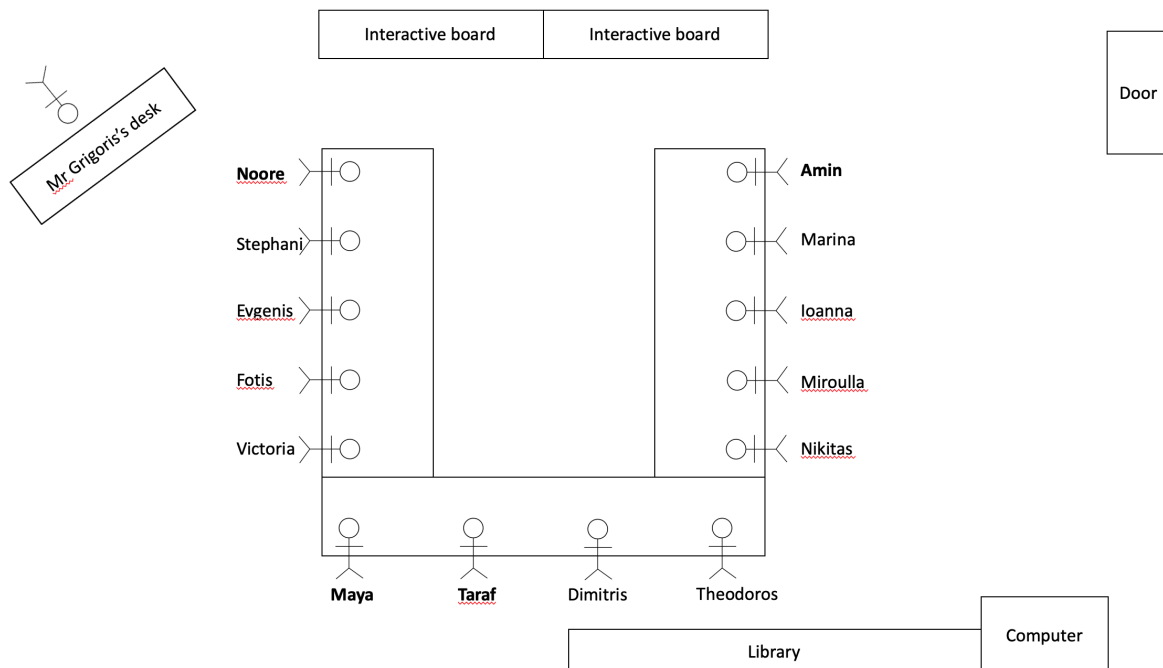


Figure 5: Classroom layout of Year 6

In year 6 there were four refugee children, Noore, Taraf, Maya and Amin. Regarding seating arrangements, Mr Grigoris reported that this kind of arrangement allowed all children to have eye contact with each other and, thus, more opportunities to communicate. Also, this arrangement helped the teacher to observe each child. Following Ms Roula's idea, Mr Grigoris also placed two of the refugee children together (Maya and Taraf). These children came to the school at the same time and also shared the same language (Arabic). Noore and Amin also spoke Arabic but were seen as more advanced learners of Greek than the other two.

A typical day in public Cypriot primary schools includes seven periods of teaching (40 minutes each) with three breaks in between which, in total, consist of 40 minutes. Due to its multilingual and multicultural character but also to the high percentage of students coming from low socioeconomic backgrounds, the school was part of many governmental programmes intended to support children from diverse linguistic, social and ethnic backgrounds.

The school was part of the 'Προαιρετικό Ολοήμερο Σχολείο', All Day Optional School and, therefore, did not only operate between 07:45 am -13:05 pm. but also between 13:05 pm-16:00 pm. This meant that some of the students who chose to participate had four extra teaching periods where they eat, carry on with their homework and choose between English, Information Technology, Music, Physical Education, Art-Design and Technology and Drama as extra subjects. All refugee children in this study participated in this programme.

In year 5, during mandatory morning hours, all the children, including refugee children, were using the book called *‘Της γλώσσας ρόδι και ροδάνι’* (The spinning wheel of language) as their main textbook for Greek. In year 6, they used the book *‘Λέξεις, Φράσεις, Κείμενα’* (Words, Phrases, Texts). Despite all children using the same textbook, the teachers differentiate refugee children’s homework. However, when children were withdrawn from their normal classes to attend the Parallel Intensive Greek language classes, the responsible teacher (Mr Grigoris) had to select from a list of materials that the MoEC sends as appropriate. Mr Grigoris had chosen to draw on activities from the books called *‘Μαργαρίτα 3’* (Daisy 3) and *‘Πράγματα και Γράμματα, 1’* (Things and Letters, 1). These books were developed by Greek academics in mainland Greece for the support of Greek children in the diaspora. Thus, they do not directly meet the needs of non-Greek refugee children.

In regard to the Parallel Intensive Greek language programme, the school received extra hours to teach Greek to learners of ‘other languages’ (see 2.3 for more information about the language educational policies in Cyprus). This was operated by Mr Grigoris, who was responsible for years 5 and 6 and had six extra hours for their teaching. Mr Grigoris took into account what the MoEC and the Pedagogical Institution were suggesting in terms of materials but, in most of cases, he also designed and implemented his own activities that included not only printed but also multimodal materials. Thus, I was able to observe these extra language classes that the refugee children were attending and to examine how these children were developing their linguistic and other practices to support their learning of Greek.

The school was also part of *‘Δράσεις Σχολικής και Κοινωνικής Ένταξης’*, Actions for School and Social Inclusion’ (ASSI) programme. This meant that the school received additional funding from the state in order to support disadvantaged children. The school used this amount by adding complementary teaching classes during the morning for the support of refugee children in Greek and Mathematics subjects. Year 5 had four extra hours and year 6 had eight. This meant that the supporting teacher, in this case, Ms Chrysa, had to be sitting next to the children during teaching time, guiding their understanding. However, Ms Chrysa was taking the children out of the class as, according to her and Ms Roula, this allowed for more specialised support to take place. Ms Chrysa had no knowledge of Arabic, and neither was she trained in second language teaching.

Another programme that the school was participating in was the *‘Ομάδα Άμεσης Παρέμβασης’*, School Violence Intervention Team (SVIT) that aims to prevent violent incidents within schools

by developing programmes and activities. This team supports all children, despite their ethnic or linguistic backgrounds. As mentioned by the teachers and headteacher, despite refugee children not presenting any violent behaviours that year, the school was using the extra support to work with them by developing creative literacy activities such as translating Arabic books into Greek and vice-versa and creating bilingual story-books that were aimed at their Greek language support. The teacher who was responsible for this programme was Ms Margarita, who again had no knowledge of Arabic, and was also not trained in second language teaching.

It was obvious that the school was fighting for any available means to support refugee children's linguistic and social support by maximising any opportunity provided. As mentioned in chapter 2, currently, in Cyprus, there is no inclusive bilingual teaching model implemented for the support of refugee children and that is why Kilada tried to navigate the system in order to maximise its children's learning potentials.

As previously mentioned, another site that was rich for data collection in terms of understanding my participants' reality was the reception centre and that is why I decided to visit it (see appendix D for a picture of the centre). The centre was under the supervision of the Asylum Service, which is a department under the Ministry of the Interior. The centre has received many critiques in regards to its living conditions (Spaneas, Cochliou, Zachariades, Neocleous & Apostolou, 2018) as it is located in a rural area, isolated from everyday amenities. Also, residents often argue that, in the centre, there are not enough supplies such as clothes, hygiene and pharmaceutical products to accommodate the needs of everyone. Even though it is not the best place for young children to be living, many NGOs are engaged in providing support through a variety of entertaining and educational activities with an aim to improve residents' living conditions. Periodically, Greek lessons were offered to children, either by volunteers or by the Government. Other activities included dance, theatre and sports. At the time of writing, there were also translators who were available on a daily basis and were translating from Arabic into Greek and vice versa, even though there are ethnicities who do not speak Arabic. I visited the centre five times, three times to collect data and two times to do some voluntary work. My voluntary work included the cleaning of a supply room, which would have been transformed into a free market for clothes and necessities, especially for babies. The social workers at the centre did not allow me to record the interviews and, therefore, I only have some notes on what I managed to collect. However, the Asylum service's administrator, Ms Lena, allowed me to record her and, therefore, I have valuable interview data that formed my understanding in regards to the children's reality and background information.

4.3.3 Participants

The main participants in this study were the seven refugee children in years 5 and 6. However, all the thirty children (including the Cypriot-Greek children) were also participants as all the children were interacting with each other in order to learn and communicate and, thus, I observed and interviewed all of them. Most of the Cypriot-Greek children in both years were of low socioeconomic background and many of them used languages apart from Greek in their family such as Bulgarian, Russian and Romanian. All of the refugee children either had their refugee status or were expecting it as they were classified as asylum seekers.

The following table summarises refugee children's linguistic and cultural characteristics and provides some family information.

Refugee children as Greek language learners								
Name	Gender	Years in Cypriot school	Education in home country	Country-Home language	School Year	Age	Parental Religion(s)	Language(s) used with peers and teachers
Ayuf	Male	1 year and 5 months	Yes	Somalia-Arabic	5	10	Muslim	SMG, CG, Arabic, English
Mahan	Male	1 year and 5 months	No	Yemen-Arabic	5	10	Muslim	SMG, CG, Arabic, English
Mahmud	Male	4 months	Yes	Iran-Farsi	5	10	Muslim and Christian	SMG, CG, Farsi, English, Arabic
Noore	Female	1 year and 5 months	Yes	Somalia-Arabic	6	11	Muslim	SMG, CG, Arabic, English
Maya	Female	4 months	Interrupted	Iraq - Arabic	6	12	Muslim	SMG, CG, Arabic, English
Taraf	Male	4 months	Yes	Syria-Arabic	6	11	Christian	SMG, CG, Arabic, English

Amin	Male	3 years	Interrupted	Egypt-Arabic	6	12	Christian	SMG, CG, Arabic, English
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Table 5: Information about refugee children

In regards to the languages that the children speak, I identified that Cypriot-Greek (CG) was part of their repertoire as I could clearly distinguish when they were speaking in SMG and when in CG. As I explain in the analysis, children were drawing on CG for their everyday communication as it was the language that their Cypriot-Greek peers were using to socialise with them. Thus, CG was naturally becoming part of the refugee children’s linguistic repertoire whereas SMG was more of a taught one. Regarding Arabic language, there were variations of different dialects in the children’s repertoire, but I did not make a distinction between the different varieties as this kind of analysis would move beyond the scope of this study. That is why I use the term of Standard Arabic to include any Arabic variety that children were drawing on. I also use the words Greek and SMG interchangeably.

The following paragraph presents basic portraits of the children’s linguistic and cultural identities in order to provide a better understanding of how children’s characteristics had a role to play when participating in a new learning environment where they were requested to learn and produce a new language. This information comes from anecdotes that their teachers provided, information that I gathered from the Asylum service administrator, and is also based on my everyday observations and interactions with them.

4.3.3.1 Children’s portraits

Year 5

Ayuf

Ayuf was 10 years old and was born in Somalia but had also lived in Yemen and Jordan for some time. The first language that Ayuf acquired is Arabic but by the time I arrived, he had reached an adequate level of spoken and written Greek. Ayuf attended formal schooling in his country and, according to Ms Mysha, was a prominent student. He stayed at the asylum seekers’ reception centre with his mother and siblings. His mother holds a bachelor’s degree in chemistry and his father teaches English. He is the only boy in his family and, given the fact that his dad was in Switzerland at the time, he often felt the need to act as the family protector. Ayuf had leadership skills but sometimes this caused him problems with some of his peers.

The headteacher and the two teachers reported that when Ayuf first arrived, he revealed evidence of depression (no social skills, sleeping all day). He received much appreciation from his teachers and peers and was labelled as a high achiever, especially in Mathematics and Geography. Ms Roula reported that he learns Greek very quickly but has minor problems in writing, especially with some vowels of the Greek alphabet. One explanation was that, because he learnt the Arabic language in-depth, he was struggling to switch into another script. Another explanation is that, in Arabic, there are long and short vowels and when learners become more skilled, they tend to omit the short vowels.

Mahan

Mahan was 10 years old and was born in Yemen. He also stayed in Jordan for two years. He had no formal education in Yemen nor in Jordan. His first language was Arabic (a dialect of Arabic), but he could only speak it, as he naturally acquired it through family interactions. He reached an adequate level in listening and responding back in Greek. Mahan stayed at the reception centre with his mother and siblings. He was much traumatised as his father was shot in front of his eyes. This traumatic experience resulted in Mahan's challenging behaviour when he first arrived as the teachers reported that he exhibited violent behaviour and, similar to Ayuf, evidence of depression. Through collaboration with his family, his teachers created a safe and supporting environment and, by the time I arrived, he had turned into a very sociable and popular child. Mahan was a very fast learner and had a talent for imitating his teacher's utterances. His teacher labelled him as a good reader as he quickly picked up the grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence of Greek. Mahan was also keen in learning new vocabulary, but his lack of formal education affected his literacy skills and his general progression because he was still trying to understand how an educational institution functioned.

Mahmud

Mahmud was 10 years old and came from Iran. Mahmud came directly from Iran, where he received formal education. Mahmud had an interesting linguistic profile, as he was the only refugee child that did not have Arabic as his dominant language, but Farsi. This did not seem to affect his social skills as he was very well thought of by his peers and teachers. He was also identified as a high achiever in Mathematics and Ms Roula was always praising him for achieving the higher marks in tests. Thus, she labelled him as the best student in Mathematics. He also had an interesting religious background as his mother followed the Christian religion and his father the Muslim one. Having two religious identities may have made Mahmud more readily welcomed. The teachers claimed that having the Christian identity allowed him to be easily accepted by his Cypriot-Greek peers. Mahmud was learning

SMG formally and Arabic and CG informally to be able to participate in conversations with his peers. Mahmud showed evidence of receptive Greek skills as he was responding to instructions. However, he was lacking in spoken and written production and this, perhaps, was the result of having no other child to share the same language with him so as to have more opportunities to guide each other's understanding.

Year 6

Noore

Noore was 11 years old and was born in Somalia. Noore is Ayuf's sister and had also lived in Yemen and Jordan. Noore attended formal schooling in her country and had Arabic as her dominant language. She was also staying at the reception centre with her mother and siblings. She was a very bright student and a high achiever in all subjects. Just like her brother, she also had leadership skills, and this led her to be voted in as the president of her class and, moreover, of the whole school. Mr Grigoris often asked her to help him translate from Greek to Arabic and vice versa in order to explain and give instructions to the other refugee children. Noore reached a very good level of Greek in all aspects (reading, listening, speaking and writing) and she also had knowledge of English that she occasionally displayed. Noore was a very good football player and her best friend was Stephani, who was also one of the high achievers in her class.

Taraf

Taraf was 11 years old and came from Syria where he attended formal schooling and learned Arabic. At that time, he was staying at the reception centre with his family but, as soon as I finished my fieldwork, his family moved to another city where they rented an apartment. Taraf was a very bright student but his teacher noted that sometimes he did not pay attention to his instructions due to his high social skills (being very talkative). However, this talkative characteristic of Taraf's allowed him to be labelled as a fast Greek learner by his teachers. Taraf liked to tease Maya, as these two often worked together on tasks. Taraf reached a high level of Greek as he understood and responded well, given the limited time he was in Cyprus. During our interview, he expressed that he wanted to become a doctor when he grows up.

Maya

Maya was 12 years old and came from Iraq where she had an interrupted schooling experience. According to what she said, she and her family were staying in other parts of Cyprus (perhaps Northern) before coming to the reception centre. Maya's dominant

language was Arabic. Maya lived with her father and siblings at the reception centre. Her mother was in Germany. The whole family wanted to move to Germany, but they were waiting for their status to be released. Maya was also very traumatised by the war and kept referring to the horrible family tragedy where soldiers kidnapped her brother. Her story and feelings were also reflected in one of her essays where she wrote about peace and war. Maya was a very sociable and active child and was always willing to learn. It seems that the formal schooling in Cyprus has had positive effects on her literacy practices as she always paid attention to her handwriting as she wanted her essays to be neat and organised. Maya understood and responded to Greek instructions and had begun to develop her writing skills.

Amin

Amin was 12 years old and came from Egypt. Amin was also affected by conflict in his country which resulted in schooling interruption. Even though Amin was not a recent arrival, he was waiting for his status to be released and was residing at the reception centre with his parents. Amin's dominant language was Arabic but, according to Ms Mysha, he was not a competent speaker or writer of Arabic and his literacy level was limited. Furthermore, despite being at the school for 3 years, he did not manage to fully master Greek either. Amin was also trying to learn the new language - Greek - and become a full member of the community. Amin was a quiet boy but was always willing to help his classmates, especially his Arabic speaking friends, and he often translated for them.

Some main points that can be concluded from children's portraits are that most of them faced challenges regarding their family's stability and, on one level, have faced traumatic experiences during their migration to Cyprus. These issues may have affected their literacy skills. However, these factors did not stop them from being students that directly or indirectly, needed to learn a new language and were trying to find ways to do that.

4.4 Methods of data collection

Before describing the methods, I need to make the distinction between methods and methodology. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), *methods* refers to 'techniques and procedures used in the process of data-gathering' (ibid, p.47). On the other hand, the *methodology* pertains to the approach adopted for the research, which I referred to earlier in this chapter. In regards to methods of data collection, in this study I employed three main data collection tools: classroom observations (recorded interactions in the classroom and fieldnotes), interviews (with all the children, teachers, headteacher, supporting staff,

school's translators and asylum service administrator) and the collection of physical artefacts from the setting.

I have chosen to draw on different tools for data elicitation as when conducting qualitative research, issues of trustworthiness can be raised. By trustworthiness I refer to the process where the researcher is being transparent about the methodology followed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Since the aim is not the standardisation of variables or the discovery of one truth, in qualitative research the way to ensure trustworthiness is by providing rich descriptions of the process being followed as it is a matter of presenting the meaning in a rich and rigorous way in order to avoid misinterpretation. Trustworthiness is secured by triangulation which refers to the use of multiple tools for data gathering. This allows for different perspectives regarding the same case (Flick, 2014) to be revealed. Accordingly, my final interpretations and analysis were based on several forms of evidence.

Since the study examines a social phenomenon where participants are people in their everyday environment, there was the danger of the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972). The observer's paradox refers to a situation where the participants do not behave as they would usually do due to the presence of the researcher. In order to avoid interrupting the normality of the classroom, before starting the collection of data, I introduced myself to the children, the aim of the project in simple words (interested in how they learn when not all of them share the same language) and the recording equipment that I was going to use (laptop and mini recorders). By answering their questions and having small talk with them I wanted for the children to be familiarised with me and the equipment but also to familiarise myself with them. I also wanted to ensure that the children felt safe and behaved as they would normally do. At the end, there was no sign of unnaturally occurring talk.

Over a period of eight weeks I visited the school 28 times (see appendix A) and observed full days of lessons from 07:45 am until 13:05 pm in years 5 and 6. Three times I stayed to observe the All-day Optional School, which operated from 13:05-16:00 pm. The order in which I collected the data was that I first observed the classroom lessons, taking fieldnotes and audio recording some of the lessons. Based on my observations and notes I then interviewed the school's staff and then the children. While doing this, I collected a number of artefacts that were useful for my understanding in terms of linguistic and other practices.

Apart from my main data collection tools (observations, interviews and collections of artefacts) I also kept a field journal where I wrote my personal thoughts, feelings and reflections after or during the observations, chats and discussions with the participants. A

note on how reflexivity plays a role when conducting qualitative research is offered later in section 4.6.

The following table presents information about the methods, numbers and tools used for data collection.

Method	Number	Comments	Tools used
Classroom observations	28	15 in year 5 13 in year 6	
-Fieldnotes	28 sets	33 pages of A4 paper	Pen Paper Laptop (word processing software: microsoft word)
-Classroom recordings	12 (aprox. 1 hour each)	4 in year 5 8 in year 6	Audacity software (audio recording application software installed in my laptop) Two mini recorders (Olympus WS-852)
Artefacts	73 pictures	From the school, asylum seekers' reception centre (including children's interview drawings, children's work, school's policy documents, learning materials)	Phone
Interviews (individual and group)	18 (approx. 40 min each)	1 interview with Ms Roula 1 interview with Mr Grigoris 1 interview with Ms Niki 1 interview with Ms Mysha 1 interview with Ms Chrysa 1 interview with Ms Margarita 1 interview with Mr Petros	Mini recorder (Olympus WS-852)

		1 interview with Ms Lena 4 group interviews in year 5 1 individual interview in year 5 (Mahmud) 3 group interviews in year 6 2 individual interviews in year 6 (Amin, Taraf)	
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Table 6: Data collection methods, numbers and tools

4.4.1 Classroom observations

Observation is the ultimate tool in ethnographic research and allows the researcher to have an authentic view of what is actually happening without having to rely on what participants say they do (Dörnyei, 2007). Observation is mainly divided into participant and non-participant observation (Flick, 2009). Participant observation entails the active involvement of the researcher in the setting, whereas a non-participant observer only observes and keeps a distance from the context. In this study I intentionally participated in students’ learning activities by sitting next to them and asking them questions. In this way, I was able to obtain an insider’s view by closely observing and noting down their daily practices. Also, teachers sometimes wanted me to work on some tasks with the refugee children. Such an involvement gave me the opportunity to gain access to their reality, build a relationship with them and, hence, earn their trust. On the other hand, I was sometimes only working as a researcher in terms of stepping back, only focusing on observation, scribbling down my notes on what was going on without interacting with my participants. In a way, I was both a participant and non-participant observer, and this role was very useful as I became more cognisant of the context and, consequently, of the children’s learning processes as I was able to be ‘subjectively involved in the setting as well as to see the setting more objectively’ (Creswell, 2012, p. 215).

For this study, I conducted classroom observations focusing on years 5 and 6. Due to the fact that the refugee children were taken out of class to attend the extra supporting lessons for Greek language, I followed them there as well because this was part of their learning process.

The tools that I used for my classroom observations were: recording some of the classroom lessons and taking fieldnotes.

4.4.1.1 Recording interactions in the classroom

Since I was interested in examining language discourse exchange, the main tool for data collection in this study was the audio recordings of the classroom lessons. One way of capturing naturally occurring linguistic data is by recording it (Cameron, 2001). Cazden (2001) also points out the significance of audio recording when examining classroom discourse, as she argues that it is the only way to pay close attention to spoken interactions, and to identify problems or good practices when learning a new language. By creating a corpus of linguistic data sets, this helped me to answer my main research questions about the ways that children and teachers use their linguistic and multicultural practices to facilitate refugee children's learning of Greek (see research questions 2 and 3).

I used the Audacity software, which is a recording application sensitive enough to record high quality sound. Audacity was operated through my personal laptop, which I placed in a central position in the classroom. I recorded whole classroom interactions but since I had a special interest in refugee children's interactions, I also placed two extra mini recorders on their tables in order to capture their talk. However, it was sometimes challenging to transcribe the classroom recordings due to background noise and overlapping events. I tried to overcome this difficulty by listening to the recordings multiple times and familiarising myself with my participants' voices.

After collecting the 12 recorded data sets (four in year 5 and eight in year 6), which approximately result in 10 hours of spoken interaction (including the extra activities that supported children's language learning), I transcribed the data in the languages used by the children (SMG, CG and Arabic). I incorporated conversation analysis conventions in order to have a fine-grained analysis of the spoken interaction as my research focuses on the linguistic practices of refugee children. By only focusing on the spoken part I would miss having a contextual understanding of what else was important during the events or any contextual insight that would prove to enrich the analysis. Thus, taking fieldnotes was a crucial part of classroom observations. Also, when I was in doubt regarding what was going on, I revisited my fieldnotes.

4.4.1.2 Taking fieldnotes

Fieldnotes were used as a supplementary tool to obtain more contextual information when transcribing and analysing the classroom recordings. Taking fieldnotes is a selective process (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2007) that entails the recognition of what is significant for writing down. My research questions drove the writing of my descriptive account as I was mainly focusing on noting down issues around language practices, children's communication and

relationships, approaches to teaching, and difficulties that the children may have been facing and important events in order to have a clearer understanding of a classroom event when transcribing the lessons. Writing down what I was observing during the lessons enabled me to build an understanding of how the community of a classroom works and to enrich my thinking on some of the practices that have occurred based on the classroom recordings. As such, the fieldnotes were also used as a very useful data set. I created a corpus of 33 papers (A4) which I used to support the identified recorded practices. Sometimes fieldnotes provided such rich data that I would not be able to notice if I only focused on the recordings. An example of a transcribed fieldnote can be found in appendix E.

In regard to the system that I used, I followed Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani and Martin's (2008) suggestions and I took notes of observations in real time. I then wrote the notes up in a detailed and systematic way after the observed lesson. I took down the fieldnotes in my dominant languages (SMG, CG and, sometimes, English). However, taking fieldnotes while observing and wanting to pay attention and value the classroom interactions can be a challenging process. Sometimes, I was able to only take short notes otherwise I was unable to pay attention to the tasks and the ways the children were responding. That is why, at the end of each day, I transferred all of my fieldnotes to my computer, writing clearly and accessibly.

4.4.2 Interviews

Interviews are another key method for understanding participants' lived experiences (Dörnyei, 2007). Approaching interviews as co-constructive dialogues where meaning is negotiated (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) allowed me to move beyond the hierarchy created between the interviewer and the interviewee. My aim was not to mine for an answer, as I saw interaction as co-constructed. I did not assume that an answer already existed but, through this dialogic process, I aimed to allow my participants' perspectives on the ways they experience language learning to evolve. Sharing their experiences with me enabled me to understand their attitudes towards learning Greek, towards their own multilingualism, and the influences they had in terms of linguistic but also in cultural exposure.

Cameron (2001) argues that any talk occurring in a given setting is natural and since I am focusing on discourse exchanges, I viewed the interviews as rich interactional data where I observed practices of code-switching, repeating and translation that allowed children to support their communication with me in Greek or, when in group interviews, with their peers. During the interviews I also observed practices such as the development of linguistic

awareness (e.g. Cypriot-Greek children singing Arabic songs and using the Arabic language). An example of a transcribed interview with refugee children can be found in appendix F. However, because it is a very long extract (37 pages) I only included part of it.

The interviews were semi-structured (Cohen *et al.*, 2007) for both children and adults (see appendices G and H respectively), which meant that I had my main topics written down to discuss with the participants. However, in many cases, the participants led the conversation and were aiming to reveal other aspects of their experiences (e.g. teachers referring to policy issues). Therefore, a semi-structured approach allowed me to follow my participants' experiences and understand what was important for them. This also allowed me to modify on the spot the questions and introduce new questions in order to follow up my participants' responses. Appendices G and H present the guiding questions that I prepared for my interviews with children and staff respectively.

As seen in table 6, I conducted seven group and three individual interviews with all the children and eight individual interviews with adults. Most of the interviews with children were conducted in groups because children feel much more confident and safer when being in a group of peers (Pinter, 2011). Furthermore, I used age appropriate questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) and I used the activity of drawing posters while children were interviewed as a springboard to open up the conversation and reduce the pressure. It also helped me to explore children's linguistic practices and understand how they view the different languages in their lives. Fargas-Malet, McSherry, Larkin and Robinson (2010) claim that drawing during interviews with children is a useful and enjoyable way for the children to express their understandings and views. The scholars also claim that it gives agency and control to children over the interview as they can reveal as much as they want. I also found it a very useful tool especially since the linguistic mode was not our strongest to draw on in order to have a conversation. For this activity, I was inspired by Busch's (2010) tool of language portraits. However, instead of asking children to put their languages on the different parts of their body, I approached the activity more flexibly and I asked children to draw themselves, friends or family and add the different languages that they are cognisant of by writing down any information they wanted. I divided the groups based on the languages used and I asked them to draw their classroom, their friends, the languages they were using with their friends and, consequently, this led to other questions such as:

- How do you learn Greek in your classroom?
- How do your teachers help you?
- How do your friends help you?
- Do you help them learn Arabic?

This activity was used for all children. In that way, I was able to understand how children value the different languages available in their repertoire and for what reasons they use them. Moreover, it allowed children to visualise the many potentials that these languages could offer them (see appendix I for some examples). The use of drawing posters as a springboard activity to begin the conversation with the children was a creative addition to the elicitation of ethnographic data when working with children who do not share the same language as the researcher.

As far as the linguistic boundaries are concerned, at the beginning, I thought of including Ms Mysha (school translator) during the interviews but then I realised that the appearance of a staff member may affect some of the children's responses. Therefore, I asked the questions in Greek in its simplest version. Also, when I had group interviews with refugee children, I tried to mix children with different linguistic abilities when it comes to their level of Greek. Therefore, I conducted interviews with Ayuf and Mahan as a pair and Noore and Maya as a pair. I held a one to one interview with Mahmud as no one else knew Farsi. I interviewed Taraf and Amin individually. Similarly, with the teachers, I did not mine for answers that already exist, but, through a dialogic process, I tried to understand their own approach when teaching in classrooms that accommodate children from different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. I used both SMG and GC for the teachers as this is our naturally acquired language. All the interviews were transcribed and translated in standard orthography. Issues around translation are discussed later in the chapter.

4.4.3 Collection of physical artefacts

Artefacts are created to serve particular social functions and treating artefacts as versions of reality (Atkinson *et al.*, 2007) allowed me to deepen my interpretation and, along with the other tools, helped me built a rigorous description and interpretation of students' linguistic and other semiotic practices that seemed to support their learning of Greek. It also allowed me to develop a greater sense of how the different languages were coming together in this educational setting. I collected 73 artefacts that take the form of pictures and include examples of children's work, drawings from interviews, school documents, classroom and school displays. I recorded these physical artefacts by taking pictures using my phone.

When analysing literacy pieces such as essays, I could identify practices of translation (e.g. writing in Arabic and translating in Greek). Also, essays were useful artefacts to analyse in terms of children's self-representation, and their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The children's production of posters during interviews was also considered as a physical artefact

where I was able to understand how children value the different languages in their repertoires.

According to Cenoz and Gorter (2006) 'the linguistic landscape reflects the relative power and status of the different languages in a specific sociolinguistic context' (ibid, p. 67). Thus, examining the school's and two classrooms' linguistic landscapes allowed me to create a clearer idea of the school's approach and informal policy regarding how the different languages that its children drew on came together (see section 7.2.1).

The combination of multiple methods of collection (triangulation) in my ethnographic case study adds rigor and richness to my final analysis, thereby providing comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study.

4.5 Data analysis approaches

In educational research, there is no rigorous methodological principle to be followed when examining second language learning in mainstream classrooms and that is why I drew on different methodological tenets for the data analysis. Firstly, I applied CA conventions for the transcriptions of classroom interactions to have a systematic way to present the data and also to be able to identify the linguistic features. In order to provide a fine-grained analysis, I mainly drew on Discourse, but I also used Thematic analysis concepts.

The first stage of analysis pertains to the familiarity with the data sets (Rampton, 2006) and that is why, after I gathered the data, I started transcribing (in order to have a readable piece of work) translating, reading and organising them. For the organisation of the classroom recordings and interviews, I created an excel sheet where I added all the necessary information in order to be able to quickly identify the data sets such as date, sound file with a coded name, participants, duration, and the themes that occurred (see appendix J for data organisation).

The analysis did not happen at once as I developed a cyclic procedure, which is illustrated in the figure appearing shortly. While transcribing and translating the classroom interactions I took notes on the themes (practices) that occurred both in the classroom transcribed extracts and in the excel sheet. Having these themes in mind, I transcribed the interview data and fieldnotes. While transcribing and translating classroom and interview data, I cross-checked for further information by analysing the fieldnotes and artefacts. After analysing the data thematically, I then applied a discourse analysis approach to present how learning was communicated through interactions. The analysis was not a linear process as most of the

times, even for the transcription and translation processes, I was having in front me multiple data sets just to make sense of one practice.

The following figure summarises the process that I followed to analyse the data.

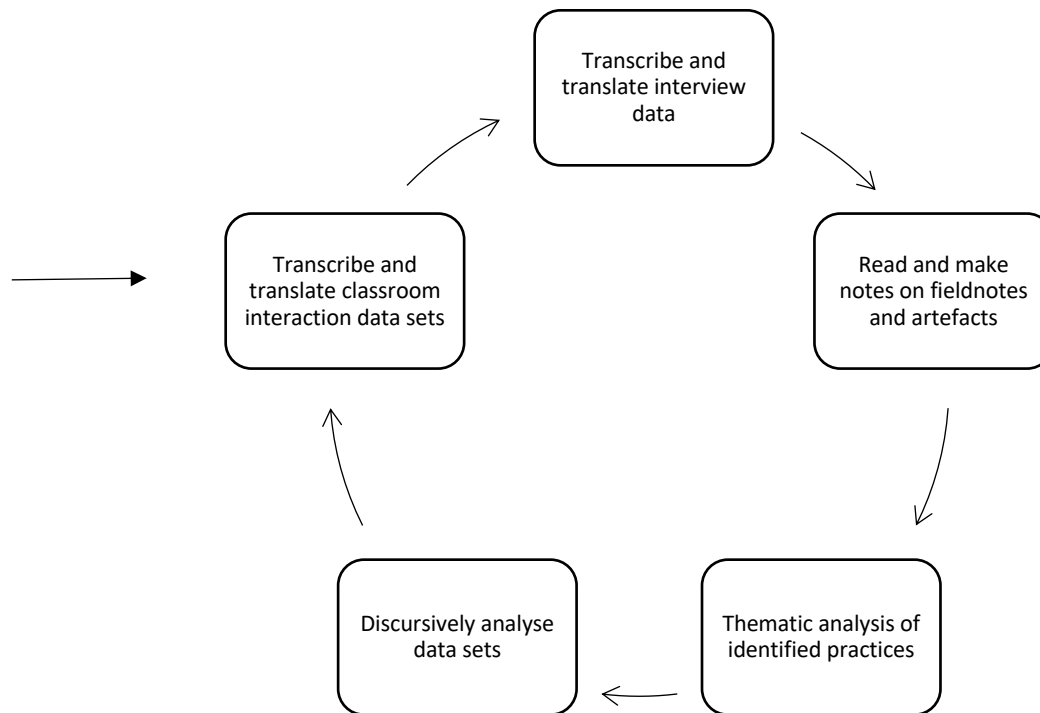


Figure 6: Process of data analysis

4.5.1 Transcribing and Translating

Since one of the first stages of analysing qualitative data is the transcription thereof (Cameron, 2001), I started by transcribing the classroom interactions and the interview data. The transcription process allowed me to become familiar with my data. I listened to them multiple times in order to build an understanding, generate some preliminary thoughts and re-situate myself into the context. This repetition of listening to the data was a first step into the analysis as transcription is a selective process (van Lier, 1988), which means that it is guided by the researcher's theoretical stances. While I was transcribing, I consciously selected the pieces of data that seemed most appropriate in answering my researched questions and were aligned with my theoretical framework on language learning. For the classroom interactions, I adopted the transcription conventions from the Conversation Analysis (CA) field as this allowed me to highlight children's linguistic practices and to pay attention to particular characteristics of spoken discourse (Cameron, 2001). For example, recognising that repetitions could act as a form of providing feedback was very valuable for the analysis. I adapted Ochs' (1996) and Seedhouse's (2004) transcription conventions as I

considered them the most relevant to my research. The table with the transcription conventions can be found in Appendix K and presents the conventions used throughout the analysis. For the interview data I followed basic transcription conventions, as I anticipated that a detailed transcription was not necessary to answer my research questions.

When conducting research in multilingual contexts it is important to acknowledge the possibilities and complexities that occur when collecting and analysing data in a language that is different from the one that the researcher has expertise on (Holmes, Fay, Andrews & Attia, 2013). One way of limiting the multilingual complexities when transcribing and translating was to seek assistance from two Arabic speakers. The process of translating was very challenging and played a crucial role in the analysis. It was one of the most difficult parts as I was not familiar with the Arabic language and script and needed to rely on two native Arabic speakers' goodwill. An additional difficulty was that I needed to train them on how to use CA conventions.

Temple and Edwards (2002) discuss the role of interpreters in qualitative studies and argue that interpreters should become visible in the research process as in some cases, knowledge production is the result of the negotiation that happens between researchers and interpreters. The presence of translators in my study reveals the complexity of real-world research and may raise ethical questions such as, to what extent one Arabic speaker can meet the cultural knowledge and experiences of Arabic speakers who come from different regions? An additional dimension was that the participants were vulnerable children which adds to the complexity of the translation process. One way of overcoming complexities is talking about them and making the process of research transparent. Thus, it is important to discuss translators' dimensions of identity such as gender, class, ethnicity as such characteristics are crucial when examining the life experiences of refugee children.

The two translators (one female and one male) from whom I sought assistance for the transcription and translation of classroom recordings were both in the academic domain but were not trained translators. The female translator was from Saudi Arabia and was an IoE PhD student at the time studying education and sociology, focusing on issues of identity and culture. She came from a wealthy background and was very progressive regarding issues of gender and power inequalities. The male translator was from Algeria and was a lecturer in Arabic at another higher education institution. He came from a middle-class background and was interested about Islam and politics. Even though the two translators were not refugees themselves, both of them showed sensitivity on issues of identity formation, power distribution and the rights of minorities and our constant dialogues regarding children's

trajectories and experiences, allowed for a translation that aimed at capturing the complexity of human communication.

Despite being a very time-consuming process, verifying the translation with two Arabic speakers ensured the data's trustworthiness. The process that was followed during translations was that, when I was transcribing on my own, I identified the time that Arabic talk occurred in the transcribed document. I made notes and, during my meetings with the translators, we worked on transcribing and translating the Arabic part. During that time, we discussed CA conventions and the translators were also explaining some features of the language. The translators also translated into English to make the data accessible to international scholars. In cases where we were not sure about the speech produced due to background noise, I relied on my fieldnotes to interpret the meaning of an utterance.

Apart from these two translators, another person that allowed me to cross language borders when conducting this multilingual research (Temple & Edwards, 2002) was Ms Mysha, the school's translator. Even though Ms Mysha did not participate in the transcription and translation process of classroom recordings, her presence in the school played a crucial role in shaping my understanding on the ways that refugee children experience learning, as she was able to identify children's cross linguistic references and transfer this knowledge to me. In the findings chapters, her role becomes more visible as her participation in the two classrooms, not only supported refugee children's learning of Greek but allowed me to move from being an outsider to be an insider participant and to come into conclusions on the ways that children use their linguistic practices to claim their agency.

In terms of the possibilities provided when researching multilingually, while transcribing, explaining to other researchers my own interpretation and being involved in this reciprocity process, I was starting to make much more sense of my own data. In a way, the translators mediated my own understanding when it comes to theorising children's linguistic practices as they were able to 'translate' and transfer children's experiences to me, thus, created opportunities for children's voices to be authentically represented. In this way, they essentially became part of the analysis (Holmes *et al.*, 2013) as their reflections proved to be very important. For example, I was able to identify children's metalinguistic skills (see extracts 6 and 33) after our lengthy discussions that involved exchange of information regarding Greek and Arabic. My lack of Arabic would limit my interpretation as I would not be able to understand why children started laughing when I listened to the word 'eight' in Greek, for example. Conducting research in multilingual settings when the researcher has no expertise in the languages of their participants should not be an obstacle. Conducting

multilingual research with participants whose languages are not prestigious is the essence of scholars working in applied linguistics and a social approach to teaching as my aim here is not only to bring awareness to the possibilities created when participating in a multilingual context but also to problematise the monolingual ideology and, by providing examples of multilingual practices, to inform educational policy in opening up the space for a social justice approach to language teaching.

In regards to translating, I aimed for an understandable translation as it would be in Standard British-English with the words in the correct order since classroom data tend to be complex and some utterances to be incoherent due to fact that there is simultaneous talk all the time (van Lier, 1988). In regards to the different varieties of Arabic, the two translators pointed out to me that the participants were drawing on these different varieties, but in this study I do not aim at showing these but a standardised version of Arabic as I am aiming for a more interpretive view of the translation. When it comes to the Greek varieties, I show the distinction between the two (Greek and Cypriot). Also, given the fact that I am a teacher, the code-switching between Cypriot and Greek ties with my professional teaching part.

A note about Arabic language is that Arabic is read from right to left and has no capital letters. When it comes to Farsi, the language of one of my participants (Mahmud), I did not seek assistance for this as there were not much data in this language as Mahmud was the only one who spoke it.

Since I was researching how multiple languages were coming into play, a multilingual presentation of the data was necessary (Martin-Jones & Saxena, 2003). Regarding the presentation of extracts, I provide the first lines in the original languages, whatever the speakers said. The second line presents the utterances in the translated version. In the translated version, the Arabic utterances are underlined, the Cypriot are with bold font, the Greek have no font and English have the Italic font to show where languages start and finish (see appendix K for transcription conventions).

The following example is taken from an interview with Maya and Noore.

Maya	<p>شو تدرسنی؟ بالعراق <u>In Iraq</u> no me in Iraq my mum mum to, <i>what is teaching me?</i></p>
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The first utterance (In Iraq) is produced in Arabic, then the child carries on with Cypriot (no) then Greek, (me in Iraq my mum), then again switches into Cypriot (mum) and finally switches again into Arabic (what is teaching me?)

The following example is taken from a classroom interaction between Maya and Taraf

241	Maya	=هذا شو اسمه؟ <u>what is this called?</u> =
242	Taraf	= هذا اسمه μονάδες= <u>=this is called ones=</u>

In line 241, Maya asks a question by using Arabic only and Taraf provides an answer by firstly producing an utterance in Arabic (this is called) and then switches into Greek (ones). Even though the Arabic directionality is right to left, for purposes of readability, when two languages are presented, the directionality follows left to right and this is how it is reflected in the translation. When only Arabic is presented, then the translation follows right to left directionality.

The translation provided is orthographically presented. However in cases where there is a need to present a phonetic presentation, I provide the phonological utterance in chevron brackets using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

4.5.2 Thematic Analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) thematic analysis is ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data’ and this was the first step for analysis that I used before moving into a more discursive one. Following Braun and Clarke’s approach to thematic analysis (see table below for the six suggested phases), I first transcribed all the data (classroom recordings and interviews) in the original language which was either Greek, CG, Arabic or English and, in my case, I also translated everything into English. I chose to analyse the interactional data sets first, as this study focuses on the linguistic practices that refugee children employ when learning a new language and it made much more sense to start by analysing language use. While transcribing, I identified initial themes that occurred such as code-switching, feedback through repetition, translation, and multimodal and multicultural practices (see appendix L regarding how I generated the themes while transcribing). I created these initial themes in different folders and, to each folder, I added the relevant extracts by making a note regarding which data set I took it from, since the interactional data had a coded name.

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 7: Phases of thematic analysis (adopted by Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

For the fieldnotes, I created a word document of 33 pages in A4 format to yield a coherent text that I could treat as written discourse and would allow me to look up information that could support the identified themes.

I did the same with the artefacts. I created an album with 73 pictures. For example, for the analysis of classrooms' displays, I started by making notes on the content, the language written, the images and the purpose that they were serving. For children's artefacts I followed the same process by noting down the content, the languages used, the images, the layout, the colour and other modes that were used. Thus, for the artefacts, I applied a multimodal approach which allowed for the interpretation of other modes apart from the linguistic to be analysed (see section 7.2). However, while interpreting fieldnotes and artefacts, I needed to go back to the classroom and interview data sets and listen again to the participants' reactions and responses (see figure 6 for the cyclic process of the analysis).

Finally, after identifying the examples that occurred repeatedly throughout the data sets, I finalised the themed folders with the relevant extracts. I then moved on to a detailed discourse analysis.

4.5.3 Discourse Analysis of Spoken Interaction

When we refer to discourse (spoken or written), we generally talk about language use in context. Gee (2001) argues that when people use language, they construct their social

reality of the world but, on the other hand, the social reality forms their produced language. As Cameron (2001) precisely points out 'reality is discursively constructed, made and remade as people talk about things using the resources they have access to' (ibid, p. 15). Consequently, this dialogic relationship between language use and the ways it affects our practices within the world, has a role to play with knowledge and self and co-construction. In this study, I approach my data as discourse by which I understand that they have been socially constructed and allow for practices to emerge. This approach is also embedded in my theoretical framework where I understand that knowledge production is a co-constructive process and is the result of social interactions. Drawing on a repertoire approach in second language learning, discourse analysis sees all utterances as having a role to play as it is not only about the complete and grammatically correct forms of language but 'it is about the power of incomplete, ambiguous, and contradictory discourses to produce a social reality that we experience as solid and real' (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 2). Seeing languages holistically and as uneven resources that children have in their repertoire, I move beyond the descriptive analysis that pure linguistics would give, but I aim to understand how children use language in the social context to create opportunities for language learning.

In applied and sociolinguistics, people are usually interested in looking for patterns of language in order to describe how people use language in a given context. Lazaraton (2009) gives an explanation when following a discourse approach to applied linguistics. She points out that we incorporate discourse analysis in applied linguistics to 'generate a rich, contextualized description of natural language use in a particular setting' (ibid, p. 246). Such an analysis presupposes a sophisticated transcription by paying attention to speech features such as pauses and overlaps. In the education field, Cazden (2001) claims that classroom discourse has special characteristics and is a form of social and cultural practice on its own. Specifically, she claims that, within a classroom context, speech is the prime tool for passing and receiving information. Also, within a classroom context, speaking simultaneously is considered to be a normal practice contrary to other social contexts. Moreover, talk is used by children to form their identities. Cazden (2001) suggests that the analysis of classroom discourse falls under the applied linguistics discipline. This creates questions about what kind of route to follow when analysing language interactions within a classroom setting. In the education research literature, Mercer (2010) holds that researchers need to combine different discursive approaches to examine language interactions. He also holds that researcher's selection of different methodological approaches usually reflects their affiliations to different theoretical stances. Due to the lack of a fully developed research inquiry in education research when examining second language learning, I drew on conversational analysis tools for data presentation and followed a discourse analysis for

spoken interactions for a reflective understanding.

Using the tools offered by conversation analysis when conducting an ethnographic classroom research, allowed me to have a closer interpretation on the individual's linguistic exchanges, specifically on the individual who has a complex linguistic background and tries to learn the language of the host country. The micro analysis that conversation analysis offers, adds to this study' ethnographic dimension (emphasis on the collectiveness) and stresses the importance of a linkage between the two.

In this study, I brought together two theoretical tenets, one being the SCT and the other being Applied and Sociolinguistics. SCT provided the conceptual framework on language learning and its origins in socially situated activities. Applied and Sociolinguistics provided the tools to categorise and analyse the findings. The combination of the two provided an approach that allowed the explanation of how a group of refugee children in Cyprus negotiates meaning when learning the host country's language. The CA conventions offered a tool for a fine-grained sequential analysis of classroom interaction (Seedhouse, 2004) which allowed me to identify evidence of how language is used as tool to facilitate learning, evidence that I would neglect if I did not follow this kind of methodology. I then selected the most prominent extracts that illustrate knowledge co-construction to provide detailed reasoning and analysis of how children and teachers' linguistic and other semiotic practices were used to support Greek learning. The claims I made were done through a discourse analysis approach (Cameron, 2001) which allowed me to bring the theoretical lens to the data. The selected fragments were selected because they typify the emerged themes. This discursive analysis allowed for a comprehensive and robust stance towards the data that is reflected in my analysis.

4.6 Being reflexive

Even though I have tried to embed the reflexive part of the study throughout the thesis, I thought it would be best to dedicate a section to it because it is an important aspect when conducting qualitative research but also when you become a qualitative researcher. Being reflexive is about learning to participate in your own research as this participation shapes your understanding of the world and the research you are conducting. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p.210), reflexivity 'is a conscious experiencing of the self...as the one coming to know the self within the processes of research itself'. I understand that the researcher is part of this context and affects and is being affected by it in the process of trying to understand and interpret it. Watson-Gegeo (1988) also places emphasis on the ways that the researcher's theoretical position affects the ways the observations are

conducted and the ways the knowledge will be interpreted and presented. I was aware that my theoretical lens, and personal and academic beliefs about education, migration and social justice had a role to play in the way that I was looking for answers, and in the ways I was interacting with and asking questions of my participants. It is important to address that the assumptions that I had regarding Cypriot teachers' practices when it comes to the support of minority children, affected my expectations during fieldwork. As soon as I entered Kilada school, I was expecting to experience inappropriate provisions being applied and a monolingual and a monocultural approach to be implemented. What I found was completely the opposite as teachers in this school were being agentive over their students' learning needs and their practices revealed that teachers can open up new pathways in language teaching even in unhelpful policy environments.

In terms of being transparent and making myself accountable regarding how I realise my participants' practices, I was keeping a reflexive diary. Occasionally, I wrote down any emotions and thoughts that I may have experienced after some conversations but also bigger questions that did not fit into the scope of this study. I also noted down extra information about children's and teachers' perceptions and stances. Keeping this journal allowed me to be self-conscious and held me accountable throughout the research process.

Being part of the real world and, specifically, being part of children's everyday life, chatting with them, trying to understand their trajectories and mainly the practices that they develop during their participation in the classroom context, shaped my understanding not only as a researcher but I also re-discovered a part of my identity which advocates for social justice. As Hertz (1997, p. 5) points out, being reflexive challenges the researcher 'to be more fully conscious of the ideology, culture and politics of those we study and those whom we select as our audience'. It is about understanding and being sensitive to the complexities that surround a qualitative approach to research. Following an emic perspective where I study the practices of vulnerable children puts social justice as the first ideological stance that drives this study. Following an ethnographic approach to research, a reflexive stance is crucial not only for the data collection process but for the ways the data are presented and analysed. For this study, I aimed for a constant dialogue with my participants to make sure that their voices are visible in a way that they wish to be represented.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Case studies invariably pertain to situations that involve public engagement (Stake, 1995). Thus, informing the participants about the overall aim of the study is a necessary practice so that are cognisant of what they have volunteered to participate in. As a research student at

the UCL-IOE, I adhered to the *Student Ethics Application Guidance* (UCL-IOE, 2016). Being a member of BAAL (British Association of Applied Linguistics), I also adhere to BAAL's ethical guidelines (2016). I followed both sets of guidelines to apply to UCL-IOE's Research Ethics Committee for ethical approval before engaging in my fieldwork. Because the fieldwork would take place in Cyprus, I also needed to seek for permission from the Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE) in Cyprus, as I could not enter the school without it. I also needed to provide to CERE a certificate of a clear criminal record from the Republic of Cyprus. After gaining access to enter the school, a first step before starting the data collection process was to inform all my participants (children, parents, teachers and people at the reception centre) about the research aims and about issues of confidentiality. Even though I wrote this information on the consent letters, I orally explained that personal information will not be revealed in any way as I will use pseudonyms not only for their names but for the context (city, school) as well.

For the refugee children's parents, I sent the informed consent letters in Arabic (see appendix M). For Cypriot-Greek children's parents I sent the letter in Greek (see appendix N). For all the children, I used age appropriate language (see appendix O) to seek their consent. Another important aspect that was crucial for this study was that I was interacting with young children and especially refugee children coming from war torn areas of the world. When it comes to researching young children, I familiarised myself with the literature on child-centred research (Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010; Pinter, 2011; O'Reilly & Dogra, 2017) which talks about issues around child protection, child friendly design of data collection tools (drawings, stories, songs) and representing children's voices by showcasing their multiple identities through different data sets. These ethical considerations become more critical when refugee children are part of the research as these children may have experienced extreme violence (Block, Warr, Gibbs & Riggs, 2012). Unfortunately most of the children in this study had, and carry this trauma with them. Since this is one of the first studies to examine refugee children's learning experiences in the Cypriot educational sector, before entering into the field, I read *Suggestions for Interviewing Refugee and Immigrant Children and Families* (BRYCS, 2009) and also the principles on *Research on refugees, asylum seekers and migrants*, a circular from the European Commission (2018). This process informed my thinking and empowered my researching skills when observing, interviewing and designing tools to research the practices of refugee children. I decided that the first thing to do is to spend time with the children trying to build trust, getting to know them better, and being able to engage in a dialogue with them. In doing so, I was taking into serious consideration not only their cultural and linguistic backgrounds but their life experiences, and their emotional and physical states as well. That is why I was very careful when talking with

them in order not to accidentally bring any horrible experience back to life. Researchers must be very sensitive when trying to elicit information from children who may be vulnerable physically and emotionally. Furthermore, issues of cultural and linguistic differences are of high importance when researching children from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds and having two translators at the school was a huge support as this allowed for children's voices to be further lifted.

4.8 Summary

In this chapter, I described the ethos that lies behind my ethnographic case study which is a qualitative approach to research. Drawing on ethnographic tools for data collection, I gathered data that are intended to answer my research questions in regards to the ways refugee children use the different languages in their repertoires to construct meaning and become members of their new learning community. The data were elicited in a number of ways (classroom recordings, fieldnotes, interviews and collection of artefacts) to provide a trustworthy account of my interpretation. In regards to data analysis approaches, the aim of this chapter was to show how different approaches were used to analyse a complex educational phenomenon by drawing on SCT perspectives on language learning. I also described the complexity in terms of transcribing and translating the data as I, as a researcher, did not share the same linguistic expertise as my participants. However, researching multilingual settings does not presuppose sharing the same language with the participants. By incorporating two translators in the research process, I revealed the multiple opportunities offered when locating translators as members of the research process. I then discussed the analytical framework that I followed to interpret my data where I began by following a thematic analysis to identify the repeated themes that occurred while transcribing and translating. The discourse analysis approach I followed was informed by the incorporation of CA tools in order to provide a rigorous representation of speech. Moving beyond language description, I explained how I discursively interpreted children's practices by projecting my theoretical lens to the selected extracts.

The next three chapters present the findings and provide empirical evidence of the ways that refugee children experience their different languages coming together. I consider the ways in which children develop their linguistic practices and make use of their multicultural practices and semiotics resources to support their learning of Greek and how teachers' approaches to multiculturalism and multilingualism had an impact on developing linguistic and cultural awareness for all children. By analysing children's talk, I consider how language becomes a scaffolding tool within peer interactions.

Chapter 5: CHILDREN'S LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES AND THEIR FLEXIBLE USE

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter explained the methodology that I followed to undertake the ethnographic study and answer my research questions. Chapter 5 is the first of three findings chapters. In these chapters, I present the data that arose from the analysis of classroom interactions, interviews, fieldnotes and artefacts. The discussion of each chapter is interwoven within the presentation of the data where I analyse the key elements of each extract with some analytical commentary and links on the ways they relate to, complement or are in opposition to points made in the literature review.

The three findings chapters are divided as follows: Chapter 5: Children's linguistic repertoires and their flexible use; Chapter 6: Children's linguistic practices as a way of scaffolding children's Greek learning and Chapter 7: Classroom multicultural practices and semiotic resources. Chapter 5 focuses on answering research question number 1: What are the linguistic repertoires of refugee children in a Cypriot primary school? Chapter 6 answers question number 2: What are the linguistic practices deployed by refugee children and how do these facilitate the learning of Standard Modern Greek in the classroom domain? Finally, chapter 7 addresses research question number 3: What multicultural practices arise and what semiotic resources are mobilised in the classroom and how do these facilitate refugee children's learning of Standard Modern Greek and their social participation in the classroom? Finally, all chapters contribute to answering research question number 4: What are the implications of this study for developing an inclusive curriculum in refugee recipient settings? Although for the purposes of analysis I divided the findings into three chapters, the overlaps in these are presented later in the conclusion (chapter eight), where I discuss a dynamic model that illustrates the interrelations between them.

It is important to mention that most of the practices observed followed the Initiation-Response-Feedback sequence model (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979), which means that the teacher asks questions and expects students to provide an answer in order to give feedback or evaluate their response. However, most of the time, the teachers of this school were not aiming for answers that already existed but were aiming for a more dialogic teaching approach. In other cases, the children were collaboratively working on assigned activities. Furthermore, some of the practices were observed during the *Parallel Intensive Greek language classes*, *Actions for School and Social Inclusion* and *School Violence and Intervention's Team* programmes.

A main feature that I want to highlight before presenting the data was both teachers' multilingual and multicultural approach to teaching which I discuss in depth later in chapter 7. However it is worth setting it up from the beginning. Both of the teachers, Mr Grigoris (year 6) and Ms Roula (year 5) were very encouraging towards children - not only by recognising but by actively supporting the use of children's linguistic repertoires. It is important to acknowledge this approach to teaching as based on the literature review and on my pilot study, and that it is not a usual phenomenon for the Cypriot educational context (Papamichael, 2011; Theodorou, 2011). The two teachers' enlightened approach enabled children to not keep their linguistic varieties separated but to use them purposefully.

The following table summarises the findings of each chapter with a small commentary on the ways that these are understood.

Findings Chapters	Title	Comments
Chapter 5	Children's linguistic repertoires and their flexible use	The languages that refugee children were drawing on: Standard Modern Greek, Arabic, Cypriot-Greek, English and Farsi. These languages came together flexibly and were used as resources for learning and communicating within the classroom context.
Chapter 6	Linguistic practices as a way of scaffolding children's Greek learning	<p>Translating: The practice that involves transmitting meaning from one language to the other and covers the skills we understand as speaking, reading and writing. Translation was a practice that was embedded in the learning process and was used as a scaffolding tool that allowed children to enhance their Greek learning by jointly constructing each other's understanding.</p> <p>Code-switching: The practice that involves the alternation between children's available linguistic resources. Code-switching was also used as a scaffolding tool that supported Greek knowledge construction. It was also a practice that children used to keep up with the conversation.</p> <p>Repeating: The practice of partially or fully repeating previous utterances. Repeating was used by children as a self-correction practice as they saw it as a way of rehearsing the correct utterance. It was also approached as a way of responding to their teachers' guided</p>

		feedback, which gave them an opportunity to support the learning of Greek.
Chapter 7	Classroom multicultural practices and semiotic resources	Children and teachers' use of multicultural practices and semiotic resources that developed cultural and linguistic awareness of all children.

Table 8: Summary of findings chapters

Chapter five is the first of the three findings chapters and focuses on revealing children's linguistic repertoires and how these are deployed. It also illustrates the linguistic complexity of the two classrooms and the flexible use of children's available linguistic repertoires that included Standard Modern Greek³ (SMG), Arabic, Cypriot-Greek (CG), English and Farsi. The main argument that I present in this chapter is that children's flexible use of linguistic repertoires challenged the traditional-monolingual ideologies of the MoEC, as children revealed the ability to easily navigate through their available linguistic resources to accommodate different aims (learning and participation). This finding is reflected in Busch's (2015) repertoire approach, which links people's linguistic trajectories to life experiences. Similarly, in this study, children's languages carried their personal trajectory biographies which, at any time, they could draw on to build their new reality in their new context. The languages are presented in a separated, named fashion, but the goal here is not to show separation but the ways that these resources came together as a whole.

5.1 Use of Greek

Since the required medium of instruction is Greek, all children were expected to produce and have a good command of it. Even though the refugee children's Greek repertoire was limited and sometimes incomplete, the following extracts show evidence of children self-regulating their actual Greek skills and, despite their limited capacity, they managed to gain control over their learning by using Greek to scaffold their understanding. The extracts also show that, through using Greek, children were also indicating their linguistic expertise by showing their teachers their academic development.

The following extract illustrates Noore's Greek language production to develop her ideas for an essay titled: '*What would I do if I had one million euros*'. The conversation was held between Noore and me (researcher) during a Greek lesson in which children were asked to

³ SMG and Greek are used interchangeably

brainstorm ideas for their essays. The hyphen (-) shows that the participant is reading in syllables and the colon and double colon indicates lengthening of the preceding sound (see appendix K).

Extract 1

Participants: Researcher (R), Noore

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- 309 R =ναι/ οι φιλανθρωπικές οργανώσεις=
=yes/ the philanthropic organisations=
- 310 Noore =φι-λανθρω-πεις= ((λάθος λεξικής παραγωγής))
=phi-la-nthro-pies= ((lexical production error <filanθropis>
instead of <filanθropikes>))
- 311 R =πικές/ μπράβο ωμέγα (1) μπράβο έψιλον γιώτα/ οργανΩΣΕΙς
=pic/ bravo <omeγα> (1) bravo <epsiion jota> organisatIONS
- 312 άρα βάλε έψιλον γιώτα μετά το σ/
so add <epsiion jota> after s/
- 313 Noore που (2) θα (.) δια-λέ-ξω=
which (2) i am (.) choo-si-ng=
- 314 R =επειδή είναι ΕΓΩ (.) γράφουμε ωμέγα=
=because it is I (.) we write <omeγα>=
- 315 Noore =ωμέγα;=
=<omeγα>?=
316 R =ναι/
=yes/

This extract illustrates Noore's attempt to carry on the whole conversation in Greek even though the pauses, lengthening of syllables and reading in syllables were indicators of a conversation that was in progress. However, the question she raised (line 315) after listening to the researcher's guidance, about the choice of the correct letter to be added, not only reveals her willingness to learn Greek but also her awareness of Greek's orthographic conventions and that she could follow the researcher's instructions. The constant scaffolding by the researcher (lines 311, 312, 314) was provided through using simple and minimal sentences. This enabled Noore to follow the conversation and build upon it. Despite Noore's limited grammatical resources, she showed awareness of Greek's syntactic constituents,

word order categories (line 313) and the ability to co-construct meaning by producing Greek utterances which not only allowed her to keep up with the conversation but also to expand her own Greek repertoire. Instead of considering Noore's pauses, lengthening of syllables and reading in syllables as markers that delayed her oral production, this extract shows that Noore is showcasing evidence of a confident emergent bilingual.

Extract 2 focuses on a dialogue between Maya and Ms Mysha during a whole classroom interaction. Ms Mysha sits next to Maya to assist her in writing her essay titled: '*Boys and girls' rights in education*'. Even though they both share the same language (Arabic), at this point, Ms Mysha carried on the conversation in Greek as this is the language that Maya is requested to produce. Maya seems to follow this direction as she is aware that Mr Grigoris is also present and this is the only way for him to become aware of Maya's progress.

Extract 2

Participants: Maya, Ms Mysha

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- 108 Maya =να: (1) παί:ζουμε=
=we: (1) pla:y=
- 109 Mysha =οί παίζουμε (.) να: παί:ΖΟΥΝ:: (2)/
=**not** we play (.) they: plA:Y:: (2)/
- 110 Maya παίζουν=
they play=
- 111 Mysha =να παίζουν/ ΝΑΙ;=
=to play/ YES?=
=μπά:σκετ (2) και: να: παί-ζουν παίζουμε (.) τηλέφωνο ((λάθος λεξικής παραγωγής))
=ba:sket (2) and: to: pla-y we play (.) telephone ((lexical production error <tilefo'no instead of tile'fono>))
- 113 ΤΕΛΕΦΩΝΟ= ((λάθος λεξικής παραγωγής <telefo'no>))
telePHONE= ((lexical production error <telefONO> instead of <tile'fono>))
- 114 Mysha =ΜΕ το τηλέφωνο ΜΕ/ να παίζουν να παίζουν ΜΕ να παίζουν με:: το [τηλέφωνο
=WITH the telephone WITH/ to play WITH to play with:: the telephone
- 115 Maya [Τελεφώνο=

- [telephone=
- ((lexical production error <telefo'no> instead of <tile'fono>))
- 116 Mysha =τηΛΕΦΩΝΟ τηλέφωνο ωραία/
=telePHONE telephone nice/
- 117 Maya εγώνι δεν σου αρέσει ((ασυμφωνία προσώπου-ρήματος)) στο σχολείο/
i you don't like ((subject-verb disagreement)) at school/

In this extract, through constant guidance, Maya seems to be able to hold the conversation and support her thinking development in Greek. Maya begins formulating her thoughts about what she is going to start writing (line 108) and Ms Mysha quickly responds to her linguistic needs and provides feedback on her grammatical error by directly signalling her mistake (line 109). In what follows, Maya corrects her mistake by repeating Ms Mysha's utterance (line 110) and manages to produce a whole sentence on her own (lines 112-113) despite the long lengthening of the sounds, repetitive utterances, slow reading ability, pauses and limited production of utterances. Even though Ms Mysha constantly interrupts Maya's production (lines 111, 114, 116), Maya continues to control her thinking by drawing on Greek through this scaffolded activity. This shows that she was able to orally negotiate meaning in the target language. It is also important to acknowledge that even though 'i you don't like' (line 117) is not grammatically correct, it indicates Maya's knowledge of Greek's syntactic constituent order (word order category).

Similar to Noore's limited knowledge of Greek, Maya also shows evidence of developing her Greek repertoire. According to Blommaert and Backus (2013), even a limited form of learning is an indicator of a form of knowledge, and this is precisely what a repertoire approach argues about. It is not about learners fully mastering their available linguistic repertoires but being able to deploy this plurality of repertoires to respond to different occasions.

Extracts 1 and 2 are classic examples of adult-novice scaffolding (Wood *et al.*, 1976; Ohta, 2001) where, in this case, the expert, provided guidance to a novice by drawing on the target language. What is interesting in both of the extracts is that despite the two learners' limited knowledge of the target language they were aware that they needed to interact in Greek in order to write their essays and they were acting upon it without worrying about grammatical constraints. By doing that, they managed to maximise their linguistic engagement. In extract 1, the expert and novice did not share the same language and, thus, the conversation needed to be held in Greek. Instead of remaining silent, Noore chose to carry on the

conversation in Greek and this negotiation created space for her to extend her Greek repertoire regarding vocabulary and orthographic conventions. In extract 2, both the novice and expert share the same language but, again, chose to use the target to respond to the learning activity. This conscious decision by both Maya and Noore reveals firstly, their ability to participate as learners in a socially situated activity by producing Greek as a tool to mediate their interactions and, secondly, reveals agency over their learning process. Noore and Maya did not reject the support provided but showed willingness to participate in the interaction. Similar observations can be found in Drury's (2007) study as the bilingual child in her study was also drawing on the target language to respond to her teachers, despite her lack of it. Noore and Maya's choice to carry on the conversation indicates their awareness of the different uses of their available repertoires and, similarly to Drury's finding, chose not to remain silent but exhibit agency over their learning.

In the following extract, the children participate in the Parallel Intensive Greek language programme where they need to portray their knowledge in regards to Greek orthography and grammar. Amin, Maya and Noore work collaboratively to respond to Mr Grigoris's grammatically demanding questions.

Extract 3

Participants: TG, Amin, Maya, Noore

Year: 6

Lesson: Parallel Intensive Greek language lesson

- 16 TG τι θέλει εδώ Αμίν; ωμέγα ή όμικρον;/
what do we add here Amin? <omega> or <omikron>?/
- 17 Amin όμικρο=
<omikro>=
- 18 TG =όμικρο/ γιατί θέλει όμικρον; /
=<omikro>/ why do we add omikron? /
- 19 Maya ΤΟ ΤΟ=
ΤΗΕ ΤΗΕ =
- 20 TG =είναι ΤΟ κρυφό ε; είναι ουσιαστικό ουδέτερο το κρυφό/
is it ΤΗΕ hide and seek huh? it is a neuter noun the hide and seek/
- 21 ΠΟΤΕ θα ήθελε ωμέγα ε; να κρυφτώ=

- WHEN do we add <omega> ((refers to specific kind of <o>)) huh? to
hide=
- 22 Amin =εγώ κρυφτώ=
=i hide=
- 23 TG εγώ να κρυφτώ/ περίμενε να κρυφτώ (1) γιατί θα ήτανε Νούρ;:=
to hide/ wait to hide (1) because it would be what Noore:?=
- 24 Amin =ρήμα/
=verb/
- 25 TG ΡΗΜΑ/ μπράβο Αμίν/
VERB/ bravo Amin/
- 26 Noore ρήμα ρήμα/
verb verb/

The conversation begins with the teacher asking Amin about the choice of a letter to assess whether he knows the difference between verbs and nouns. Amin provides the correct answer (line 17). Maya's response in rising intonation firstly indicates her active listening skills and secondly her willingness to participate in this grammatically oriented activity and to implicitly provide her explanation by referring to an article (line 19). Mr Grigoris infers that Maya is aware of the reason behind her choice. He clarifies that it is because the word is a neuter noun (line 20). He carries on by asking about the choice of letter and, again, Amin shows his awareness of the Greek grammar rules by giving the correct answer with an example (line 22). Mr Grigoris agrees and nominates Noore to name that specific part of speech (line 23). However, Amin interrupts and actively contributes to the learning process by showing awareness of the correct terminology (line 24). Mr Grigoris enthusiastically praises Amin (line 25) and repeats his answer but Noore also wants to be included in this learning process and retain her identity as an able student. Thus, she displays her knowledge by repeating the answer to show that she was aware of it (line 26). This conversation is an example of a situated activity where children managed to co-construct and illustrate their knowledge of Greek. This joint construction of knowledge, which is marked by their constant latching, rising intonation and repetition, resonates with Donato's (1994) study where learners managed to maintain the aim of the activity by repeating and adding to each other's utterances. The children in this study also managed to collectively maintain the aim of the activity by using Greek as their main tool and by drawing on each other's previous utterances and coming to the correct answer by firstly providing examples and then concluding with the specific terminology. Contrary to Donato's (1994) study, in this

case, the children managed to build a collective scaffold with the presence of the teacher. This may be explained by the fact that it would be much harder for primary school children to be able to maintain interest in a purely linguistic task without teacher's presence. Moreover, it was important for the learners to portray their identity as good students of Greek. One way of doing this was by overtly indicating their willingness towards Greek.

The following section focuses on providing examples of how the use of Arabic by refugee children not only showcased its flexible use for the support of Greek but also how it became a tool that fostered every child's linguistic awareness.

5.2 Use of Arabic

The second language that was visible in the classroom was Arabic. Arabic was the language that refugee children shared and this shared knowledge was used to support their learning of Greek.

The following extract focuses on a dialogue between Taraf, Maya and Ms Mysha during a Greek lesson where Mr Grigoris assigned all children an essay titled: '*Boys and girls' rights in education*'. In this example, Taraf and Maya seek assistance from Ms Mysha drawing on Arabic.

Extract 4

Participants: Taraf, Mysha, Maya

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- 66 Taraf =κυρία Μίσα =مش فاهم: الحقوق =
=ms Mysha i don't understand the rights=
- 67 Mysha =أيوه طيب قول بشكل عام/ شو كان يعملو البنات والصبيان بالمدرسة/ وبسوريا وهون شو بيعملو =
=ok you can say it in general/ what girls and boys used to do in Syria in schools/ what they used to do in Syria=
- 68 Taraf = شو برايح يعملو يعني =
=what they used to do=
- 69 Mysha أوكي قول إتو نفس الشيء بيلعبو هنا/ بس في شغللات هناك البنات يحبوها أكثر من هون/ أو في شغللات البنات
بيعملوها هون أكثر من هناك والصبيان =
=ok say that they used to do the same thing /but there are things girls used to like it more / or there are things girls used to do it here more than [boys
- 70 Maya =مع صحي =

[correct=

- 71 Mysha =أو الصبيان
= or girls
- 72 Maya =صحيح ها الترجمة؟=
= is this translation correct?=
- 73 Mysha =شو دراك أنت؟=
= how do you know this?=
- 74 Maya تكملها هيك وهاي / =σου αρέσει/ لساتو إجا علي وصلحلي غلط
= he just came to me and he corrected a mistake you like just complete it like this and this/
- 75 Mysha (xx)τα: κορίτσια πηγαίνουν=
(xx) the: girls are going=
- 76 Maya =πηγαίνουν στο: (5) هي πηγαίνουν;/
= are going to: (5) this is go?!

Taraf initiates the interaction by immediately switching from Greek to Arabic to show his lack of understanding (line 66). Ms Mysha responds to Taraf's request by continuing the dialogue in Arabic and provides guidance on his questions by giving him some examples to draw on (line 67). Taraf seems to gain some understanding and to indicate this, he repeats Ms Mysha's last utterance (line 68). Ms Mysha carries on by providing more guidance in Arabic (line 69). Maya's overlapping utterance (line 70) shows that she also benefited from Taraf's question as Ms Mysha's response allowed Maya to seek further clarification for her thinking (line 72), which led to further discussion between them (lines 73-74). In line 75, Ms Mysha provides the correct translation of Maya's written production and Maya immediately repeats Ms Mysha's last utterance, followed by the addition of a preposition (line 76). This repetition and the addition of the preposition shows that Maya has benefited from this scaffolded activity as she managed to expand to the minimum, her utterance. The switch into Arabic after the 5 second pause and then the switch into Cypriot-Greek indicates her thinking in progress and, also, the strategic use thereof in order to confirm word meaning. By drawing on Arabic, children manage to clarify conceptual meanings of words such as *rights* and their connotation in different educational contexts. Such concepts would not be easily unpacked if children were not given the opportunity to discuss them with an Arabic teacher. This scaffolded activity which is marked by the use of children's dominant language, is supported by Toohey's (2000) observation. Toohey (2000) points out that, when children in her study

had the opportunity to use their dominant language, more opportunities occurred for their participation as equal members of the classroom community. This led to their access to knowledge. Similarly, this extract shows that, when children have the opportunity to use their dominant language to clarify and seek more explanations, they then create opportunities to access new knowledge.

In a similar vein, the following extract focuses on a Mathematics lesson where children try to understand place value. Again, children incorporate Arabic while they negotiate meaning with the aim of producing the correct response in Greek.

Extract 5

Participants: Taraf, Maya, Mr Grigoris (TG), Researcher

Year: 6

Lesson: Mathematics

- 395 Taraf πεντακόσσια κύριε (1) κύριε/ κύριε πεντακόσσια εξήντα τρία/
five hundred sir (1) sir/ sir five hundred sixty three/
- 396 TG ΠΟΛΥ σωστά/ πεντακόσα εξήντα τρία/ Μάγια;=
CORRECT five hundred sixty three/ Maya?=
=ναι=؟كيفية حلها؟
- 397 Maya =ναι=؟كيفية حلها؟
=yes how did you solve it?=
- 398 TG =ποιος αριθμός είναι αυτός; αυτό θυμάσαι πόσο κάνει;=
which number is this? do you remember what is this?=
=εκατό/
=one hundred/
- 400 TG Μάγια=
Maya=
- 401 Maya =εικατό ((λάθος λεξικής παραγωγής))/
=one hundred ((lexical production error <ikato> instead of <ekato>)/
- 402 TG εκατό είναι ΜΙΑ.; εκατοντάδα (1) πόσες εκατοντάδες έχεις; (5)/
one hundred is ONE:?? hundred (1) how many hundreds you have? (5)/
- 403 Maya /كيفية بحسبها/
=how do i calculate this?/
- 404 Taraf =((γέλια))يا نور(.). نور قولي للأستاذ ان مريم ما بتعرف تعد للمليون

hey Noore (.) Noore tell the teacher that Maya doesn't know how to count to a million ((laughter))=

405 Maya /هاي=

=HEY/

406 Taraf [لك ليه حظيها]

[why just put it

407 Maya [[خليني أنا أحسب براحتي بعد ايدك كيف (xx) ثمانية باليوناني(10)]

[let me calculate it at my own pace move your hand (10) how (xx) eight in Greek?/

Taraf begins the conversation in Greek by signalling his understanding to Mr Grigoris (line 395) but Maya illustrates her misconception and struggle in solving the exercise by immediately switching into Arabic to seek clarification from Taraf (line 397). Mr Grigoris keeps asking for an answer (line 398) which allows Taraf to illustrate, once again, his understanding (line 399). However, Mr Grigoris insists on asking Maya for an answer and in what follows, Maya uses Arabic and explicitly requests Taraf to assist her in how to proceed with the calculation (line 403). This leads to Taraf's amusement and light-hearted laughter as he addresses Noore to share this (line 404). Maya's angry response, shown by her rising intonation (line 405), reveals that she begins to take ownership of her own understanding. This leads to Taraf's sympathy, which is illustrated by his overlapped utterance (line 406). Taraf's overlapped utterance indicates his attempt to assist Maya in solving the problem. However, Maya shows her disagreement and re-negotiates her position as a capable learner by demanding Taraf move his hand. After a ten second pause, she again requests information on how to say *eight* in Greek, as she seems to have implicitly accepted Taraf's previous assistance (line 407). The dialogue, especially in lines 403-407, shows precisely the complexity of the learning process and the situations that teachers may not be aware of when they do not share the same language as their pupils. However, it also illustrates the children's ability to take control of their learning. Specifically, by drawing on Arabic, Maya who explicitly requests assistance twice (lines 403 and 407), shows evidence of her willingness and her ability to reflect on Greek concepts as she searches for the correct lexical item in order to express her thinking. In doing so, she draws on Arabic to take control of her thinking by externalising her search. This is in line with Vygotsky's theory (1986) when it comes to thinking and speaking as dialogic processes. In this case, Arabic was used as a scaffolding tool to mediate Maya's thinking and triggered her engagement with Greek at a vocabulary search level. Taraf's use of Arabic for teasing purposes may have seemed

inappropriate but this interactional element allowed for children's lively and high engagement with the task.

Both extracts, 4 and 5, illustrate the flexible use of Arabic during teaching time and are suitable examples that the use of children's dominant language in the classroom does not harm the learning of the target language. On the contrary, the dominant language can be used as a scaffolding tool to sustain their interactions and facilitate the production of Greek. This is precisely what Antón and DiCamilla (1999) argue in their study, which refers to the scaffolding function of the use of their participants' dominant language for the acquisition of the new one. In their sociocultural analysis, the scholars stress the importance of the use of the dominant language in order for learners to access the target language and arrive at intersubjectivity (common understanding). Even though the researchers examined the practices of adult learners, their findings are illustrative of the ways that children in this study use Arabic as their shared repertoire that allowed them to move beyond their actual skills and arrive at conceptual understandings (extract 4) and be engaged with Greek vocabulary (extract 5).

The next extract illustrates how Arabic was used as a playful tool that revealed children's metalinguistic awareness. The following extract is part of a Parallel Intensive Greek language lesson where children are practising their reading skills.

Extract 6

Participants: Maya, Amin, Taraf, TG

Year: 6

Lesson: Parallel Intensive Greek language lesson

- | | | |
|-----|-------|--|
| 571 | TG | διάβασέ το αυτό εδώ/
read this one here/ |
| 572 | Amin | στον κή:πο (xx) τρέξιμο και μπάλα και κρυφό και (.) ύ-στε-ρα
in the ga:rden (xx) running and ball and hide and (.) la-ter |
| 573 | | στο μπά-νιο μου πετάει με την προ-βολι-δα=
in the sho-wer he throws at me with the tru-nk ((lexical production error))= |
| 574 | Taraf | =خره؟ اكل=
=((γέλια))
= <u>did he eat poop?</u> =(laughter)) |
| 575 | Amin | =ball =
= <i>ball</i> = |

- 576 Taraf =بطلع من خراه ميه/
 =he is blowing water out of his poop/
- 577 Maya =اكتب مرة ثانية بخط حلو=
 write it again in nice handwriting=

Extract 6 illustrates how the use of Arabic by the children indicated their metalinguistic awareness. In line 571, the teacher asks Amin to start reading the passage and Amin follows the instruction (lines 572-573). However, Amin's reading is interrupted by Taraf's comment that is made in Arabic, followed by laughter where he demonstrates what he thought he heard Amin say (line 574). Amin's earlier inaudible utterance (line 572) sparked this comment as, with the assistance of the Arabic translator, I identified that the inaudible utterance that Amin produced in Greek had the same sounding as the word 'poop' in Arabic. This spontaneous incident enabled Taraf to use Arabic in a playful way but also to reveal his metalinguistic awareness (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Kenner, 2004), as he is consciously aware of his linguistic choices. By making this comment, he showed evidence of a skilful bilingual who can take control of his own understanding. Taraf was able to phonologically recognise and reflect upon an example between two languages, as he paired the Greek sound with an Arabic word. However, Amin feels the need to correct him and to clarify what he said. In doing so, he uses English as a common point of reference to indicate that he was referring to the *ball* (line 575). However, Taraf keeps developing his interpretation and produces a more extended playful utterance in Arabic where he further elaborates his thinking (line 576). This enjoyable moment of his is not supported by Maya as she also draws on Arabic and nominates another topic (line 577) to point out that she does not want to be part of Taraf's inappropriate comments. Taraf's playful interaction goes back to Vygotsky's theory (1978) who saw play as a way of children moving beyond their ZPD and as an indicator of children being aware of their choices. Taraf's kind of playful, repetitive and extended utterance (line 576) is also observed in Sullivan's (2000) study. Her participants (second language university students) used playful talk during teaching that had similar characteristics to Taraf's linguistic production (repetitive utterances and laughter). This was an indicator that the students paid attention to the sounds and meaning of the words of the target language. Similarly, this playful commentary, shows that Taraf was becoming an emergent bilingual who was able to make phonological comparisons and was being sensitive to Greek vocabulary.

As previously mentioned, in order for Arabic to have an actual place and usage as a scaffolding tool in the classroom, largely depended on teachers' teaching theory and stance

towards multilingualism. The following extract comes from an interview where Mr Grigoris discusses his view towards the utilisation of the children's dominant language during teaching time.

Extract 7

Participants: TG, Researcher

Interview

- 11 R Εσείς τα Αραβικά πώς το θεωρείτε, το θεωρείτε καλή πρακτική το να γράφουν στη γλώσσα τους, να μεταφράζουν, βλέπετε ότι υπάρχει πρόοδος, εξέλιξη στο να μαθαίνουν ελληνικά μέσω αυτού του τρόπου?

How do you consider the practice of children writing and translating in Arabic? Do you see any progress in the way that they learn Greek through this practice?

- 12 TG Τώρα για το ζήτημα που είπατε γι' αυτή την τάξη και μεθοδολογία σαν γενικά στοιχεία φιλοσοφίας είναι η αξιοποίηση και η παρουσία της μητρικής γλώσσας δηλαδή η ισότητα των γλωσσών ως αξία. Μπορεί να μην έχουμε ισότητα γλωσσών ως καθημερινής πρακτικής γιατί είμαστε σ' ένα ελληνόφωνο σχολείο το οποίο έχει σκοπό να βγάλει παιδιά στην ελληνόφωνη βασικά κοινωνία σε σχέση με το κυπριακό αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα και θα μπορούσε δηλαδή, σε κάθε σχολείο στον κόσμο έχει μια γλώσσα ως τη βασική. Αλλά από κει και πέρα για λόγους αξιοπρέπειας, πολιτικής, λογικής και πολιτισμικής ισότητας εννοείται ότι είναι πολύ σημαντικό για να μπορούν αυτά τα παιδιά να μπουν και να συμμετέχουν να φτιάξουν να είναι οργανικό μέρος της κοινότητας πρέπει να ξέρουν ότι η γλώσσα τους έχει το ίδιο στάτους και να μπορούνε ελεύθερα να τη μιλήσουνε ελεύθερα να τη χρησιμοποιήσουνε ελεύθερα να τη γράψουνε και αυτό μάλιστα όχι μόνο αλλά μπορεί να αξιοποιηθεί και διδακτικά.

Now about the issue that you brought up about this class and methodologically and generally, my philosophy is the utilisation and visibility of the children's mother tongue by which I mean the equality between languages as values. We may not have equality of languages in terms of everyday usage because we are in a Greek-speaking school which aims to bring up children in the Greek-speaking, basically, society. This is linked with the Cypriot analytical curriculum. Basically, every school in the world has one language as the basic one. But for reasons of respect, politically, common sense and cultural equality it is obvious that it is very important for the children to participate and create and be an organic part of this society and they need to know that their language has the same status. To feel that they could freely speak in it, freely use it, freely write it and this could also be utilised in terms of teaching.

- 13 R Πιστεύετε ότι αυτή η πρακτική βοηθά τα παιδιά να μάθουν τα ελληνικά?

Do you think that this practice helps the children to learn Greek?

- 14 TG Ναι ναι ναι γιατί όλα θα περάσουν μέσα από τη μητρική γλώσσα γι' αυτό τα παιδιά τα οποία δεν έχουνε ένα παιδί το οποίο είναι από τη Ρουμανία και δεν έμαθε ποτέ να γράφει ρουμανικά οι γονείς του δηλαδή το μεγαλώσανε μιλώντας ρουμανικά στο σπίτι και πήγε ελάχιστα σχολείο στη Ρουμανία ήρθε μετά εδώ και ξεκίνησε να γράφει ελληνικά δε θα μάθει και ακόμα σκέφτεται στα ρουμανικά ακόμα η πρώτη του γλώσσα

είναι τα ρουμανικά δεν πρόκειται ποτέ να γίνει καλός χρήστης τέλειος χρήστης δεν μπορεί να αξιοποιήσει όλες τους τις δυνατότητες ως χρήστης της ελληνικής γλώσσας και αυτό ισχύει και για τα αραβόφωνα και οποιαδήποτε γλώσσα

Yes yes yes because everything will be filtered through the mother tongue. That is why for example a child from Romania that has never learnt to write in Romanian - his/her parents brought the child up by speaking Romanian at home and went for a limited period of time in a school in Romania and then came here and started writing in Greek - they will never learn. Because he is still thinking in Romanian, his/her first language is Romanian and will never be a good or perfect user because she/he cannot make use of all his/her potential as a Greek language user and this is the same for Arabic-speaking children and for every other language.

Mr Grigoris's response is aligned to his classroom's activities, displays and support provided to all children. His philosophical stance on the use of the children's dominant language is supported by Cummin's (1986) bilingual frameworks in education in which he claims that 'the extent to which students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program constitutes a significant predictor of academic success' (ibid, p.25). It is when children's languages are valued that education becomes inclusive. This inclusive stance is supported by research findings. Cummin's extensive review (1991) of second language learning reveals the Principle of Interdependence Hypothesis and the CUP model, which is about children's use of their dominant language in second language contexts. When children use their dominant language, they can then transfer their already known skills from one language to the other. When Mr Grigoris claims that he supports the use of the dominant language in the classroom because it could be utilised for teaching and learning purposes (line 12) and that everything will be filtered through the dominant language (line 14), he implicitly references Cummin's (1991) CUP model. Thus, the use of the children's dominant language in a Greek teaching environment is not only happening because of ethical reasons but because there is an underlying pedagogy behind it.

This underlying pedagogy seems to benefit all the children and not only the minority (refugee), as the following figure comes from a Cypriot-Greek learner, Eva, who portrayed her linguistic awareness of Arabic during our interview (see appendix I, drawing d, for another example).

Extract 8

Participants: TG, Maya, Noore, Miroulla, Theodoros, L (unidentified learner)

Year: 6

Lesson: English

- 77 TG πατίχα
watermelon
- 78 Maya ((γέλια))
((laughter))
- 79 TG προσέχεις Νούρ; in greek;
Noore are you paying attentions? *in greek?*
- 80 Maya ((γέλια))
((laughter))
- 81 Noore πατίχα
watermelon
- 82 TG πατίχα (1) και στα ελληνικά όταν το λέω εγώ;=
watermelon (1) and in greek when i say it?=
=καρπούζι=
=watermelon=
- 84 Miroulla =κύριε στα αραβικά εν πατ=
=sir in arabic **is** <pat>=
- 85 TG =στα αραβικά;/
=in arabic?/
- 86 Theodoros τζαι στα τουρτζικά εν πατίχα
and in turkish is <pat:iha>
- 87 Maya πατίχ ναι στα αραβικά
<pat:ih> yes in arabic
- 88 TG πρέπει να είναι αραβική λέξη παιδιά
it must be an Arabic word guys

In this extract we see Mr Grigoris asking children to find the relevant Greek equivalent of the word 'watermelon' instead of saying the Cypriot version < pat:iha>. Maya's laughter (78) indicates her linguistic awareness when it comes to pairing the Cypriot word to the Arabic

one because the same word has the same meaning in both Arabic and Cypriot. Contrary, the Greek equivalent, <karpuzi> (line 83) was not that famous between children as to its Cypriot and Arabic version. In line 84, Miroulla confirms the claim that Cypriot-Greek children were also aware of the Arabic vocabulary and explains to Mr Grigoris that this is the name of watermelon in Arabic as well. Theodoros' comment on the Turkish version indicates that Cypriot-Greek children were sensitive and aware of multilingualism and that they were positive towards the inclusion of the other languages in their lives (line 86). Apart from the Cypriot-Greek children's developed linguistic awareness, this shared expertise among the participants also indicates a flexibilised view of the concept of the CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991). First of all, in order for the refugee children to be able to share their Arabic with their peers, there was an underpinning social justice approach towards all the languages. This resulted in occasionally Cypriot-Greek children becoming the peripheral participants and refugee children the established members who needed to induct newcomers into their linguistic norms, for example in line 87, Maya provides confirmation on how it is said in Arabic. Thus, Arabic was not only seen a problem but became shared repertoire between children that signalled their common identity as learners and enhanced their own multilingualism.

The following section deals with the presence of the Cypriot dialect which was also part of all children's repertoire and had similar functions to SMG but was mostly used by refugee children to signal their common linguistic identity with the majority of the children.

5.3 Use of Cypriot

When it comes to the use of Cypriot-Greek (or Cypriot), refugee children were very aware of the differences between the standard and the dialect, as they had experienced a diglossic phenomenon in their countries. The use of Cypriot seemed to have an important role for all the children (refugee and non-refugee) in terms of providing guidance or as an indicator of a shared linguistic identity, which resulted in the sense of belonging to a community. However, the use of Cypriot was not only restricted to children but was also found in the teachers' repertoires, especially Ms Roula's. Mr Grigoris comes from Greece but he also incorporated Cypriot occasionally as a way of maintaining control over the activities, expressing disappointment but also approval, as this was the language that children were naturally acquiring and, thus, were more familiar with.

The following extract presents a conversation between Maya and Miroulla working on a reading task during a Science lesson.

Extract 9

Participants: Miroulla, Maya

Year: 6

Lesson: Science

- 1 Maya τ-η βιο-μά-ζα/
th-e bi-o-ma-ss/
- 2 Miroulla βιομάζα/ πέτο αλλό μια φορά=
biomass/ **say it one more** time=
- 3 Maya =τη βιομάζα=
=the biomass=
- 4 Miroulla =ΤΗ βιομάζα που σημαίνει ότι ((δείχνει τον ορισμό στο χαρτί))
THE biomass which means that ((shows the definition on paper))
- 5 τζαι πρέπει να το θεκεβάσεις τζαι τούτον/ εντάξει; (2)
and you need to read this as part as well / ok? (2)
- 6 Maya ναι/
yes/
- 7 Miroulla ως δαμέ εσσεις να θεκεβάσεις/
you **need to read up to here/**
- 8 Maya τζαι τούτο έχω να κάμω=
i also have this one to do=
- 9 Miroulla =έννεν μόνον ως δαμέ;
=isn't it up to here only?
- 10 Maya όι/ δαμέ=
no/ here=
- 11 Miroulla =όι/ ως δαμέ/
=no/ up to here/
- 12 Maya πολλά καλά/
very well/
- 13 Miroulla εντάξει κόρη (2) εν δύσκολο τούτο/
ok **you girl (2) this is a hard one/**

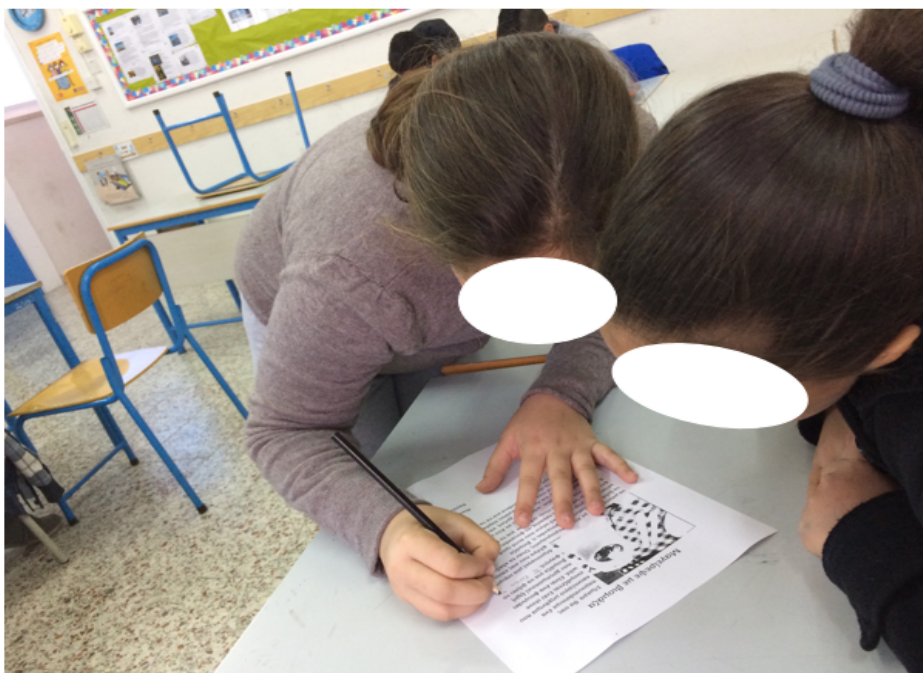


Figure 8: Maya and Miroulla working together on a reading task

Maya begins to read the science text but Miroulla realises that Maya is not fluent yet and requests another attempt from her. Miroulla provides the instruction in Cypriot (line 2) and Maya repeats the word more fluently now (line 3). Miroulla's intonation rises and she repeats the word by also indicating what else needs to be read by giving the instruction in Cypriot-Greek (lines 4-5). Maya seems to follow Miroulla's instructions (line 6) but the conversation has not finished yet. Miroulla embraces the role of the teacher and gives more information to Maya (line 7). However, Maya seems to be aware of what needs to be done and, through using Cypriot, provides further information to Miroulla in regard to her task (line 8). The conversation carries on with both using Cypriot. Even though line 12 is incomplete, Miroulla infers that Maya refers to the level that she needs to reach (very well) and comments on it (line 13). Cypriot is naturally embedded in all children's repertoires and becomes a valuable tool to draw on to guide their learning. In this case, Miroulla uses it to guide Maya's understanding and Maya as a way to communicate her difficulty. Maya knows that if she were to use SMG, she would not accomplish her aim, which is to seek assistance but, as previously mentioned, children were alternating between SMG and Cypriot, as this diglossic phenomenon strongly characterises the Cypriot society. Drawing on a repertoire approach (Busch, 2015), it can be said that the Cypriot-Greek dialect was embedded in refugee children's language learning trajectory as they do not only accept it as a tool that guides their knowledge of Greek but they unconsciously use it to also signal their Cypriot identity. Similar to their Cypriot-Greek peers, refugee children participate in a classroom context where the

taught language is none of children's naturally acquired languages and by drawing on Cypriot, it creates a sense of solidarity between them (Snell, 2013).

The next extract also comes from the year 5 classroom setting. Children were asked to search in the library for a picture that illustrates a bee. Again, the conversation is held between a group of children without any adult being present.

Extract 10

Participants: Christophoros, Mahan, Christos

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

- 68 Christophoros εν το βρίσκω ρε/ ήβρα ένα νομίζω=
i don't find it man/ i think i found one=
- 69 Mahan =έννε τούτο (1) μελισσάζε μελισσά:ζι
=its not this (1) <beesaze> <beesa:zi> ((lexical error that was produced by the playful use of Cypriot))=
- 70 Christophoros =έτο τζαμέ=
=there it is
- 71 Mahan =έτο έτο
=there there
- 72 Christos μέλισσα
=bee
- 73 Mahan έννε τούτη (1) ΕΤΟ μέ-λι-σσα εγώ ήβρα
it's not this (1) HERE IT IS be-e i found

Again, this conversation between three boys in year 5 is an example of how Cypriot-Greek dialect was not only flexibly incorporated into the children's repertoire but was the first one to draw on to legitimatise their participation. Since the conversation is held in Cypriot, the only way for Mahan to be seen as an equal member of this group is by drawing on it. The negotiation begins when Christophoros indicates a problematic situation in their search using solely Cypriot dialect accompanied by a colloquial expression (line 68). By also drawing on the dialect (lines 69, 71 and 73), Mahan is being agentive over his knowledge and that triggers Christophoros' engagement in a dialogue with him by pointing out where to look (line 70). Mahan's agreement (line 71) and disagreement (line 73) signals his agentive role which is marked by the use of Cypriot dialect. Line 69 not only reveals Mahan's ability to display

awareness of Cypriot dialect but his ability to use it in a creative way. By creatively playing and experimenting with the dialect, Mahan shows evidence of potential growth as he creates opportunities for language use and extension that will allow him to move beyond his current Greek skills (Cook, 2000).

The following extract comes from an interview between Mahan, Ayuf and me, where I ask them questions about their activities at the reception centre. What is interesting in this extract is the presence of an adult.

Extract 11

Participants: Mahan, Ayuf, Researcher

Year: 5

Interview

- 121 R Μάχαν εσύ ξέρεις αγγλικά;
You also know English Mahan?
- 122 Mahan Λίγο
A bit
- 123 Ayuf Και εγώ δεν είναι πολύ καλά. Μας κάνουν στο άσυλο
Me too but it's not very good. They teach us at the camp
- 124 R Πας και συ Μάχαν;
You also go Mahan?
- 125 Mahan Ναι
Yes
- 126 R Κάθε πότε;
How often?
- 127 Ayuf Εγώνι
Me
- 128 Mahan Πέμπτη, Παρασκευή Σάββατο
Thursday, Friday and Saturday
- 129 Ayuf Όι
No
- 130 Mahan Παρασκευή ρε!
Its Friday **you man!**

- 131 Ayuf Οι δεν είναι, εχτές επία Πέμπτη και Κυριακή και Σάββατο και κάνω μαθηματικά Τετάρτη και Παρασκευή
- No its not, I went yesterday.** Thursday and Sunday and Saturday and I do mathematics Wednesday and Friday
- 132 Mahan ENNEN ρε, τζαι Παρασκευή=
- IT'S NOT you man, and Friday=**

At the beginning of the conversation, both children provide short answers in SMG (lines 122-123) but, when a conflict arises, the conversation takes place in CG dialect (lines 129-132). The two boys seem to have different views on when they are offered English lessons at the reception centre. Ayuf expresses his disagreement, which triggers Mahan's annoyed comment where he uses a pure Cypriot colloquial expression (you man) in line 130. Ayuf keeps insisting on his view (line 131) but Mahan keeps expressing his frustration and repeats the same colloquial expression with a rising intonation (line 132) to further establish his point. Mahan showed that he was able to immediately take any colloquial expression and internalise it and this is perhaps the result of his active social activities during playtime. Also, his use of Cypriot colloquial expressions is a way of indexing his agency over Ayuf's response. It is also an indicator of his flexible use of two varieties. He easily navigated between SMG (line 122) and pure Cypriot dialect (lines 130 and 132), which shows his awareness of the function of each language (Creese & Blackledge, 2011) and that both varieties were embedded in his repertoire. Ayuf followed the same pattern, as, at the beginning, he provided his response in SMG (line 123) as a way to perform his good student identity and, consequently, to show that he is aware of when to use it. When the topic changed, his linguistic behaviour changed as well and drew on CG to portray his agency (line 131).

Cypriot-Greek was not only children's naturally acquired language but also one of the teachers', Ms Roula's. The following extract depicts the use of Cypriot during formal teacher-student interaction.

Extract 12

Participants: Ms Roula (TR), Mahan, Mahmud

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

- 42 TR =Πούντο βασιλιά; μπράβο εκείνος είναι/ ντάξει;/
- =where is the king? bravo its him/ ok?/**

43	Mahan	έτα= here=
44	TR	=μπράβο/ δείξε μου τους ΠΥΡ:ΓΟΥΣ του/ αυτοί είναι οι αξιωματικοί:= =bravo/ show me the TO:WERS of him/ these are the officers:=
45	Mahan	=τούτοι= =them=
46	TR	=μάλιστα ΠΟΥΝΤΟ βασιλιά; πού είναι ο βασιλιάς ο βασιλιάς/ =indeed WHERE'S the king? where is the king the king/
47	Mahmud	βασιλιάς βασίλισσα/ ((χαμηλόφωνα)) king queen/ ((quietly))
48	TR	ΔΕΙΞΕΤΕ μου το βασιλιά και τη βασίλισσα/ πούντους; πούντους/ SHOW me the king and the queen/ where are they? where are they?!
49	Mahan	στη μέση= in the middle=
50	TR	=ΜΠΡΑβο ρε: Μάχαν είσαι ένας ΤΣΙΑκκος/ πέ μου τη λέξη/ =BRAvo you man : Mahan you are a STAR / tell me the word/
51	Ayuf	κυρία έτα= ms here they are=

In this extract, Ms Roula draws on both Cypriot and Standard Modern Greek to pose questions to children as this is a normal practice for Cypriot-Greek teachers (lines 42, 44). Ms Roula also uses Cypriot to illustrate her frustration (lines 48) but also to praise Mahan's response by using two Cypriot colloquial expressions (line 50). Despite their limited responses, Mahan and Ayuf manage to give the correct answer by drawing on Cypriot (lines 43, 45, 51). This example reveals the oxymoron between the MoEC's guidelines in regard to the use of SMG and what is actually happening in a formal classroom interaction. This example illustrates that Cypriot was used by both teacher and children to teach and accomplish reading comprehension respectively. For both refugee and Cypriot-Greek children, the Cypriot dialect was the one that allowed them to participate in the learning process. In this example specifically, the Cypriot dialect was used by refugee children as a valuable tool for producing oral speech and indicating their reading comprehension. Instead of correcting them, Ms Roula accepts their answer and praises their contributions but also their willingness to participate. What is observed here might be counterposed to Snell's

(2013) classroom observation on the use of dialect in a formal classroom setting. Snell (2013) found that when students were using the dialect to provide answers, the teacher was correcting them, indicating that this was not the accepted form. Such practices can lead to children's discouragement and to a discourse that favours one language over the other.

Extracts 9-12 illustrate that Cypriot-Greek was an integral part of all participants' (children and teachers) repertoires. Cypriot-Greek was used between children while working in groups (extracts 9, 10) and as a way to support each other's understanding but also as a way to implicitly claim their Cypriot identity. Extract 11 shows that refugee children were able to easily navigate between the Standard and the dialect when necessary, which confirms Creese and Blackledge's (2011) claim of children revealing their agentic roles as learners by drawing upon 'their linguistic resources to perform a range of identities, including attentive pupil, compliant student, friend and youth' (ibid, p. 1205). Similarly, through using Cypriot, refugee children implicitly revealed awareness of the different varieties of Greek and that they were able to use them for different purposes. Extract 12 is an example of how the use of dialect in a formal classroom context becomes a tool that children draw on to illustrate their understanding of the taught language. Instead of being corrected, the children are being praised and this kind of teaching discourse indicates that these classrooms were sites of multilingualism where all languages are valued. The practices of these two teachers, contradict Creese and Blackledge's (2011) observations on teachers performing a separate bilingualism ideology in complementary schools, as, in this case, the teachers do not follow a monolingual ideology but embrace a flexible approach to teaching. Thus, children follow this direction and freely perform their multilingual identities in a flexible way.

The next section presents examples of another language that was also utilised by participants, which was English. English was used as an alternative resource to support pupils' learning and show their active participation.

5.4 Use of English

English was another linguistic resource that children and teachers had access to and was used for instructional and communicational purposes. English was seen as a lingua franca, as a common resource that was used in cases where no other linguistic resource was available to the participants. English is represented in italics (see appendix K for transcription conventions).

The following picture comes from the Parallel Intensive Greek language lessons where Mr Grigoris teaches the present and past tenses in the first and third person and uses five verbs as examples.

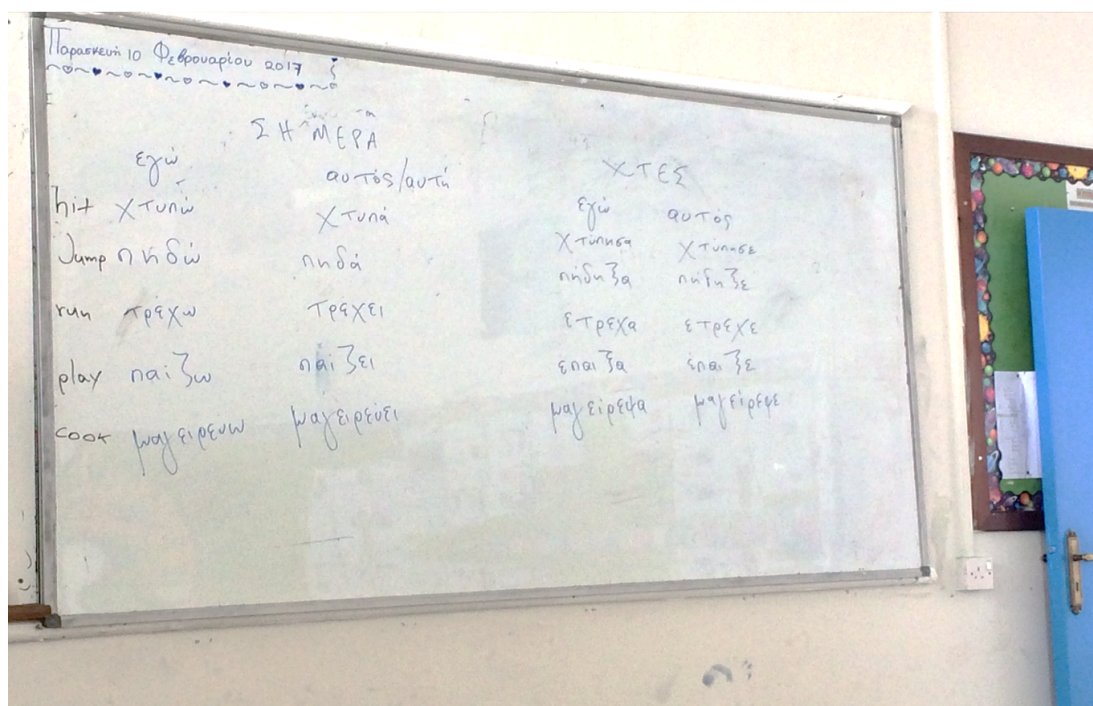


Figure 9: Use of English when teaching Greek

In the left column, Mr Grigoris considered that writing in English the meaning of each verb, was necessary in order to make sure that all of the children understand their meanings. In the interview, Mr Grigoris mentioned that because of children's complex migratory trajectories, he assumed that they may have picked up other languages before arriving in Cyprus and, most likely, English was one of them. Also, it was the only language apart from Greek and its dialect that he shared with the children and could exploit as an extra resource to facilitate the teaching of Greek. Mr Grigoris was embracing the notion of multilingualism where each language reinforces the learning other (Cummins, 2005; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011) and valued that children's migratory trajectories had an impact on their linguistic identities (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2015) and deliberately draws on every possible language that his children may have access to.

Extract 13 presents an interaction between Taraf, Amin and Mr Grigoris, also during a Parallel Intensive Greek lesson, where Mr Grigoris tries to remind children of the functions of the human body. This extract is part of a longer extract where the teacher previously referred to the functions of eyes and ears.

Extract 13

Participants: TG, Amin, Taraf

Year: 6

Lesson: Parallel intensive Greek lesson

- 65 TG Τάραφ τι κάνω; τη μπάλα;=
Taraf what do i do? the ball?=
66 Taraf =shoot?=
=shoot?=
67 TG =κλωτσάω με=
=shoot with=
68 Amin =με τα πόδια μου;=
=with my feet?=
69 TG με ΤΟ πόδι ωραία/ και τι κάνω Μάγια;=
with THE foot/ and what do i do Maya?=

Mr Grigoris now focuses on teaching the word foot and requests from Taraf to provide an answer to the question ‘*what do I do with the ball?*’ (line 65). At that point, Taraf’s only available resource was his knowledge of English and this is how he responded to the teacher (line 66). Taraf’s response is accepted by Mr Grigoris who then provides the Greek equivalent word and, at the same time, implicitly supports the enhancement of vocabulary (line 67). Amin reveals his participation in this learning process by hesitantly offering the correct answer in Greek (line 68). His answer is accepted by Mr Grigoris (line 69). Taraf could remain silent and not contribute to this intense turn taking. However, his response that was provided in English not only shows his advanced receptive listening skills, but it also allowed him to be seen as a ‘multi-skilled language user’ (Snell, 2013, p.124) whose linguistic repertoires are valued for the meaning making process.

Extract 14 also provides another example where English was used between refugee children as a lingua franca.

Extract 14

Participants: TR, Mahan, Christophoros, Mahmud

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

- 92 TR άτε Μάχαν βοήθα/ λοιπόν Χρίστο διάβαζε οκ; (5)

- come on** Mahan help/ well Christos read ok? (5)
- 93 Mahan no this Mahmud
not this Mahmud
- 94 Christophoros ήβρεν το ο Μάχμουντ
Mahmud **found it**
- 95 Mahan έννε τούτη
it's not this one

In this lesson, children are working together at their tables. This extract illustrates how English became the only resource that Mahan could draw on to direct Mahmud's understanding, as Mahmud was the only child whose language was spoken by none of the children. By drawing on English (line 93), Mahan provides Mahmud with guidance on the correct answer and this results in Christophoros' approval (line 94). However, Mahan draws on Cypriot to address Christophoros' comment. Again, this example illustrates the complexity of children's linguistic repertoires but also their ability to navigate easily between their available resources to communicate their thoughts.

Extract 15 presents an excerpt from the interview data between the researcher (me) and Mahmud in which he portrays his multilingual identity.

Extract 15

Participants: Mahmud, Researcher

Year: 6

Interview

- 85 R Άρα πόσες γλώσσες μιλάς; τι γλώσσα μιλάς στην Κοιλάδα; Language at Kilada
So how many languages do you speak? What language do you speak at Kilada? *Language at Kilada*
- 86 Mahmud School
School
- 87 R School language? Αραβικά, Ελληνικά ή Αγγλικά;
School language? Arabic, Greek or English?
- 88 Mahmud Φαρσικά
Farsi

As previously mentioned, Mahmud was the only refugee child that had Farsi instead of an Arabic variety as his dominant language. In a way, Mahmud was excluded from the two main linguistic groups (Greek and Arabic). However, in this extract, Mahmud illustrates his multilingual identity. The second part of my question in line 85 is posed in English. This allowed Mahmud to illustrate his understanding by providing a response in English (line 86). The word 'Kilada' (in my question) triggered his understanding and the only way to portray that was through English. I then carried on with my question in English but switched into Greek again to refer to the different languages (line 87). This change allowed Mahmud to return to Greek to provide his answer (line 88). That shows that Mahmud understood the content of the question and chose to reveal his awareness through using Greek. By drawing on every available repertoire that Mahmud had at his disposal, he could be seen as a skilful learner and an emergent multilingual who employs all his available means to participate in communication (Snell, 2013). This extract is limited and thus prohibits any extensive claims but it reinforces the idea that, despite his minimal knowledge of English, it was the only knowledge that Mahmud held that allowed him to participate in this linguistic exchange.

In a similar vein, extract 16 comes from the interview between Taraf and me where I ask about his knowledge of Greek. Again, English was seen an extra resource that supported the conversation between the two interlocutors.

Extract 16

Participants: Taraf, Researcher

Year: 6

Interview

- 5 R Συνέχισέ μου το σχέδιό σου. Πώς έμαθες έτσι εύκολα ελληνικά;
Carry on with your drawing. How did you learn Greek that easily?
- 6 Taraf Ε εμ ένιξέρω month
Eh em **I don't** know *month*
- 7 R Ναι σ' ένα μήνα έμαθες! One month?
Yes you learnt in one month! *One month?*
- 8 Taraf Ναι
Yes
- 9 R Πόσο τζαιρό; here
For how long? *here*
- 10 Taraf Δαμέ;
Here?

- 11 R Ναι
Yes
- 12 Taraf Πέντε five
Five *five*

This extract also reveals how Taraf utilised his available linguistic repertoires to communicate with me and it seems that apart from Arabic, his strongest languages were Cypriot and English. Taraf's response (line 6) shows that he had an idea about the content of the question and his lack of specific Greek vocabulary did not prevent him from providing an answer that included English as the second half of his answer (line 6). In line 9 I also incorporate English in the question ('here') and Taraf's translation of the English adverb *here* into Cypriot (line 10) indicates his ability to draw on every available language in order to make meaning. This ability shows that he is an emergent multilingual who adequately masters three languages (Greek, Arabic and English). He then provides his answer in both Greek and English, which were the two languages incorporated in this conversation (line 12). Taraf's choice of providing two versions of his answer, firstly in Greek and then in English was, perhaps, a way of making sure that he gave the correct answer. Or else it was a spontaneous use of the repertoires that were accessible to him. In any case, Taraf showed evidence of metalinguistic awareness as he was able to provide equivalent vocabulary in both Greek and English. This is what Drury (2004) also found in her study and argued that, when children are able to draw on two languages and provide equivalent vocabulary, they are seen as skilful bilinguals who consciously utilise their available linguistic resources to accommodate either their learning or socialising aims.

The last language that was part of the children's linguistic repertoire was Farsi, the language that was only spoken and written by Mahmud.

5.5 Use of Farsi

Despite Mahmud being the only speaker of Farsi, it was important for his language to be acknowledged and valued. The following extract presents year 5 classroom interactions during a Greek lesson. Mahmud's utterances produced in Farsi are underlined.

Extract 17

Participants: Ms Roula, Mahan and Mahmud

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

- 178 TR πολύ ωραία/ μήπως υπάρχει εκεί το παγώνι; υπάρχει;

- very nice/ is the peacock there? it exists?
- 179 παγώνι/ ((δείχνει εικόνα))
the peacock/ ((shows the picture))
- 180 πώς είναι το παγώνι στα αραβικά?
how do you say peacock in arabic?
- 181 Mahan /الطاووس/
peacock/
- 182 Mahmud طاووس فارسیکاً طاووس
peacock? farsi peacock=
- 183 Mahan =farsi?= الطاووس
=peacock farsi? =
- 184 Mahmud /= طاووس
=peacock/
- 185 Mahan =arabic الطاووس
=arabic peacock
- 186 Mahmud =طاووس =
=peacock=
- 187 TR =πώς είναι;/
=how is it?/
- 188 Mahan στα αραβικά الطاووس
in arabic peacock
- 189 TR <taus>/ στα περσικά?=
<taus>/ in persian?=
=طاووس ((προφέρει <taus>))
=peacock ((pronounces <taus>))

In this example, we observe that, when Mahmud was given the opportunity, he was able to display his knowledge of Farsi. Mahmud's initiative to participate in the learning process and contribute to Mahan's answer by referring to his own linguistic repertoire in Farsi (line 182) shows his metalinguistic awareness. He was able to identify and reflect upon Mahan's response by commenting that, in Farsi, it is referred to with the same word. Mahmud's

comment gave the opportunity to the two learners to negotiate the similarity that they discovered (lines 183-186) and also for Farsi to be heard by the whole class. Ms Roula immediately acknowledges the contribution of the two learners and requests from both Mahmud and Mahan to demonstrate their knowledge (lines 187 and 189). Even though this was a small extract that showed Mahmud's use of Farsi, it revealed his awareness at a vocabulary level between Arabic and Farsi. By making this comparison, there exists an indicator that eventually Mahmud will be able to grasp the relevant Greek vocabulary to refer to the relevant bird as, according to Blommaert and Backus (2013), even a small form of knowledge, this is evidence of consolidated knowledge.

Extract 18 is an interview extract between me and Mahmud in which he draws on Farsi privately in order to process and control my instructions. Mahmud had also produced a poster where he illustrates his multilingual identity and this can be found in Appendix I (example a). There, Mahmud also uses Farsi to write information about his languages, friends, countries and school.

Extract 18

Participants: Mahmud, Researcher

Year: 5

Interview

- 1 R Τι γλώσσα μιλάς στο Ιράν?
What language you speak in Iran?
- 2 Mahmud ((μιλά στα Φαρσικά μόνος του καθώς ζωγραφίζει))
((speaks in Farsi privately while drawing))
- 3 R Τι γλώσσα μιλάς Μάχμουτ μου;
What is the language that you speak my Mahmud?
- 4 Mahmud Φαρσικά;
Farsi?
- 5 R Φαρσικά. Αυτή είναι η γλώσσα που μιλάς;
Farsi. Is this the language that you speak?
- 6 Mahmud Φαρσικά
Farsi
- 7 R Φαρσικά. Πήγες σχολείο;
Farsi. Did you go to school?
- 8 Mahmud Ναι

- Yes
- 9 R Ήταν μεγάλο;
It was big?
- 10 Mahmud Όχι μικρό
No small
- 11 R Ζωγράφισέ μου εδώ το σχολείο σου
Draw your school here for me
- 12 Mahmud ((μιλά Ελληνικά μόνος τους καθώς ζωγραφίζει ψιθυρίζει τη λέξη μικρό))
((speaks in Greek privately while drawing whispering the word small))

In line 1, I ask about the language that Mahmud speaks in Iran but he privately talks to himself in Farsi. Even though his speech was not transcribed, the practice of private speech that is directed to the self (Vygotsky, 1986) is an indicator of Mahmud's ability to mediate the conversation and take control of his thinking by drawing on his dominant language. Even though he knew that I could not respond, Farsi was the only recourse that he had in order to externalise his thoughts. In line 3, I reiterate the question and, this time, Mahmud hesitantly responds in Greek, which is marked by his questioning (line 4). I rephrase the question (line 5) and Mahmud shows the ability to follow the conversation as he insists on his answer (line 6). When I add another question into the conversation (line 7), Mahmud responds confidently again in Greek (line 8). I follow with a question that requires specific vocabulary knowledge and Mahmud successfully gives an answer about the size of his previous school in Greek (line 10). I then instruct him to draw his school and, while drawing, Mahmud starts speaking privately to himself again, but this time in Greek (line 12). This time Mahmud was repeating the word ('small') that he previously produced. Ohta (2001) reiterates that repetition takes the form of private speech and it is an indicator of internalisation of knowledge and it is also an indicator of active participation in the learning process. In this case, privately repeating the Greek word was a way to signal his active participation during the conversation and, perhaps, a way to experiment with the word that he just produced. In this extract, Mahmud revealed his linguistic identity by privately talking to himself and that allowed him to not remain silent in this linguistic exchange.

5.6 Summary

This chapter shed light on the ways that refugee children flexibly deployed their available linguistic repertoires (Greek, Arabic, Cypriot, English and Farsi) during formal teaching. By

presenting all the different languages that children were drawing on, I present the linguistic complexity of the classroom and how this juxtaposition of their languages allowed refugee children to experience all of their repertoires as a whole. This means that the children's repertoire was seen as a whole and even a limited knowledge of each language contributed to their expansion of their current linguistic repertoire. This classroom reveals that the complexity of the Cypriot classrooms goes beyond its diglossic situation. However, it also showcased that there is space for more languages to be utilised within formal teaching. Drawing on Busch's (2015) view of linguistic repertoire where she links repertoires and the 'lived experience of the language' (ibid, p.145), I understand that the participants of my study were not only able to bring their repertoires – which are linked to their personal biographies - in the classroom context, but were flexibly drawing on them to be able to participate in the learning process. These children know that their life trajectories are not discarded (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2015) but can be used to accommodate their new linguistic needs. This practice of theirs goes back to the flexible use of children's linguistic repertoires which indicates their ability to self-regulate their learning by navigating between languages in order to accommodate their needs (linguistically and socially). Similarly to Creese and Blackledge's (2011) study, refugee children were able to make thoughtful choices about which language to use and for what reason.

Greek was the official medium of instruction and the language for academic success that children were requested to have knowledge of during teaching. Children were able to showcase their actual Greek skills and doing this, they showed awareness of Greek writing conventions (orthography), and they were able to extend their oral Greek production and pay attention to syntax and grammar. This allowed them to be seen as emergent multilinguals who gain control over their learning and chose to use the target language instead of remaining silent (Drury, 2007).

The second prevailing language that the majority of refugee children had knowledge of was Arabic. Refugee children were drawing on Arabic when they were interacting with each other in order to negotiate meaning when they had difficulties with Greek (seek clarifications, search of lexical items). By drawing on their dominant language to negotiate meaning, refugee children managed to move beyond their actual Greek skills and allowed them to be highly involved with the language activities to reach a common understanding (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999). Arabic was also used in a playful way that showed that children were able to make linguistic comparisons between their known languages. This is also evidence of metalinguistic awareness (Sullivan, 2000; Kenner, 2004). Interestingly, Arabic was a language that was shared between the majority of the children, as Cypriot-Greek children

revealed evidence of linguistic awareness and such a finding adds to a more dynamic view of the CoP concept (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In this case, the majority of children (Cypriot-Greek) were experiencing the positive outcomes of multilingualism as they were learning the language of the minority (refugee) in order to be able to socialise with each other.

When it comes to the Cypriot-Greek dialect, refugee children were aware that this was the language that needed to be used in order to be included within their Cypriot-Greek peers' conversations and thus claim their Cypriot identity. By utilizing their Cypriot identity, refugee children were creating more opportunities for language experimentation and use.

English was another resource that refugee children and their teachers drew upon when any other resource was not available. English was the common language between participants as it was used by both teachers and children in order to facilitate communication, explain vocabulary and show awareness of the target language.

Lastly, Farsi was a language that occasionally became visible as Mahmud was the only one having knowledge of it. However, Mahmud consciously used it to make linguistic comparisons, to gain control over his understanding and to keep the conversation alive with another speaker.

In relation to the SCT and the applied linguistics field, the presentation of the named languages seems important in order to be able to point out how children make flexible use of them and the cases where they incorporate one language over the other. The main point to be made here is that all of the languages were used to contribute to the meaning making process in a way that a monolingual ideology regarding educational institutions would not allow (Kubota, 2012). In terms of the SCT lens on language learning, the ability of children to choose one language over another goes back to the mediating hypothesis which sees languages as tools that mediate learning and social interactions and confirms the social nature of learning (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Regarding applied linguistics, the data support Creese and Blackledge's (2011) views on the flexible use of children's linguistic repertoire that goes beyond a strict distinction between children's resources but to understand how children experience their repertoire as a whole and their ability to draw on this repertoire to signal their identity, support their meaning making and establish their membership in a given community. In conclusion, this chapter provided data on this flexible form of multilingualism and how it can enhance primary school children's classroom experience without harming the teaching of the target language.

The following chapter focuses on how refugee children are making use of this flexible form of multilingualism through the practices of translating, code-switching and repeating to support their learning of Greek.

Chapter 6: LINGUISTIC PRACTICES AS A WAY OF SCAFFOLDING CHILDREN'S GREEK LEARNING

6.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how refugee children make use of their available linguistic repertoires when learning Greek during teaching and aims to answer question number 2: *What are the linguistic practices deployed by refugee children and how do these facilitate the learning of Standard Modern Greek in the classroom domain?*

The main argument in this chapter is that when children are translating, code-switching and repeating, they are actually showing evidence of Greek language learning. Each of these practices allowed them to enhance their vocabulary, become aware of phonology, syntax, grammar, and speech production, and extend their spoken and written skills. Most importantly, these linguistic practices were observed while children were interacting with each other, which adds to the claim that learning is a socially situated activity (Vygotsky, 1978). I adopt the metaphor of scaffolding to capture the collaborative nature of learning by discursively analysing spoken discourse to show the ways in which these linguistic practices enabled children to use language in a meaningful way and move beyond their own Greek linguistic skills. The chapter ends with a summary of the main discussed findings.

6.1 Translating

Translating as a practice was embedded in refugee children's interactions but was also used as an educational tool by the school's translator (Ms Mysha) to guide learners' understanding. When participants were translating to each other, they were mainly focusing on the practice of translation, which was the transfer, the explanation of meaning, from one language to the other. For example, when the school translator was not present, refugee children drew on Arabic to explain to each other either vocabulary or instructions. When Ms Mysha, was present, her role was crucial as she was seen as the mediator for meaning transmission between Greek and Arabic. Apart from Ms Mysha's role, translation programmes such as Google Translate were also utilised by children to mediate their understanding of Greek.

6.1.1 Use of Arabic to facilitate use of Greek

Arabic was used in many instances during teaching time and specifically when children were facing difficulties regarding word meaning or had limited vocabulary.

The following extract shows how Maya and Taraf use translation as a scaffolding tool to solve Mathematic sums.

Extract 19

Participants: TG, Taraf, Maya

Year: 6

Lesson: Mathematics

- 75 R [προσθέτουμε δέκα=
[we add ten=
- 76 Taraf =بتزیدی عشرة عشرة=
=you add ten ten=
- 77 R =δέκα=
=ten=
- 78 Maya =عشرين هذول؟=
=are these twenty?=
- 79 Taraf / σαρανταπεντε/τριανταπεντε(.) عشرة (xx)=
=(xx) oh teacher you add ten thirty five (.) and you add ten to it it becomes forty five/
- 80 Maya είναι είναι= شو هال=
= it is it is what's this?=
- 81 Taraf =عشان تعرفي الـ تριανταπέντε اذا زدنا عليها (.) بتعدي الى العشرة
=so you know thirty five if we add to it forty five (.) you count to ten (.)
τριανταπεντε και πεντε σαραντα/خمسة خمسة(.)
five five thirty five plus five forty/
- 82 R μπράβο=
bravo=

The conversation begins when I ask the children to add ten in their sums (line 75). Taraf seems to understand that Maya was not able to follow the instruction and takes on the role of the teacher and translates for Maya by repeating the number that needs to be added (line 76). After processing Taraf's guidance, Maya then requests further clarification (line 78) which led Taraf to fully explain his thinking process (line 79). This resulted in Maya trying to articulate her understanding using both Greek and Arabic (line 80). This led Taraf providing for a second time the explanation by translating the numbers in Greek (line 81). By drawing on Arabic, Taraf scaffolds Maya's understanding by translating the instruction on how to

solve the sums. Maya did not lack knowledge in the concepts of mathematics. She lacked the vocabulary knowledge in Greek to allow her to follow the instructions. However, it is not only Maya who benefited from this interaction but Taraf as well. Mills and Mills (1993) note that ‘the need to explain something to another child may help clarify and reinforce the bilingual child’s own learning’ (ibid, p. 54). Ohta (2001) also confirms this claim as she observed that when interacting with novices, more knowledgeable peers had the opportunity to enhance their own status of knowledge. Specifically, she provides two examples where more skillful learners notice their peers’ incorrect use of Japanese language and, by pointing out their incorrect linguistic production, more skillful learners can confirm their own knowledge and perhaps locate their own incompetence. Similarly, by translating to Maya the instruction, Taraf had the opportunity to portray his knowledge but also to confirm his own understanding of whether he was following the correct instructions.

The following extract comes from the same lesson and, again, provides an example of how children drew on their dominant language (Arabic) to translate specialised vocabulary.

Extract 20

- 238 TG δέκα μονάδες (.) πολύ ωραία/
ten unit:s (.) very nice/
- 239 Maya (xx) δεκάδες=
(xx) ten:=
=για να δούμε τώρα/
=let’s see now/
- 241 Maya هذا شو اسمه؟=
what is this called?=
- 242 Taraf μονάδες= هذا اسمه ((δείχνει κύβους))=
this is called units ((points the base blocks))=
- 243 Maya =μονάδες δεκάδες/
=units tens/

The conversation begins with the teacher illustrating ten units in ten base blocks (line 238). In line 239, Maya externalises her thinking to distinguish the difference between units and tens. Maya then draws on Arabic and explicitly requests Taraf to translate the meaning of the word *units* (line 241). Taraf has a conceptual understanding of what *units* represent and responds to Maya’s request by beginning his sentence in Arabic but provides the

terminology in Greek by pointing at the same time at the base blocks (line 242). Taraf's choice of using Greek to provide the term may also indicate that he also lacked the specialised mathematics vocabulary in Arabic as, having to leave his schooling experience in Syria, Taraf and the rest of the refugee children cannot be seen as pure monolinguals. On the contrary, their interactions in this Cypriot classroom allowed them to operate between two or more languages. Both children now know how to say the word 'units' in Greek, but we do not know whether they know the Arabic equivalent which may trigger their awareness in searching for it. Maya seems to have distinguished the difference between units and tens as she managed to produce them independently, which also indicates her advanced receptive and productive skills (line 243). This small extract shows that when children share the same language, they can support each other by clarifying concepts through the practice of translation. It also shows that translation is not a linear process as, in order to be able to translate advanced concepts and terminology, one needs to be aware of them. Chen and Gregory (2004) point out that translation entails more than word-for-word translation as the learners are required to firstly grasp the meaning in order to be able to transmit it to their peers. In their study, the scholars illustrate how translation was seen as a thoughtful practice used between two bilinguals to mediate the meanings of a science text, an activity that required understanding of a specialised vocabulary. Interestingly, in this case, Taraf reveals awareness of the concept of 'units' as he not only provides the appropriate terminology but also points out the correct block.

The following extract presents an example where Noore and Taraf use Arabic to try to understand the purpose of their assigned essay.

Extract 21

Participants: TG, Noore, Taraf

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- 147 TG είναι δύσκολο θέμα/ ξεκινάμε (1) ο καθένας μόνος/ έλα Τάραφ/ Μάγια/
it's a hard theme/ we begin (1) everyone on its own/ come on Taraf/ Maya/
- 148 καταλάβετε το θέμα; τι θα έκανα αν: κέρδιζα αυτά τα χρήματα/
did you understand the theme? what would i do if: i won these money/
- 149 Noore فهمتو؟
did you understand him?

- 150 Taraf إي فاهم إي يعني إزا عندك مليون
yes i understand him what if i have one million=
- 151 Noore =شو كنت حتعمل فيهم أنا عارف/
=what am i going to do with them/
- 152 Taraf أنا عارف بخليهم لإلي/ ((γέλια))
yes i know i keep them with me/ ((laughter))
- 153 TG ΑΠΟλυτη ησυχία τώρα Τάραφ/ τετράδια εκθέσεων/
 ABSOLute silence now Taraf/ essay books/

The conversation begins when the teacher reiterates that the essay's theme is a difficult one (line 147) and this comment is picked up by Noore, who wants to make sure that her peers did understand the aim of the essay by asking them in Arabic (line 149). Taraf reassures her that he did understand it (line 150) but Noore portrays a role of a more knowledgeable peer and further explicates the meaning of the question by specifically pointing out that the aim is to write how they are going to use the money (line 151). By translating the aim of the essay for each other, both children reveal high levels of Greek vocabulary understanding as they were able to precisely transfer the meaning from Greek to Arabic. Noore's further explanation triggered Taraf's playful response which is marked by laughter as he claims that he would keep the money to himself (line 152). His joyful response is interrupted by Mr Grigoris' comment to bring everyone back on track (line 153). Taraf's Arabic production of a playful comment not only reveals his ability to understand the content of Greek instructions but his willingness to maintain a high focus on the activity. His laughter was not an indicator of distraction but an indicator of a shared knowledge (Sullivan, 2000), which became visible while trying to scaffold mutual understanding through the practice of translation.

Extracts 22 and 23 are part of the same lesson in which children are working towards vocabulary learning during Parallel Intensive Greek language lessons. In order to scaffold their engagement, Mr Grigoris uses a children's Greek song called '*The small elephant*' by *Foivos Delivorias* (Tempelis Drakos, 2017). The children support their learning of Greek by collaboratively drawing on Arabic to translate the song's lyrics for each other.

Extract 22

Participants: TG, Maya, Taraf, Noore

Year: 6

Lesson: Parallel Intensive Greek language lesson

- 453 TG να μας το γράψει η Μάγια; αραβικά/ το άκουσες πώς το είπε η Νούρ; με τη προβοσκίδα το νερό=
should Maya write it for us? arabic/ did you hear how Noore said it? with the trunk in the water=
- 454 Maya =شو؟ نور
=Noore what?
- 455 Taraf =اتركيه ترجميلي =
=translate for me and leave him= ((refers to Amin))
- 456 Maya =مع الـ/
=with the/
- 457 Taraf بتسموه شو فيل بتسمو عندهن شو
what do you call (xx) that the elephant has?=
- 458 Noore =خرطوم=
=trunk=
- 459 Taraf =قال لي شي ثاني/
=he told me he called it something else/

Extract 22 illustrates the use of the children's dominant language as a way of supporting each other's understanding. Maya explicitly requests from Noore to translate what the teacher asked in order to respond to his request (line 454). A practice that confirms that translation was an embedded practice within children's bilingual reality. Taraf's immediate reaction reveals a battle between children regarding who holds the knowledge, as he specifically requests from Noore to translate only for him and leave Amin out of this (line 455). Maya tries to recover the collaborative nature of their translation by requesting a specific answer (line 456). However, Taraf has a specific lexical query that is intended for Noore (line 457). Taraf's descriptive question allowed Noore to provide the appropriate translation in Arabic (line 458). However, Taraf is not convinced, as he expresses his concerns by claiming that Amin had previously provided a different explanation (line 459). Taraf's linguistic struggle reveals his sensitivity towards word meaning (Kenner *et al.*, 2008) as he needs to make sure that their interpretation corresponds to the Greek one. This cooperative and, at the same time, competitive interaction between learners reveals that translation can be a very demanding practice that entails constant meaning negotiation. In their study, Kenner *et al.* (2008) also argue that translation is considered a thoughtful practice that bilinguals incorporate to support the learning of a second language. Kenner *et al.* (2008) observed that children's selection of the appropriate word heightened their

metalinguistic awareness as children needed to come to a consensus before choosing the appropriate word, a practice that included a high engagement with language. This was because they firstly needed to understand the meaning in their dominant language and then in the target one. Similarly, in this study, children's constant negotiation to come to an agreement by identifying the appropriate lexical item in Arabic to understand Greek vocabulary is an indicator of high engagement with Greek that qualifies them as emergent bilinguals.

In the next extract, as in the previous one, children collaboratively use Arabic to select the appropriate vocabulary through the practice of translation.

Extract 23

Participants: TG, Amin, Taraf, Maya

Year: 6

Lesson: Parallel Intensive Greek language lesson

- 571 TG κί ύστερα στο μπάνιο μου κί ύστερα στο μπάνιο μου πετάει/
and later while showering and later while showering he throws at me/
- 572 γρήγορα (.) αυτό αραβικά πώς θα πάει; (.) για να δούμε η Maya/
quickly (.) how it will be in arabic? (.) let's see Maya
- 573 Maya (xx) بعدين راح (xx)
(xx) and then he went (xx)
- 574 Taraf κυρία τι σημαίνει πιτάει πετάει?= ((ρωτάει εμένα))
ms what does throw ((lexical production error <pitai> instead of
<petai>)) throw means?=((asks me))
- 575 Maya =؟بيتحمم=
=he takes a shower?=
576 Amin اه
yes
- 577 Taraf / يتحمم (xx)
(xx) he takes a shower/
- 578 Maya = ντουζιρας يتحمم (.) بعدين يزتني باله اه بعدين يزتني باله بالبانويو =
=he went to shower (.) and then he throws me in the ah and then he
throws me in in the bath shower=
- 579 TG =τι μπορεί να του πετάει Αμίν?

- =what can he throw him Amin?/
- 580 Taraf = بطير
he flies=
- 581 Maya = بيتحمم (xx)=
 =(xx) takes a bath=
- 582 Taraf = يا نور: بطير: =
 =oh Noore: he flies: =
- 583 Noore = شو=
 =what?=
- 584 Taraf = قولي للاستاذ بطير=
 =tell the teacher he flies=

Extract 23 is, again, an ample example of children's collaborative nature towards learning (Donato, 1994) as they managed to co-construct each other's understanding through using Arabic. Mr Grigoris begins by asking children how they would translate in Arabic one line from the song's lyrics (lines 571-572). Maya responds to Mr Grigoris' request and attempts a first translation in Arabic (line 573). However, Taraf seeks assistance from the researcher as he suspects he has identified an error in Maya's interpretation as he is looking specifically for the meaning of the word *πετάει* (throw) in Greek (line 574). Taraf does not receive a response and Maya attempts to provide another interpretation (line 575) which is approved by Amin (line 576). After listening to both Maya and Amin's interpretations, Taraf repeats Maya's second attempt as a way of showing agreement while at the same time trying to confirm his own understanding (line 577). Up to this point, the children's interpretation partly corresponds to the Greek version. In line 578, Maya manages to synthesise the information and to provide the most adequate translation. An important element that highlights Maya's high levels of Greek knowledge is the awareness that she portrayed towards the polysemic Greek word *πετάει* <petai>. The Greek word *πετάει* <petai> has two meanings: first it may refer to the verb 'fly' and, second, it may refer to the verb 'throw'. The meaning depends on contextual clues. In this case, it was associated with the latter. Maya was able to associate it with the relevant meaning in her Arabic translation (line 578) and this reveals evidence of metalinguistic awareness as she was able to distinguish its polysemic meaning and present it in her dominant language (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Kenner *et al.*, 2008). This evidence signals Maya's developed Greek vocabulary which she managed to acquire in a limited period of time. Furthermore, for Maya to be able to understand the relevant meaning of the

word, it means she was also able to understand the meaning of the other words within the sentence.

In line 579, Mr Grigoris asks another question that targets the children's inference making. However, Taraf and Maya insist on translating the previous lyrics (lines 580, 581 respectively). Taraf's answer for the verb <petai> does not correspond with the correct word meaning but his persistence reveals a linguistic sensitivity and he addresses Noore, who is considered an advanced Greek learner, to solve their query (line 582) by deliberately asking her to translate their interpretations to the teacher (line 584). This joint construction of meaning in this language activity which was marked by children's repetition of each other's utterances, and agreement and disagreement about each other's contributions (Donato, 1994), allowed them to maintain their focus on the activity and, at the same time, gain control over it. The children managed to gain control through the negotiation of the different interpretations which resulted in developing awareness of Greek word meaning. This very intensive linguistic activity resulted in a finished written product which is illustrated in the following figure.

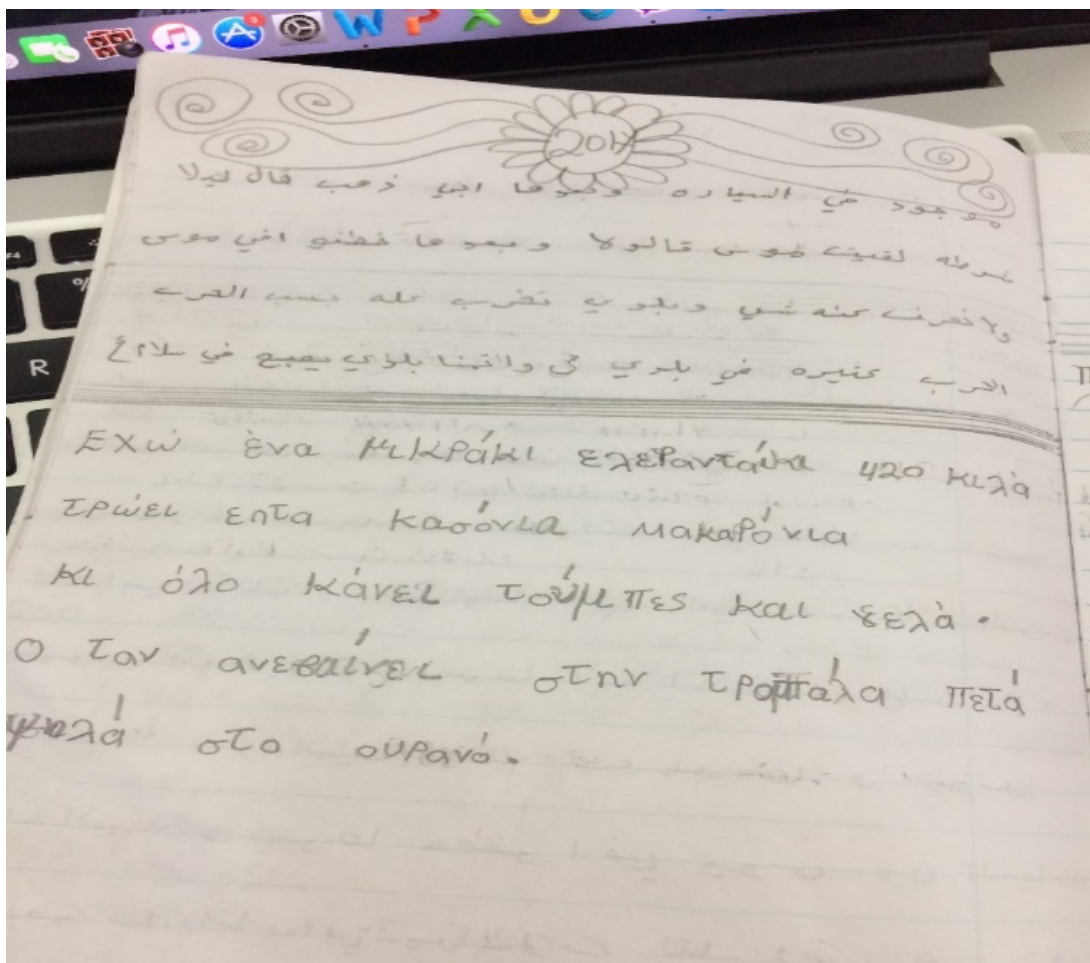


Figure 10: Maya's translation of the Greek song

After discussing the meaning of the song, the final activity for children was to translate it by producing a written version of it. This activity goes back to Baynham's (1986) and Sugranyes-Ernest and Gonzalez-Davies' (2015) translation activities regarding teachers' multilingual approach towards teaching. It also highlights the transformative nature that is evidenced in children's literacy productions. Despite Mr Grigoris not being an Arabic speaker himself, he suggested that children to firstly write the translation of the song in Arabic and then transfer it from Arabic to Greek. As seen in figure 10, Maya made a clear division on the paper in order to distinguish the Arabic from the Greek translation. Her Arabic translation was used as a draft for the formal Greek production. By drafting the first version in Arabic, this allowed Maya to further enhance her understanding of the Greek word meaning and, thus, to pay attention to the final production. It also reveals the transformative nature of the practice of translation (Cook, 2010) as it goes beyond mere word-to-word translation since Maya needs to transfer her own interpretation to produce a unique text in another script that entails another set of characters (Greek). Maya is not just learning the language, she is learning new semiotic conventions and, in doing so, she is involved in a creative process. This literacy piece can be characterised as a thoughtful one which shows signs of an emergent bilingual writer (Lantolf, Thorne & Poehner, 2015). Maya showed awareness of the differences in the two orthographic systems, the directionality of the script, and character formation. Kenner (2004) identified similar evidence of language knowledge in her bilingual children's literacy artefacts, who also showed awareness of the differences across their available languages and that allowed them to experience their repertoires as a whole. Similarly, Maya was also aware of the directionality of the two scripts (Arabic is written and read from right to left whereas Greek is the opposite) and character formation⁴. Maya's translation reveals her awareness of such linguistic characteristics and is strong evidence of her learning development.

In a similar vein, the next figure also reiterates Maya's developed literacy skills and points out the transformative nature of translation.

⁴Arabic characters may vary in shape when they are positioned in different parts within the word whereas in Greek, most letters only have one capital and one lowercase form with the exception of <sigma>, which has a capital, a word-initial and medial lowercase, and a final lowercase form.

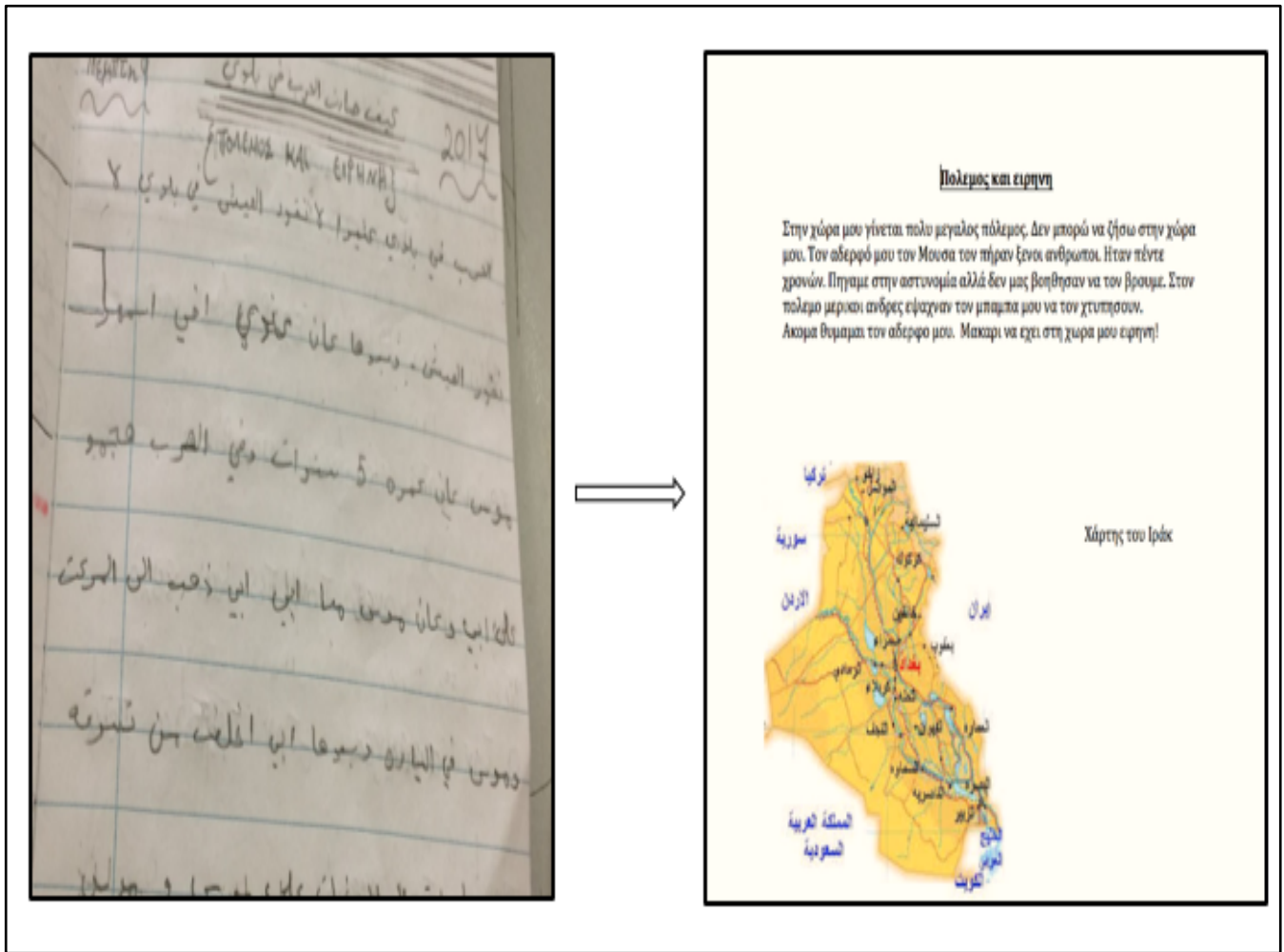


Figure 11: Maya's essay production with the assistance of Ms Mysha

Figure 11 illustrates Maya's essay production on the topic of *Peace and War*, which was first written in Arabic and then, with Ms Mysha's assistance, was translated into Greek using Office Word. Again, Maya uses Arabic to draft her essay before writing and presenting the final product in Greek. In the original script, Maya shows awareness that there is a title and she needs to underline it multiple times to make it salient. She also underlined the date (written in Greek, Thursday) and the year and positioned these two (date and year) in a left to right position on a script which is set out from right to left. This experimentation with the text presents Maya as a bilingual reader and writer of Arabic and Greek. Similar to figure 10, Maya reveals evidence of an advanced bilingual writer who can perform in two scripts and can transfer her academic literacy skills to mediate the learning of the new language (Cummins, 1991, 2005). These are still at a developing level but, based on the opportunities provided to her, she shows evidence of potential development when assistance is provided (Vygotsky, 1978).

The following section examines the role of the school's translator and also the use of Google Translate and the ways these were seen as mediators of meaning between Arabic and Greek.

6.1.2 The school's translator and translation programmes

In the case of the school's translator, the children had the opportunity to experience multilingual teaching as the interactional data provide evidence of meaning negotiation while interacting with Ms Mysha. Regarding the use of Google Translate, refugee children had the opportunity to freely access this programme when necessary to find the equivalent Greek vocabulary and place emphasis on orthography and pronunciation.

The following is an interview extract where Ms Mysha refers to the approaches that support refugee children's Greek learning and, specifically, to her ability to identify children's cross-linguistic references.

Extract 24

Participants: Ms Mysha, Researcher
Interview

- 23 R Ας πάμε στα Ελληνικά και στις τάξεις που θωρώ, τζαι την πέμπτη τζαι την έκτη. Στα Ελληνικά τι κάμνετε πώς τους βοηθάτε με τις εκθέσεις; Με τις έννοιες; Με το γραμματισμό; Με τα ρήματα; Πώς;
- Let us move on to Greek now and focus on the classes that **I observe**. Years five **and** six. During Greek learning, **what do you do**, how do you assist them with their essays? With some concepts? With literacy? With verbs? How?
- 24 Mysha Ναι, μερικές φορές το φωνήεν δεν θα το γράψουν. Πολλές φορές το α θα παραλείψουν το α το ε. Ειδικά το ε που δεν υπάρχει στα αραβικά και το α ασπούμε μπορεί να το ακούσουν αλλά να μην το γράψουν διότι στα αραβικά υπάρχουν δυο ειδών φωνήεντα. Είναι τα μικρά φωνήεντα που δεν γράφονται είναι όπως τους τόνους και τα μεγάλα φωνήεντα το α το και το ι οπότε στα αραβικά αν ακούσεις α δεν σημαίνει ότι αναγκαία θα το γράψεις. Πιστεύω ότι γι' αυτό παραλείπουν τα φωνήεντα και αυτό πάντα τονίζουμε ότι όταν ακούεις το ο θα το γράψεις αρέσει ει. Τελειώνει με ει οπότε πρέπει να το γράψουμε, αυτό είναι το δύσκολο.
- Yes, sometimes they are omitting the vowels. Sometimes they are omitting α and ε. Especially ε that does not exist in Arabic and also the α, they can hear it but may not write it because in Arabic there are two kinds of vowels. There are the small vowels that are not written, they are like stress and the long vowels the α and ι so in Arabic if you hear α it does not necessarily mean that you are going to write it. This is why I believe they **omit** vowels, yes so that is why we always place the emphasis. When we hear ο we write it. It ends with ει so we need to write it, this is the hard part.

28 Mysha =vai/
=yes/

This small extract draws attention to the practice of transliteration as Ms Mysha draws on Arabic (line 26) to explain the phonetic representation of the letter <d> to make sure that children are aware of the pronunciation and consequently of the orthography as children were requested to produce not only an oral but a written representation of the book. Ms Mysha's attention to pronunciation and written representation is important in terms of taking into account children's experimentation on two linguistic scripts. Kenner *et al.* (2008) also found that this practice allowed the children in their study to become aware of the phonological and written representation of Bengali, a language that they were not yet confident in. By using English to represent Bangla sounds (transliteration), children were able to practice pronunciation but also to discuss word meaning. Similarly, in this case, children also became aware of such functions after Ms Mysha's explicit guidance through the practice of transliteration.

The following extract is part of the same lesson and, in this case, Ms Mysha provides support on word meaning.

Extract 26

- 52 Mysha تلميذ شو تلميذ؟
what does student mean? =
- 53 Ayuf =μαθητής=
=student=
- 54 Mysha =μαθητής شو يعني مجتهد؟/ اشرح لي عارف شو معنى مجتهد ولا ما بتعرف بالعربي
=student what does excellent mean? explain it to me do you know what's the meaning of excellent student? do you understand this in arabic?/
- 55 Ayuf ε να μάθει=
eh to learn=
- 56 Mysha =شو يعني شو يعني؟
=what does mean?
- 57 Ayuf يجتهد في إيشي إذا فشل بيحاول يجتهد فيه
to try something when you fail you try to do an efforts
- 58 Mysha =είναι επιμελής είναι καλός μαθητής مجتهد تويته η λέξη



Figure 12: Children translating an Arabic story book called *Leila and Leil* (ليلي وليلي)

The second main mediation tool that supported children's Greek knowledge, especially in vocabulary and pronunciation, was the use of the Google Translate programme. Google Translate is a tool that offers free translation and, apart from offering a literal and decontextualized translation, it also offers the opportunity to pay attention to orthography, to listen to the produced translation and pay attention to pronunciation. Google Translate was not only used by the children when they felt unsure about word meaning but was used by the teachers to make sure that all children understood the main vocabulary of the lesson.

The following figure presents the teacher's integration of technology in the classroom with the aim of explaining vocabulary during Greek teaching.

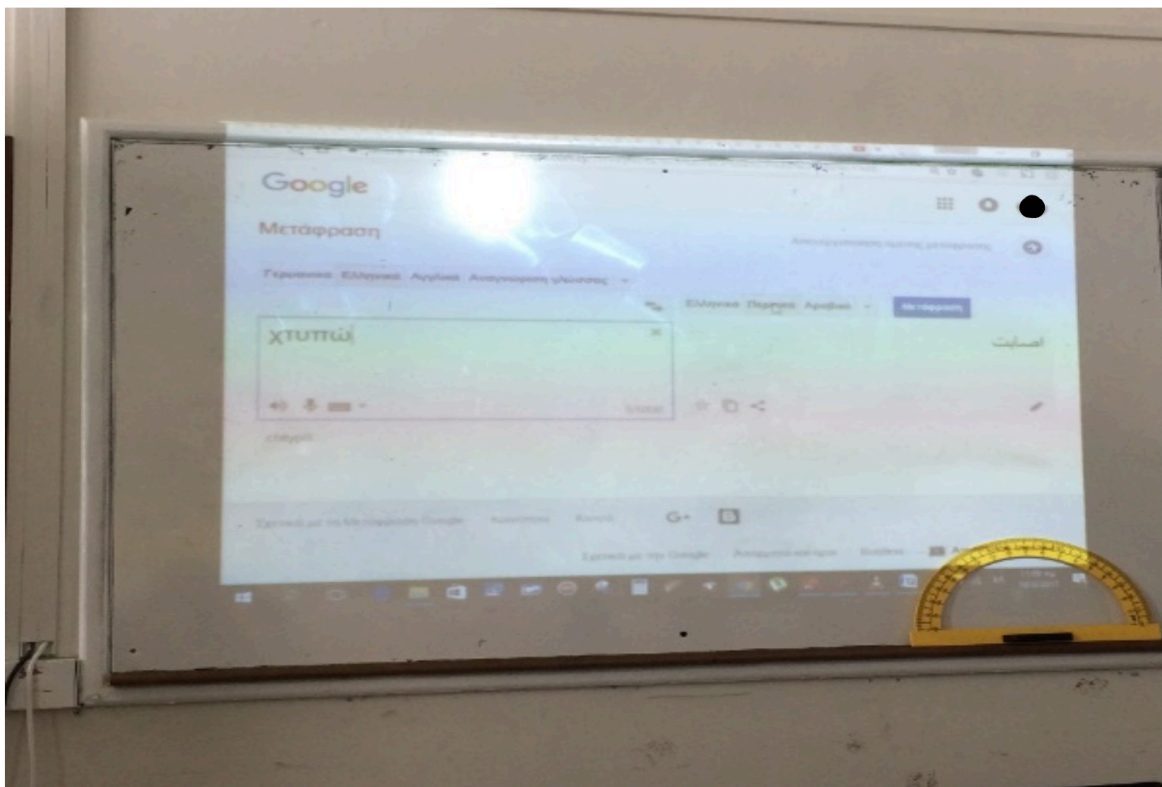


Figure 13: Google Translate as a scaffolding tool

The following extract shows how Noore utilised Google Translate to improve her essay by using advanced vocabulary. Noore sits next to the computer in order to have easy access to it.

Extract 27

Participants: R, Noore, TG, Mysha

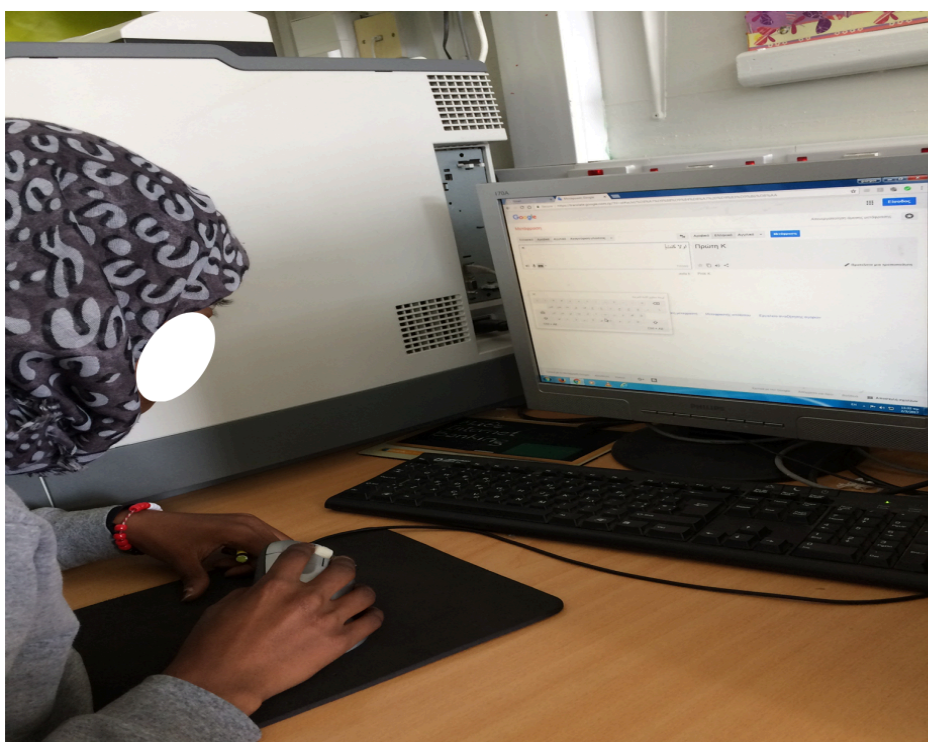
Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- 25 R όχι/ ακριβώς/ άρα τι πιστεύεις; γράψε μου το στα αραβικά/
no/ exactly/ so what do you believe? write it in Arabic/
- 26 Noore ((γράφει στο Google Translate)) (6)
((types on Google Translate)) (6)
- 27 R ΑΠληστία ουάου/
GREEdy wow/
- 28 TG ναι το είχαμε σήμερα στο παραμύθι/ ο άπληστος πύθωνας/ είδες πώς συνδέονται; (.)
yes we had it today in the story book/ the greedy python/ can you see how everything
is connected? (.)
- 29 Mysha /حرف كبير بالعربي/
bravo greedy/

In this extract Noore tries to explain to me that money is not the most important thing in the world and tries to find the appropriate Greek word to add to her essay. Noore takes the initiative to look for the specific word by typing in Arabic using Google Translate (line 26). By increasing my pitch, I applaud Noore's advanced selection of vocabulary (line 27), which catches Mr Grigoris' attention, who then also praises Noore's ability to recall prior knowledge of Greek and transfer it for the purposes of another exercise (line 28). The praise of Noore continues via Ms Mysha, who confirms Noore's choice by repeating the relevant word in Arabic (line 29). The conversation ended with Noore copying the word in her notebook and listening to it by clicking on the *listen* button several times, a practice that may have supported her pronunciation. This extract reveals that the use of Google Translate enabled Noore to pay attention to her word choice but also revealed her agentive role over her learning. Noore's choice to use Google Translate to look up a specific word to use it in her essays shows that she is using language in a meaningful way to promote the development of her Greek. This statement is supported by Lantolf, Thorne and Poehner (2015) who argue that, when learners intentionally look up words in dictionaries, this is an indicator that they provoke second language learning, as they intentionally serve higher goals of language. In this case, this was the writing of an essay.

The following two pictures illustrate Noore's translation steps that allowed her fill in her vocabulary 'holes'.



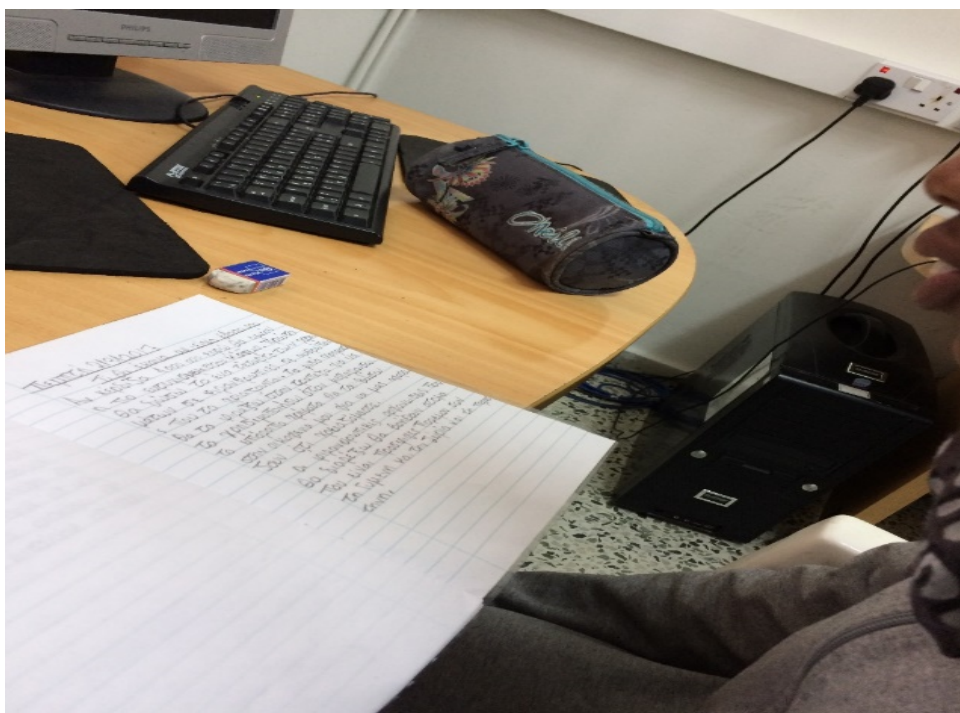


Figure 14: Noore's utilisation of Google Translate to support her essay production

The next key linguistic practice that was used by refugee children was code-switching and the next paragraph analyses extracts that reveal the ways that code-switching was used for constructing children's Greek knowledge and for maintaining communication.

6.2 Code-switching

Code-switching (CS) is considered to be a sophisticated practice that refugee children employed. It was not seen as incompetence but as a scaffolding practice that allowed them to support their Greek learning. By alternating between Greek and Arabic, refugee children also showed willingness to include all learners in the conversation with the aim of maintaining communication, which also resulted in their Greek linguistic production. CS occurred mostly between Arabic and Greek as there were not enough data to support alternation between Farsi and Greek.

6.2.1 Sophisticated alternation between Greek and Arabic

By alternating between Greek and Arabic, refugee children were able to rely on their dominant language while, at the same time, using the new one. Through CS, children were able to seek clarification, explain word meanings to one another by annotating unknown vocabulary, pay attention to pronunciation and extend their Greek linguistic production. Also, through CS, children showed evidence of being able to identify similarities and differences between the two languages at the phonological and semantic levels.

Extract 28 illustrates the scaffolding function of code-switching when Maya and Taraf used it to clarify meaning and confirm their advanced bilingual understanding respectively, during a Mathematics lesson.

Extract 28

Participants: Maya, Taraf, R

Year: 6

Lesson: Mathematics

- 78 Maya =عشرين هذول؟=
=are these twenty?=
- 79 Taraf / σαρανταπεντε/ضفناها عشرة صارت/τριανταπεντε(.). يا أبله بتزيدي عشرة (xx)=
=(xx) oh teacher you add ten thirty five (.) and you add ten to it it becomes forty five/
- 80 Maya είναι είναι= شو هال=
= it is it is what's this?=
- 81 Taraf عشان تعرفي الـ تριανταπέντε اذا زدنا عليها σαρανταπεντε (.) بتعدي الى العشرة=
=so you know thirty five if we add to it forty five (.) you count to ten (.)
τριανταπεντε και πεντε σαραντα/خمسة خمسة(.).
five five thirty five plus five forty/
- 82 R μπράβο=
bravo=
- 83 Maya =δέκα=
=ten=
- 84 R =μπράβο/ άρα κάθε φορά προσθέτουμε δέκα / πενηντα πέντε και δέκα;=
=bravo/ so every time we add ten/ fifty-five plus ten?=
=εξηνταπέντε/
=sixty five/

The aim of this activity was for children to count and add ten to their sums. Even though the taught subject is Mathematics, language becomes the prevailing tool for constructing each other's knowledge. The conversation begins with Maya specifically requiring assistance from Taraf by drawing solely on Arabic (line 78). Taraf immediately resorts to a CS practice to respond to her query. Taraf's CS production is interesting in the sense that he specifically targeted Maya's misunderstanding by providing explanation produced in Arabic but used Greek to refer to the specialised vocabulary (numbers thirty five and forty five) that Maya will

be requested to provide later (line 79). In the next line, Maya indicates her willingness to provide an answer and attempts it by drawing on Greek. However, she immediately switches into Arabic to seek further clarification. Taraf elaborates his explanation by alternating between Arabic and Greek with the aim of further enhancing Maya's understanding (line 81). Again, his use of Greek is limited to the names of the numbers (thirty five and forty five), but the explanation is given in Arabic. I encouraged and praised this interaction despite my lack of Arabic, as I could guess that a scaffolding activity was taking place (line 82). Maya's production of the word *ten* in Greek in the following line indicates a way of evaluating and making sense of Taraf's guidance. Her understanding is further highlighted by her correct response provided in Greek (line 85) which indicates that Taraf's support through the practice of CS was beneficial as she was able to internalise it and produce the correct answer. This scaffolding activity between two peers highlights the collaborative nature of learning (Donato, 1994). It also illustrates the importance of the practice of code-switching as a scaffolding tool (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999). Taraf's constant negotiation through CS allowed them to sustain their interest in the task, which is what Antón and DiCamilla (1999) refer to as 'intersubjectivity' (shared knowledge). This shared knowledge – in this case Arabic - also enabled Maya to understand the aim of the activity despite her lack of Greek terminology (addition, subtraction). This extract is aligned with Antón and DiCamilla's (1999) findings where the scholars argued that when the adult learners in their study alternated between Spanish and English, they were able to understand, access and evaluate new linguistic forms. In this case, Taraf can be seen as a confident learner who can operate between two languages and by doing that, he scaffolded Maya's understanding and allowed her to reflect and produce the target language.

Extract 29 comes from the same lesson and follows a similar path regarding the skilful appropriation of CS practice.

Extract 29

- 309 TG =ΕΞΙ δεκάδες/ APA εξήντα εννιά ίσον (.) εξήντα εννιά (.)ΙΣΟΝ έξι δεκάδες και=
 =SIX tens/ SO sixty-nine equals (.) sixty-nine (.) EQUALS six tens plus=
 310 Maya =ίσον (2) ίσον;=
 =equals (2) equals?=
 311 Taraf /ίσον يساوي =
 =equals equals/

- 312 Maya εξήντα εννιά/ = زائد ولا شو ضرب ولا؟ =
 sixty-nine/ plus or what? times (.) or? =
- 313 Taraf =يساوي=Ισον
=equals EEquals=
- 314 Maya =هيك؟=
=like this? =
- 315 Taraf /اه =
=yes yes/
- 316 TG άρα Μάγια Τάραφ/ εξήντα εννιά ίσον ΕΞΙ δεκάδες και πόσες μονάδες;=
 so Maya Taraf/ sixty nine equals SIX tens and how many ones? =
- 317 Maya ε[NNIA
 η[INE
- 318 Taraf [ENNIA=
 [NINE=

The conversation begins with Mr Grigoris introducing the focus of the activity, which is understanding place value (line 309). However, Maya interrupts (line 310) and repeats the word *equals* in Greek, ending with a question mark. She signals to Taraf that she did not understand what ‘equals’ means and that she cannot follow. Taraf’s response, which is marked by CS, is a way of guiding Maya’s understanding but also indicating his own understanding towards meaning. He first utters Maya’s unknown word in Greek and then provides the explanation in Arabic (line 311). Maya seems to have an understanding that her unknown lexical item is related to an arithmetic operation. However, she still tries to guess the meaning. She tries to confirm that, by repeating the number initiated by teacher, *sixty-nine* in Greek, followed by a specific question in Arabic regarding the mathematical operations (line 312). Taraf then immediately interrupts her, and in an annoyed way. This is expressed by his rising intonation and he clarifies for a second time what ‘equals’ means through the practice of CS (providing the equivalent Arabic word first, followed by the Greek terminology) as a way to simplify the instruction (line 313). Drawing on Arabic, Maya requests a confirmation of what ‘equals’ means (line 314) which resulted in Taraf’s positive response (315). The fact that Mr Grigoris does not share the same language with the children may not be the ideal teaching situation. However, this did not prevent him from allowing a CS practice to take place. When children had finished their interaction, Mr

Grigoris then insists on receiving an answer (line 316). Maya and Taraf's overlapping utterances indicate their confidence as they provide the correct response in Greek and this signals the positive result of CS as a scaffolding practice (lines 317-318). Again, children were observed to skillfully perform CS to enhance meaning (lines 311, 313) and seek specific clarifications (line 312) and this stresses the importance of seeing CS as a sophisticated practice that allows learners to produce Greek. Taraf's skillful appropriation signals his rich linguistic repertoire and Maya's CS shows her ability to seek specific guidance in order to take control over her Greek production.

The following extract comes from a Parallel Intensive Greek Language lesson where Mr Grigoris tries to apply all his pedagogical means to enhance children's Greek vocabulary. This extract confirms that CS can be seen as a sophisticated practice that allows children to participate in demanding linguistic discussions.

Extract 30

Participants: TG, Maya, Amin, Taraf, Noore

Year: 6

Lesson: Parallel Intensive Greek Language lesson

- 36 TG =τρέξιμο και μπάλα και κρυφτό=
=run and ball and hide and seek=
- 37 Maya =ببركض ملاحقة=
[he runs it's a chase
- 38 Taraf =بيلحقه؟[ملاحقة؟] τρέξιμο=
he is chasing him? [a chase? run=
- 39 Amin =ملاحقة=
a chase=
- 40 Taraf =بيلعب (xx) τρέξιμο=
=e plays (xx) running =
- 41 Noore =τρέξω بيلعب =
=to run plays =
- 42 Taraf =اه بيمشي كُريه عيناي بيرطاطو =
=oh he walks sir its i walk =
- 43 TG =τρέξιμο/ από το ρήμα τρέχω άλλο το περπάτημα=
=run/ from the verb i run walking is another thing=

44	Maya	=τρέ[χω =ru[n
45	Taraf	[بیرکض بیرکض (.) شو [he runs he runs(.) <u>what</u> sir its i run=

In this extract children try to unpack the meaning of the word *running* in Greek, which is introduced by Mr Grigoris (line 36). Maya draws on Arabic and starts meaning negotiation by showing awareness of word meaning as she explains to her peers what running may refer to (line 37). Drawing firstly on Arabic, Taraf tries to further build on Maya's explanation by extending his thoughts and, at the end, repeats the searched-for word in Greek to reiterate the focus of this scaffolding activity (line 38). Amin's repetition in Arabic of Taraf's possible explanation signals his active participation in this meaning negotiation but also his attempt to confirm his own understanding (Ohta, 2001). In line 40, Taraf's CS signals his experimentation with the target language but also his sensitivity towards word meaning, as, this time, he chooses another Arabic word (play) as equivalent to the Greek (running). Noore's repetition of Taraf's previous explanation in Arabic also indicates her willingness to participate in this knowledge construction activity and to display her understanding by converting Taraf's Greek noun into a verb (line 41). Taraf continues guessing and attempts another explanation by referring to the verb *walk* in both Arabic and Greek. By providing the equivalent vocabulary in both Arabic and Greek, Taraf showcases his advanced Greek vocabulary and this suggests that Greek may be becoming part of his linguistic repertoire (line 42). In the next line, TG explains that these two verbs ('walk' and 'run') are different, which triggers Maya's production of the verb *run* (line 44) that overlaps with Taraf's production (line 45). In line 45, Arabic takes a symbolic form as Taraf uses it to externalise the thinking that leads him to the correct interpretation that is produced in both Arabic and Greek. The children's constant CS shows their ability to synthesise and build on each other's previous contributions (Donato, 1994) to mediate their learning of Greek. By doing that, they manage to take control of their learning, a claim confirmed by Drury's (2004) analysis of the interactions between an emergent bilingual learner and her brother. Drury's data support that the 4-year old Pahari speaking sister managed to take control of her learning through the practice of CS when playing with her brother at home. The child's talk showed evidence of language awareness, as, similarly to Taraf's production (lines 42, 45), she was able to provide equivalent vocabulary in both English and Pahari when performing the role of the teacher. Drury concludes that, when learners have the freedom to smoothly alternate

between two languages, then opportunities to extend their target language occur. Drury goes on to suggest that this home practice should also be visible in the classroom setting and extract 30 is an illustrative application of her suggestion.

The following extract is part of a longer conversation and shows how CS triggered children's Greek linguistic production. In this extract, Maya tries to respond to Mr Grigoris question about what kind of animals exist in the zoo.

Extract 31

Participants: Maya, Noore, Taraf, TG

Lesson: Parallel Intensive Greek language lesson

Year: 6

- 578 Maya και και έχω شو اسم الحية؟ =
and and i have what is a snake called?=
- 579 Noore =φίδι/
=snake/
- 580 Maya ΦΙΔΙ=
SNAKE=
- 581 Taraf =ΦΙΔΙΑ=
=SNAKES=
- 582 TG =είχε και φίδια=
=there were snakes=
- 583 Maya =φίδι μπλε/
=blue snake/

In line 578, Maya resorts to CS to specifically seek assistance from Noore who immediately responds to her query by providing Maya's desired lexical item in Greek (line 579). Maya enthusiastically turns to Mr Grigoris to showcase her answer (line 580). Taraf's immediate intervention not only reveals his active listening skills but also evidence of an advanced learner who was able to convert the noun (snake) from singular to plural (line 581). Maya's addition to this collaborative interaction (line 583), also allowed her to be seen as an advanced learner, as she not only extended the Greek production but enriched it with the addition of an adjective (blue). Maya showed evidence of an emergent bilingual as she was able to consciously and effectively retrieve previous knowledge that allowed her to produce and reflect on content (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999). Moodley's (2007) study on the use of CS

between secondary school students, supports that alternating between Zulu and English, not only allowed students to negotiate meaning, but also to experiment with the target language and support the progression of their discussions. In one of the examples, Moodley's fine-tuned analysis demonstrated that students used CS in a strategic way, to seek clarification but also to claim their entrance in the meaning negotiation which led to the production of the target language. In this study, Maya's CS practice triggered a lively interaction and a creative response.

Up to now we have seen children's incorporation of the practice of CS to access and evaluate the target language but also to sustain a high interest in the task (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999). Children were not instructed how to CS, and yet they were able to do it, and this allowed them to move beyond their actual Greek language skills.

Extract 32 is an illustrative example of adult-peer interaction and is part of a longer interaction where Ms Mysha supports Maya's essay production titled '*Boys and girls' rights in education*'. Maya uses CS to clarify meaning and Ms Mysha to allow Maya pay attention to Greek spoken production.

Extract 32

Participants: Maya, Ms Mysha

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- 205 Maya هاذي يوناني؟ أقصد كلمة (5 greek عام أكتب = αγόρι και κορίτσι/
=is this greek? i meant the word greek (5) i am writing boy and girl/
- 206 Mysha معناتها مو هون إمحيها هاي/ / وαι και κάτι άλλο/ τα αγόρια πηγαίνουν/ /
yes and something else/ the boys are going/ means it's not here you have to delete it/
- 207 Maya يعني الرياضة إييه و هاي ع تحب الرياضة لا مو بس غلطنا أو σου αρέσει το κο-ρίτσι=
no no not only we made a mistake you like you like sports e means sports yes that is it the gi-rl=
- 208 Mysha =Κορί:ΤΣΙΑ=
 =GIR:ls=
- 209 Maya =Τα κορίΤΣΑ ((λάθος λεξικής παραγωγής)) ε:=
 =The girLS ((<koritsa> instead of <koritja> lexical production error)) e:=
- 210 Mysha =τα κοριΤΣΙΑ=

=the girLS=

211 Maya =vai vai كمان هون كاتبها هاي κορίτσια / ببيروح علهون

=yes yes i wrote this here also girls will go here/

The conversation begins with Maya alternating between Arabic and Greek to confirm her written production of Greek that also results in Ms Mysha's CS as a means of guiding Maya's thinking process (line 206). In the following line, through the practice of CS, Maya reveals her agentive role over her learning as she confidently points out a mistake that they made and signals the correct verb form that she wishes to add (you like). She firstly produces it in Greek and then in Arabic and carries on in Arabic by providing an example (you like sports). She ends her utterance with the word *girl* in Greek as she wants to focus on what girls like to do. Ms Mysha's rising intonation and repetition of the word *girl* in its plural form indicates her feedback towards Maya's production (line 208). Maya unsuccessfully pronounces the word *girls* in Greek (line 209), which triggers Ms Mysha's second correction (line 210). Maya resorts to CS to restore her Greek abilities as she points out that, in her essay, she wrote the word *girls* correctly. Her affirmative response in Greek (yes, yes) indicates her acceptance of Ms Mysha's comment and her turn to Arabic her attempt to explain (i wrote this here) which is followed by the correct linguistic production of the word *girls* in Greek (line 211). The correct linguistic production is the results of Maya's listening comprehension as she paid attention to Ms Mysha's pronunciation. This collaborative way of enhancing Maya's knowledge of Greek seems to be supported by the practice of code-switching. Again, this is precisely what Moodley (2007) identified in her ethnographic study where the learners, through the practice of CS, managed to clarify their queries, and enhance their vocabulary. In this case, Maya's and Ms Mysha's CS practice also allowed them to facilitate the progression of their discussion and, in terms of learning, CS was used as a scaffolding tool that enabled Maya to produce the correct lexical item and to reflect on the content of her essay. Ms Mysha code-switched in cases where she needed to exemplify the instruction and annotate some phonological errors. Despite this negotiation happening between an adult and a novice, and not between learners of the same level as in Moodley (2007) and in Antón and DiCamilla (1999), Maya was able to shift this power dynamic by also resorting to CS to claim her agentive role.

Up to this point, I have analysed how code-switching was used by children as a tool to seek clarifications, explain and understand vocabulary, experiment with Greek production, pay attention to spoken production and reveal evidence of Greek knowledge.

Extract 33 focuses on a playful interaction where Taraf's CS indicates evidence of his metalinguistic awareness. The extract comes from a mathematics lesson.

Extract 33

Participants: TG, Maya, Taraf

Year: 6

Lesson: Mathematics

- 489 TG =πόσα;=
=how much?
- 490 Maya =ε: οχτώ=
=eh: eight=
- 491 TG =οχτώ=
=eight=
- 492 Maya =οχτώ=
=eight=
- 493 Taraf =οχτώ ((γέλια)) (1) اخته؟
=eight ((laughter)) his sister? (1)
- 494 Maya ((γέλια)) οχτώ ((γέλια))=
((laughter)) eight ((laughter))=

This small extract illustrates how code-switching was used in a playful way that enabled children to signal their knowledge of both of their languages (Arabic and Greek). The conversation begins when Mr Grigoris poses a question asking how much children need to add in their sums (line 489). Maya hesitantly provides her answer which illustrates her listening comprehension skills (line 490) and her answer is confirmed by Mr Grigoris who repeats number eight (line 491). Maya repeats the correct answer to either confirm her own understanding or to point out to Taraf their shared knowledge (line 492). Maya's repetition of number eight allowed Taraf to reveal his metalinguistic awareness as he confidently code-switched by uttering *eight*, firstly in Greek and then in Arabic (line 493) followed by laughter. The word eight in Greek (<ohto>) sounded to him like 'his sister' in Arabic (اخته) and he wanted to externalise his playful interpretation to Maya whose laughter indicates her own participation approval of Taraf's joyful comment (Cook, 2000; Cekaite & Aronsson, 2005). Taraf's CS revealed his ability to identify that the two words in the two different languages had different meaning, yet they sounded the same. Drawing on a sociocultural framework for learning, Vygotsky (1978) argued that play is an important activity that creates opportunities

for children to move beyond their ZPD as they consciously make linguistic choices that allow them to experiment with the ones that they have not mastered yet. Following this line, Taraf's playful CS (line 493) was an indicator of his developed metalinguistic awareness as he consciously made a distinction between two languages in a playful way. It seems that Taraf will never forget this word as the playful way that he approached it will stay with him. The children's common joke revealed their metalinguistic awareness as they started making meaningful connections. It also indicates that they are in the position of making and accepting these kinds of linguistic comparisons.

Children's CS practice, meaning alternating between their dominant and new language, is not evidence of lack of knowledge but, on the contrary, is evidence of active engagement with the new language at many levels.

The second main reason identified for children's CS was their desire to maintain communication with Greek speakers. This is analysed in the following section.

6.2.2 Maintaining Greek communication

Code-switching was also used by refugee children in instances where the conversation needed to be smoothly moved forward. The following three extracts illustrate how children's CS allowed them to include Greek speakers or support themselves to be included in conversations. Moreover, it was also used to avoid bottlenecks in communication.

In this extract, Mahan and Ayuf are working with Ms Margarita and Ms Mysha on the translation of an Arabic book titled 'Zyad and Mazen' (مازن و زياد). What is interesting in this extract is that the participants could carry on in Arabic. However, they chose to code-switch as a way to build a shared perspective on the activity with Ms Margarita, who is a Greek speaker.

Extract 34

Participants: Ayuf, Mahan, Ms Mysha, Ms Margarita

Year: 5

Lesson: School's Intervention Team

43 Margarita λέει ο Ζιάντ μου αρέσει να παίζω μαζί με την αδερφή μου=

Zyad says that i like to play with my sister=

44 Ayuf لا هذا بيحب يدرس وبعدين يلعب = αυτό είπα=

no this one he likes to study and then to play this is what i said=

- 45 Mysha أن ألعب في ملعب المدرسة μου αρέσει να να=
to play in the court yard i like to to=
- 46 Mahan =να παίζω/= شو طلع؟
 =to play/ what's this?=
- 47 Ayuf =(.)بيدرس؟ شو هاي؟ αγαπά: μάθημα=
 =what this one? he needs to study (.) he loves: lesson=
- 48 Mysha =ναι αγαπά τα μαθήματα (.) αγαπά το διάβασμα=
 =yes he loves lessons (.) he loves study=
- 49 Margarita =για να το γράψουμε σωστά/
 =to write it correctly/

In line 43, Ms Margarita tries to confirm that Mahan and Ayuf provided the correct interpretation of the story and addresses Ms Mysha for this purpose. Ayuf's CS in the following line shows that he was aware that his lack of Greek would not allow him to fully express his ideas and maintain the conversation. It can also be considered as an effort to try to respond to both of the teachers so as not to exclude Ms Margarita from the conversation. Ayuf begins with Arabic to signal to Ms Mysha his real interpretation and switches into Greek to point out to Ms Margarita that his previous utterance expressed his interpretation (line 44). Ms Mysha places emphasis on the content and further explains to Ayuf and Mahan the story by drawing on Arabic to be able to understand the meaning. She switches into Greek to initiate a conversation focusing on the meaning of the word for *I like* (line 45). Mahan also resorts to CS in the following line as he refers to the verb *to play* in Greek, a verb that Ms Mysha previously referred to in Arabic. He then switches to Arabic to specifically seek clarification about unknown vocabulary. Mahan's repetition in Greek of the word *play*, not only reveals his rich Greek vocabulary and his ability to provide the equivalent, it also indicates that he was aware of the social context which is to allow Ms Margarita to follow their discussion. In line 47, Ayuf's choice to turn to Arabic to avoid a gap in communication and to avoid being misinterpreted, is aligned with CS's communicative use (Arnfast & Jørgensen, 2003). However, he then switches into Greek to provide a relevant explanation and this answer is intended towards Ms Margarita. This is precisely what Creese and Blackledge (2011) refer to in their analysis of the flexible use of children's bilingualism. The scholars support that the children in their study were aware which language was required for each audience and in order to keep the conversation going, they were switching accordingly.

In line 48, Ms Mysha uses Greek to praise Ayuf's interpretation, which allows Ms Margarita to understand that they reached a common understanding and that she can now intervene (line 49). The conversation indicates that participants' CS practice not only supported children's awareness of Greek content but was also intended to include Ms Margarita in the conversation, who was the leader of this activity but, due to her lack of Arabic, was in some way excluded.

The following extract shows how Taraf managed to make himself visible to his teacher during whole classroom interaction by drawing on the practice of CS.

Extract 35

Participants: Marina, Taraf, TG

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- 466 Marina κύριε να το γράψω;/
sir should i write it?/
- 467 Taraf κύριε σωστά;=
sir correct?=
=σωστή σωστή (.) θα σου βάλω τώρα στον πίνακα (2) τα θυμάσαι αυτά;=
=correct correct (.) i will now write on the board (2) you remember these?=
469 Taraf =κυριε(.) =(xx)طيب ما لا يس (xx)
=sir but it didn't (.) no (.) but (xx)=
- 470 TG =σ: να σου βάλω τώρα/ εσένα περίμενε κάτι άλλο/
=sh: ill assign you now/ wait ill give you something else/

The children are working on grammar activities forming the present simple tense and Marina seeks confirmation from Mr Grigoris on whether she needs to copy the activity from the whiteboard (line 466). Taraf also wants to confirm whether he can participate in this advanced grammatical activity and tries to make his query visible by drawing on Greek (line 467). Mr Grigoris does not respond to Taraf's question and carries on the conversation with Marina (line 468). Despite his limited knowledge of Greek, Taraf desired to participate in the conversation and his second attempt is marked by the practice of CS, where he indicates his persistence as he addresses the teacher in an authoritative manner (line 469). Mr Grigoris' response shows that Taraf's second attempt was effective as it allowed him to make his presence visible and to participate in this conversation. It also shows that Mr Grigoris was aware of Taraf's request as he reassured him that he will assign another activity to him (line

470). Again, this extract highlights the communicative role of CS (Arnfast & Jorgensen, 2003) as, in this case, it was used by Taraf as a way to be included in the whole classroom interaction.

The following extract comes from the interview between Maya and Noore where the two of them talk about their schooling experiences in their countries and turn to CS to avoid a collapse in communication.

Extract 36

Participants: Maya, Noore, Researcher

Year: 6

Interview

- | | | |
|-----|-------|---|
| 150 | R | <p>Τι τάξη επίεννες στο Ιρακ?</p> <p>What year were you at in Iraq?</p> |
| 151 | Maya | <p>Ε πέμπτη και τέλειωσε ((mistake in verb-subject agreement))
 شو أنا المفروض صف شو اسمه
 Eh year 5 and I finish ((mistake in verb-subject agreement))
 year 6 yes I <u>what I am supposed to be in grade, what's it called?</u></p> |
| 152 | Noore | <p>السابع έπρεπε τωρά να είναι πρώτη τάξη
 <u>The seventh?</u> she was supposed to be now in the first year of high school</p> |
| 153 | Maya | <p>Πρώτη πρώτη γυμνάσιο αλλά εγώ είμαι ε
 Seven seven high school but I am e</p> |
| 154 | R | <p>Πώς ήβρετε το να μαθαίνετε ελληνικά εύκολον ή δύσκολο?
 How did you find learning Greek easy or hard?</p> |
| 155 | Noore | <p>Εύκολον
 Easy</p> |
| 156 | R | <p>Μπράβο. Ποιος σας εβοήθησεν?
 Bravo. Who helped you?</p> |
| 157 | Noore | <p>Οι δασκάλοι
 The teachers</p> |
| 158 | Maya | <p>شو تدرسنني؟, ما بالعمام
 <u>In Iraq no</u> me in Iraq my mum mum to, <u>what is teaching me?</u></p> |
| 159 | Noore | <p>Μαθαίνει της</p> |

She teaches her

160 Maya Ναι
Yes

161 R Εμάθθαινέ σε Ελληνικά?

She was teaching you Greek?

162 Maya Όι αραβικά
No Arabic

The conversation begins when I ask Maya to provide information about her schooling experience back in Iraq. Maya responds to my question by firstly drawing on Greek but switches into Arabic when she encounters a vocabulary limitation and seeks assistance from Noore (line 151). Her lack of vocabulary does not stop her from holding the floor and, through CS, she tries to maintain communication with me otherwise there would be a gap in the exchange of information. This again reveals the mediating role of CS in keeping the fluency in the less dominant language. Noore follows the same pattern and, firstly, in Arabic to confirm the intended meaning with Maya and in Greek to offer me the explanation (line 152). After Noore's intervention, Maya skillfully produces her answer solely in Greek as she managed to translate from Arabic to Greek in order to make me fully understand her year grade. By using Greek, Maya showed that she was able to understand more than she could express, meaning that she was able to maintain the communication (line 153). In what follows, there seems to be a minor collapse in the maintenance of communication as in my question, *on who helped them to learn Greek* (line 156), Maya referred to her schooling experience in Iraq and in her mum's support (line 158) whereas I was referring to the current support they receive when learning Greek. This collapse of communication may have happened because, after I posed the previous question on how they find learning Greek (line 154) there was no evidence of CS between the learners (lines 155-157) that would enable Maya to participate in the conversation. My misunderstanding is evident in line 161, where I asked if Maya's mum was helping her to learn Greek. Despite my irrelevant question, Maya responds in an agentive and serious way (line 162), which shows that the continuation of the conversation was of a high priority for her. This extract reveals the struggles of bilingual refugee learners when trying to keep up the conversation with speakers who are not aware of their languages. Both Noore and Maya were aware that, in order for me to understand, they needed to hold the conversation entirely in Greek. Because this was not possible, they turned to CS as an alternative solution. An additional difficulty of theirs was that they needed to make sure that they were able to follow my questions that were entirely posed in Greek.

Similarly, in their study, Arnfast and Jørgensen (2003) found that when the participants were trying to maintain the conversation with the interviewers, they switched from their dominant languages (English and Polish) to Danish and vice versa to prevent the conversation from breaking down. It is important to also note that Arnfast and Jørgensen's (2003) participants were young adults and that the interviewers had knowledge of participants' dominant languages. In this case, however, the participants were children who also used CS strategically to get the conversation flowing and managed to overcome the additional barrier that was the lack of shared repertoire between them and the interviewer.

Extracts 34, 35 and 36 respectively showed evidence of children aiming to include Greek speakers in the conversation, to include themselves in conversations and to effectively support the flow of communication. They managed to do that by skillfully alternating between Arabic and Greek.

Having looked at the practice of CS and the ways that refugee children used it to enhance their Greek learning and to maintain social communication, I now move on to the practice of repetition. In doing so, I again present illustrative extracts accompanied by comments that highlight this study's theoretical framework for how repeating was approached as a scaffolding tool that enabled children to mediate their learning of Greek.

6.3 Repeating

Repetition was another prevailing linguistic practice that was observed when children were participating in classroom's interactional activities. In this study, repetition had a double function. Firstly, it was used by children to correct themselves (self-repetition) as a way of experimenting with the language. Secondly, repetition took the form of guided repetition which was performed by teachers and meant that teachers repeated children's errors as a way to make them aware of their Greek language use. By appropriating the correct answer, children were given the opportunity to reflect and expand their Greek production. It is important to restate that this practice is also approached within a sociocultural framework that sees repetition not as parroting but as a way of internalising and appropriating language in a given context. In what follows, I provide representative examples of how repetition created opportunities for refugee children to enhance their Greek speaking production, extend it and to be seen as active listeners.

6.3.1 Self-repetition: experimenting with the language

By self-repetition I refer to the instances where children showed sensitivity towards their speech production by repeating the word that they had a struggle with before providing their

final version to the teacher. This practice afforded the children time to experiment, practice and, finally, to produce the correct lexical item.

The following extract comes from year 5 during a Greek lesson. In this extract, Ms Roula assesses children's reading fluency based on a text that was assigned to children as homework from the book *The spinning wheel of language*. The hyphen (-) shows that the participant is reading in syllables and the colon and double colon indicates lengthening of the preceding sound (see appendix K).

Extract 37

Participants: TR, Mahan

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

155	TR	για να ακούσω το Μάχαν/ ξεκίνα/ let me listen to Mahan/ begin/
156	Mahan	έ-να-ς σκλ-η-ρός κα-κός (.) και: κα-τα-κτη:-τής μα-χα-ρα::-για-ς: (.) o-ne ha-rd ba-d (.) and: o-ccu-pi:-er ma-ha-ra::-ja-h: (.)
157		πί-στευ-ε ό-πως ή-ταν ο με-γα-λύ(.)-τε-ρος μεγαλύτερος στρα: thou-ght tha-t he w-as the bi:gge(.)st biggest gen:
158		στρατη-γός της γης (2) και πως τί-πο-τα δεν ή:ταν α-δύνατον για (λάθος στην εκφώνηση <για> αντί για <για>)) αυτόν= gene-ral of the earth (2) and that no-thi-ng wa:s impo-ssible for (lexical production error <ja. instead of <ja>)) him=
159	TR	=μάλιστα ως εκεί είχες/ σωστά; =indeed you had up to that part/ correct?
160	Mahan	=ναι/ =yes/
161	TR	νομίζω ό:τι ήθελεν (.) κι' άλλον = i think th:at it needed (.) more=

In this extract, Mahan's struggle in this reading passage is evident from the lengthening of sounds, the pauses and reading in syllables. An additional layer that further signals Mahan's struggle is the repetition of the words that seem not to have been mastered yet such as 'biggest' (line 157) and 'general' (lines 157, 158). Ohta (2001) argues that learners repeat what is new to them, what they likely try to learn. By repeating certain words, Mahan shows that he notices his gaps and still tries to process and reflect on his decoding skills. Repetition

signals his work in progress. Despite this process being time consuming, it results in Mahan's correct lexical production. Cameron (2001) says that, when learners repeat, it can be seen as 'a way of buying time to plan the next chunk' (ibid, p. 34) and this is seen in this extract, when Mahan faced a reading obstacle with a word ('biggest'), he pauses for a while (line 157) and then repeats the word fluently the second time. He does the same with the next word ('general') when he starts lengthening the first sound and then continues by repeating the word correctly (line 158) despite reading it in syllables. Ms Roula showed appreciation of his attempt but insisted that he needed more practice (line 161). Mahan's practice is in line with Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler's (2004) study. They also analysed migrant primary school children's spoken discourse with the aim of identifying the practices that learners employ when learning French in Switzerland. In one of their extracts, the scholars showed that migrant children strategically incorporated the practice of repetition as a way to self-regulate their learning. The scholars provided illustrative data where the teacher asks for a child to provide an answer regarding grammatical tasks and the child repeats their previous word which was seen as an attempt to self-repair their first production before providing the final answer to their teacher. Similarly, by repeating and reformulating the correct lexical item, Mahan managed to ensure accuracy in his reading and to become more comprehensible to his teacher and the other children.

The following extract further illustrates how repetition was used as a mediating tool that allowed Mahan to practice and consequently produce the correct Greek lexical item. The conversation took place during the School Intervention Team programme where Mahan was asked to read his Greek translation.

Extract 38

Participants: Mahan, Lazaros, Ms Margarita

Year: 5

Lesson: School's Intervention Team

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 35 | Mahan | <p>πού εί-ναι ο Λείλ? είναι ό-μο-P::-φος/ έχει χρώ:μα σ-αν με: ΜΕΛΙ σαν το
 where i-s Leil; he is be-auti-F:::ul/ he has colour l-like ho: HONEY like</p> |
| 36 | | <p>μέλι / ΕΙΝΑΙ ψηλός/ και έχει μα: με:γάλα μάτια/ μη(.)
 honey/ HE IS tall/ and has bi: ((lexical production error <ma> instead of <me>)) bi:g eyes/ don't(.)</p> |
| 37 | | <p>φο- βάσαι (.)Λείλα/ θ:α: μεγΑλωσε μεγαλωσει ξα-νά το μα-λλί του πριν (.)
 be a-fr-aid(.)Leila/ his hai-r wi:l: grOwn gROw a-gain before (.)</p> |
| 38 | | <p>έ:ρθει ο: χει-μώ-νας/
 wi-nter co:mes/</p> |

39	Lazaros	και η μητέρα της απάντησε= and mum responded=
40	Mahan	=για-τ-ί (2) δεν: φο-ρά-ει φορέ: φορά ρού-χα (2) σαν εμένα/ AN δεν(.)/ =wh-y (2) doesn't: we-ar wea: wear cl-thes (2) like me/ IF i didn'-t (.)/
41	Margarita	ωραία/ μπράβο nice/bravo

Similarly to the previous extract, Mahan's self-repetition can be seen as a scaffolding practice that is observed throughout the reading activity where Mahan tries to figure out the correct speech production of the words *honey*, *big*, *grow* and *wears* and, in order to do this, Mahan tries to guess the correct pronunciations by repeating them. Mahan begins by reading the written sentence (line 35) and when he reaches the word *honey*, he lengthens the first syllable to allow himself time to think about what the correct speech production is. He then immediately correctly repeats the word *honey* with a rising intonation. He then repeats the full simile by correctly embedding the word *honey* in the sentence ('like honey'). This practice is carried on in the next line (36). He first attempted to read the word *big* but begins reading it incorrectly (beginning with <ma> instead of <me>) but, in his second attempt, he reads it correctly. In line 37, he produces the incorrect version of the word *grow* but then immediately repeats the correct form with an emphasis. He does the same for the word *wears* (line 40) as, while reading it correctly in syllables, he repeats the word but not in a complete form. He lengthens the last sound and, in the third attempt, generates the correct form. Repetition can be seen as scaffolding practice that enables Mahan to control his reading skills and facilitate his speech production while generating his next utterance. Controlling becomes evident when Mahan extends his understanding as, each time, he improves his linguistic production. Mondada and Pekarek-Doehler's (2004) finding is confirmed by Duff (2000), who also underlined the pedagogical implications of children's practice of repetition as she suggested that it is crucial for educators to allow learners repeat as it is not only an indicator of noticing their gaps but also an opportunity to integrate the new vocabulary that they are exposed to in their repertoire. In this case, it is not possible to know whether Mahan has integrated these words in his repertoire, but his ability to insist on performing the correct lexical items reveals his sensitivity towards speech production and accuracy.

The following extract comes from a classroom interaction where I work with Noore to support her ideas on an essay she had to write titled: '*What would I do if I had one million euros*'.

Despite Noore being an advanced Greek reader, writer, listener and speaker, she also incorporates the practice of repetition to mediate her work in progress.

Extract 39

Participants: Noore, Researcher

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

240	R	μπράβο/ μπράβο έλα διάβασέ μου το ξανά / bravo/ bravo come on read it to me again/
241	Noore	αν κέρδισα ((λάθος στο χρόνο)) ένα εκατομμύριο ευρώ θα ήμουν (.) if i won ((error in tense)) one million euros i would be (.)
242		η πιο η πιο ευτυχισμένη στο-ν κό-σμο (4) πρώτο (3) πρώτα θα δώ-σω the the happiest in th-e wo-rld (4) first (3) firstly i will gi-ve
243		το: ένα τε: τετ: τέ-τα-ρτο τέταρτο (.) των χρημάτων σε φιλάνθρωπις one: qua: quart: qu-a-rter quarter (.) of the money in philanthropies ((lexical production error <filaneropis> instead of <filaneropies>))
244		φιλανθρωπές/ philanthropies/ ((lexical production error<filaneropes> instead of <filaneropies>))

The conversation is part of a larger extract where I guide Noore's linguistic production regarding an essay. In this extract, I encourage Noore to read what she's written so far (line 240). Noore's writing is well developed and grammatically correct. However, she faces some troubles regarding reading fluency and pronunciation that are evident by her pauses, reading in syllables and lengthening of sounds. In line 242 Noore continues reading by repeating the word *the* before producing the adjective *happy* which is a five-syllable word in Greek. She then carries on experimenting with the production of the connective adverb *firstly* that effectively produces in her second attempt. In line 243 she reveals a real struggle in producing the word *quarter* as three attempts there were in total, before producing it correctly. At the end of line 243, Noore also shows inability to produce the word *philanthropies* as her repetition did not result in a correct reformulation this time. In general, Noore used repetition in a successful way in order to avoid production errors. Again, Noore's self-repetition can be seen as a way of experimenting and gaining time to plan her correct linguistic production (Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004). Additionally, Noore chose to hold the floor and carry on her linguistic production despite the unforeseen difficulties and, instead of remaining silent, she mediated her reading ability through the practice of repetition

that signaled her active participation as a learner. Drury's (2007) data also suggest that when children in their early language development experiment with language through the form of repetition, it is an indication of taking agency over their learning. Drury argues that repetition is a way of practicing what they already acquired, embedding it in their own repertoire. In this case, by practicing the vocabulary that she was exposed to, Noore aims to further enhance her reading abilities.

These extracts showed that children were at a transitional point of their learning and through the practice of repetition attempted to claim control over it. From a sociocultural point of view, it can be said that when learners show evidence of self-regulation, which in this case is evident through the practice of repetition, indicates evidence of becoming independent and that have moved beyond their actual linguistic skills as they use the developing language (Greek) to mediate their learning (Ohta, 2001; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

The following section focuses on guided repetition that was performed by teachers and allowed children to reformulate their Greek linguistic production and by doing that to reflect on their errors and extend their utterances.

6.3.2 Guided repetition: an opportunity for language reflection

Guided repetition is a term coming from Moore (2012) who studied children's language socialisation strategies and defined it as 'more expert members explicitly model linguistic forms for imitation by less expert members' (ibid, p.214). Similarly to Moore, in this study, guided repetitions created space for a transformative take from children by which I refer to their ability to embed what they have heard and learnt in their own linguistic production. Guided repetition was expressed by the teachers, who fully or partially repeated back children's linguistic errors to make them notice them. Children's repetition was an indicator of their reflection towards either grammar or speech production. By attempting to generate a reformulated utterance, children were given the opportunity to extend their Greek linguistic production.

Extract 40 comes from year 5 where Ms Roula tries to support Ayuf's Greek fluency and speech production. What is interesting here is that Ms Roula's feedback was utilised by Mahmud who was privately practising his own speech production.

Extract 40

Participants: Mahmud, Ayuf, TR

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

352	TR	μισό λεπτό/ [ακου wait a minute/ [listen
353	Mahmud	((ψιθυριστά)) [βασί:= (whispers) [queen:=
354	TR	=τη λέξη/ πέ μου τη λέξη ξανά= =the word/ tell me the word again=
355	Ayuf	=βα-σί-λισ-σα/ =que-en/
356	TR	ΞΑΝΑ= AGAIN=
357	Ayuf	=βασίλισσα/ [η βασίλισσα =queen/ [the queen
358	TR	[μάλιστα απλώς να σου πω κάτι/ τούτο το λλου= [indeed just to tell you something/ this I=
359	Mahmud	=βασίλισσα ισσα ((ψιθυριστά)) / =queen en ((whispers))/

Ms Roula (TR) focuses on assisting Ayuf's correct linguistic production of the word *queen*. While she tries to focus on Ayuf's production she does not pay attention to Mahmud who also tries to respond to her guidance by quietly practicing the newly taught lexical item with himself (line 353). Mahmud's practice is characterised by Ohta (2001) as vicarious response which is when learners observe their peers' responses and attempt to provide the correct answer but for themselves (privately). Ohta argues that by doing that, learners manage to self-regulate their own learning as it can be seen as a way of processing and internalising new information. Ms Roula insists on correcting Ayuf's production and instructs him to repeat the word for a second time (line 354). Ayuf immediately responds and produces the word by reading it in syllables (line 355). This time Ms Roula rises her intonation (line 356) to show that she is expecting him to improve his fluency and then in line 357 Ayuf manages to fluently produce the correct form and extend his utterance by adding the article *the* and then repeats the word queen. However, his attempt of extending his utterance is overlapped with Ms Roula's one, who wants to further explain to Ayuf how to read more fluently (line 358). By focusing on Ayuf, Ms Roula misses Mahmud's second attempt who also responds to her

recast by privately and successfully repeating the word *queen* for himself and even pays attention to the last syllable by repeating it (line 359). Both Ayuf and Mahmud's repetitions indicate their understanding and their active participation in this interaction, a finding that is confirmed by DiCamilla and Antón (1997). In their study, the scholars also stressed out how repetition marked university students' ability to evaluate, refine and consequently generate the correct linguistic form of the target language. The scholars observed that by repeating each other's utterances and adding to each other's words or part of words and even syllables, the participants had the opportunity to work on lexical searches and evaluate each other's contributions. Along this line, Ayuf's repetition shows that he was aware of his error and by repeating, manages to upgrade his speech production and even try to embed the word that he was struggling into a sentence. Mahmud's private repetition also indicates that he is processing and reflecting on new information and by doing that he enhances his own speech production (Ohta, 2001). Even though he was practicing privately, Mahmud's repetition indicates that he is becoming a capable learner who does not afraid to take risks and experiment with the new language.

The following extract comes from year 6 where children are working on decimal numbers.

Extract 41

Participants: Noore, Ioanna, TG

Year: 6

Lesson: Mathematics

- 39 TG να ενώσετε τρία διαδοχικά (2) ώστε το άθροισμα να είναι ίσον το ένα/
you have to join three successively (2) so as the sum to be equal the one/
- 40 δεν βρήκε κανένας;=
no one found it?=
41 Ioanna τζαι η Στέφανη έναν ήβρε/
and Stephani also found only one/
- 42 TG =εντάξει ε:: Νούρ;=
=ok e:: Noore?=
43 Noore =ε (1) μηδέν κόμα διακόσσια ε: είκ: πενή: ε: [και
=eh (1) zero point **two hundred** eh: twent: fift: eh: [and
- 44 TG [μηδέν διακόσσια είκοσι πέντε
τελειώνει εδώ ναι=
[zero two hundred twenty
five stops here yes=

- 45 Noore =ναι μηδέν κόμμα (1) διακόσια είκοσι πέντε και μετά πέντε ε: οχτώ:=
 =yes zero **point** (1) two hundred twenty five and after five eh: eight:=
- 46 TG =ξαναπέστο μου (1) πέντε όγδοα;=
 =repeat it (1) five eighths?=
 47 Noore =ναι/
 =yes/

In this extract Mr Grigoris requests Noore's confirmation on a Mathematics problem (line 42) and Noore willingly provides her answer (line 43). She begins with a hesitant 'eh' and one second pause and then begins to externalise her thinking up to the point where she seems to have a problem which is signalled by the second discourse marker (*eh*). She then tries to articulate the word *twenty* but fails to produce it. She then tries to utter number five but instead begins to say number fifty which does not manage to finish either. She hesitantly tries to carry on, but Mr Grigoris notices her struggle and his utterance overlaps with Noore's. Mr Grigoris' overlapping utterance indicates that he accepted Noore's answer and aimed to model the correct linguistic production for her (line 44). Mr Grigoris' modelling is appropriated by Noore who accepts the correction and repeats the first part of her answer that was correct anyway and after one second of pause includes Mr Grigoris' modified answer, by repeating it (line 45). However, she did not only accept Mr Grigoris' modelling, but she skilfully embedded it in a new extended production. After appropriating the correct production, Noore goes further by pointing out what comes after the answer, however she does not manage to produce the word *eighths* correctly. Mr Grigoris explicitly instructs Noore to repeat the correct form by modelling it to scaffold Noore's Greek production (line 46). Noore signals her acceptance by positively responding. However, this time she shows resistance and does not respond to Mr Grigoris recast with a repetition (line 47). DiCamilla and Antón (1997) also presented one piece of evidence of learners rejecting guided repetition and argued that this highlighted that the learner was able to perform without guidance. Similarly, Noore's rejection indicates that she selectively chooses what to pay attention to and illustrated awareness and creativity regarding what she needs to do in order to support her linguistic production. Noore did not only repeat Mr Grigoris' correct form but she took a transformative approach to repetition (Cook, 2000) by which I mean that she not only managed to repeat the correct lexical production, but added her own contribution, which indicates her ability to internalise the new linguistic production of her developing language (DiCamilla & Antón, 1997).

The following extract further illustrates how teachers' guided repetition was taken again by Noore in an authoritative manner by selectively repeating what she considers important for her own understanding.

Extract: 42

Participants: Noore, TG

Year: 6

Lesson: Greek

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 24 | TG | =τι μπορούμε να κάνουμε με αυτά και:: ε:/ Νούρ/
=what can we do with this and:: eh:/ Noore/ |
| 25 | Noore | ε: εν μεγάλα= ((γραμματικό λάθος))
eh: its big= ((grammatical error)) |
| 26 | TG | =είναι πολλά χρήματα λες ε; αγοράζεις σπίτια ή σπίτι;/
=you are saying that is too much money huh? you buy houses or a house?=
= |
| 27 | Noore | =ναι μπορείς να αγοράζεις σπίτια/ όι σπίτι/
=yes you can buy houses/ no house/ |
| 28 | TG | μπορείς να αγοράσεις ένα σπίτι/ για να δούμε τιμή να δούμε τιμή/ ΕΝΑ σπίτι=
you can buy one house/ lets see price to see price/ ONE house=
= |
| 29 | Noore | =σπίτι ναι αυτό είπα/
=house yes this is what i said/ |

In this extract, the children and Mr Grigoris are having whole classroom discussions about whether one million euros is enough money to buy a house. He asks Noore to provide her thoughts (line 24). Noore begins by quantifying the uncountable noun (money) by using the adjective *big*. Noore's error is picked up by Mr Grigoris, who immediately responds by showing acceptance of Noore's contribution. However, at the same time, he models the correct adjective by formulating the correct utterance and also emphasises making the distinction between the plural and singular noun: *houses, house* (line 26). Noore reformulates Mr Grigoris' utterance but uses the continuous tense, as this was the tense that Mr Grigoris used earlier (line 27). She also pays attention to the singular noun *house*. However, Mr Grigoris repeats her utterance by modelling the correct form that is produced in the simple tense (line 28). He also pays attention to the singular form of the noun *one house*. In the next line, Noore shows resistance in repeating the correct tense of the verb as she

focused on her correct answer (one house) and repeats it by reiterating to Mr Grigoris that this is what she already said (line 29). By doing this, Noore shows the ability to evaluate, refine and eventually produce more utterances of the target language (line 27), a finding similar to DiCamilla and Antón (1997). Through guided repetition, Mr Grigoris allowed Noore to use and extend her lexical production, as she showed evidence of an active listener who selectively appropriated her teacher's recast by repeating what she considered important for her own understanding (line 29). As Drury (2007) points out, repetition can be seen as a skillful practice that children in their first stages of learning incorporate as a way of taking agency over their learning. Similar to Drury's point, this lively interaction is held between a teacher and a learner, where the child, Noore, chose to selectively repeat what she considered useful for her own learning. Thus, she showed evidence of being able to mediate her own learning.

Up to this point, I showed how repetition was utilised by children as a way of monitoring, improving and extending their linguistic productions. According to Vygotsky's (1978) theory of ZPD, it can be said that, when learners repeat, they show awareness of their developing language and that awareness can help them move beyond their actual linguistic skills as they use the developing language to mediate their learning. By self-repeating, children allowed themselves time to regulate their speech production and ensure accuracy in their reading. It is a practice that revealed the children's sensitivity towards their linguistic production and their active participation. By responding to their teachers' guided repetition through selectively reformulating their linguistic production, children showed evidence of being able to notice their gaps, evaluate and refine their utterances and, in some cases, embed the corrected lexical items in extended utterances.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, I demonstrated how the linguistic practices that children developed allowed them to facilitate their learning of Greek. Despite their limited knowledge of Greek, refugee children were able to actively participate in the learning activities through the practices of translating, code-switching and repeating. These practices were approached from a sociocultural perspective. They were seen as discourse practices that enabled children to participate in learning interactions. For the children to be able to perform these practices, it again reveals the multilingual approach to learning that the two teachers followed despite their lack of competence in the refugee children's dominant languages. This approach provided a context where children could experience their repertoires holistically by focusing on the learning of SMG. It is worth mentioning that there was overlap between the practices. Translation happened during CS and repetition, and CS happened during translation and

repetition. Repetition happened during translation and CS. A greater emphasis is placed on the interrelation between the practices in chapter eight.

The practice of translation was an integral part of children's everyday activities and children had the opportunity to negotiate meaning through the linguistic interpretations of two languages. By drawing on Arabic to explain instructions and concepts to one another, the children showed evidence of their own established knowledge of Greek (Ohta, 2001; Chen & Gregory, 2004) and their ability to transfer their knowledge from their dominant language to the developing one (Cummins, 1984, 1991, 2005). Children also showed sensitivity towards word meaning as, by negotiating the selection of the appropriate vocabulary, they indicated their awareness of Greek word meaning. This negotiation was feasible because learners were using their dominant language to translate their inferred meaning to one another (Chen & Gregory, 2004; Kenner *et al.*, 2008). By producing written essays and translating them in both languages, children showed evidence of metalinguistic awareness, as they were able to perform in two scripts and be aware of issues of directionality and word formation and make deliberate choices about word meaning (Kenner, 2004). The role of the school's translator, Ms Mysha, and the use of Google Translate were catalysts. They allowed children to become more aware of Greek's orthographic conventions, enhance their vocabulary and pay attention to word sounding.

The second everyday practice that refugee children used was code-switching. Through CS, children managed to seek clarification, understand, access and internalise new linguistic forms. By collaboratively incorporating CS, children also managed to maintain a high focus on activities that further allowed them to pay attention to word meaning and vocabulary, and to extend their utterances by retrieving previous knowledge (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999). By alternating between Arabic and Greek, children were seen as confident learners who could easily navigate and strategically draw on two languages to mediate their learning. Children also showed evidence of advanced vocabulary knowledge and metalinguistic awareness, as they could identify and comment upon the phonological and semantic features of two different languages. CS was also used by refugee children in a communicative way (Arnfast & Jørgensen, 2003) and because it allowed them to maintain communication with the Greek speakers.

Repeating was the third linguistic practice that was seen as a tool that mediated children's Greek skills. I argue that when learners were self-repeating, they were given the opportunity to internalise the produced social language and are thus able to use the target language independently. According to Cameron (2000), in real life contexts, repetition acts as a way of

thinking aloud, processing new information and allowing the learner extra time to formulate their next utterance. The children's use of repetition confirms this view. It was also used to respond to teachers' recasts, which allowed pupils not only to practice with the target language but also to embed the new knowledge in their linguistic repertoires. Repetition was used to signal their receptivity, their internalisation of the new vocabulary, while, at the same time, using it in a transformative way that in some cases supported the extension of their Greek linguistic production.

Thus far, I have presented and discussed the linguistic practices that were employed by refugee children while participating in classroom learning activities. In chapter seven, I present and discuss the multicultural practices that were developed in the classroom context that created the appropriate conditions for approaching Greek learning by valuing all children's cultural and linguistic backgrounds. I also consider the use of classroom semiotic resources that further complemented the children's learning of Greek.

Chapter 7: CLASSROOM MULTICULTURAL PRACTICES AND SEMIOTIC RESOURCES

7.0 Introduction

So far in this study, I have focused on refugee children's linguistic repertoires and practices and the ways that they were deployed to facilitate their learning. A pure focus on the linguistic aspect when researching a multilingual language setting is not enough, especially when the main participants in this study have Greek as their additional language. The third chapter of findings is divided into two subsections, the first focusing on the use of multicultural practices and the second on semiotic resources. Chapter seven is intended to shed light on research question number 3: *What multicultural practices arise and what semiotic resources are mobilised in the classroom and how do these facilitate refugee children's learning of Standard Modern Greek and their social participation in the classroom?*

In Chapter 3, I related my understanding of multicultural practices to Kirsch (2008) and Kubota's (2012) interpretations that treat learning as about the other and the self, and developing sensitivity to similarities and differences with other cultures. In this chapter, I examine the ways in which all children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds were used as resources and how their implementation during teaching turned the classroom into a multilingual and multicultural site that allowed all children's equal participation in the learning process. This equal participation also generated the appropriate conditions for the participants' roles to be reversed within their learning community.

When it comes to the incorporation of semiotic resources, I draw attention to the multimodal nature of communication and I make use of the terminology of social semiotics (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) to analyse the school's multilingual landscape that also included children's artwork. I also examine the use of images and gestures as modes that contributed to the meaning making process and allowed for a multimodal approach to teaching to be implemented. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main findings.

7.1 Multicultural practices: making refugee children's language and culture visible

In Kilada primary school, Mr Grigoris and Ms Roula actively encouraged and acted upon a multilingual-multicultural approach to learning. In this section, I set out four practices that were seen as promoting a multicultural awareness of learning that allowed refugee children's languages and culture to not only become visible but be at the centre of learning. I argue that these multicultural practices created opportunities and had positive outcomes for all

children's Greek learning. First, I begin by analysing a Greek lesson where the core element of teaching was based on a character that is popular across the Arabic world, translated into Greek, *The story of Nasreddin Hodja*. I then move on to present evidence of Cypriot-Greek children's multilingual awareness that was the result of their teachers' inclusive practices. I examine the Cypriot-Greek children's ability to sing an Arabic song (*Tiri Tiri Ya asfoura*) and show awareness of basic Arabic vocabulary. Moving on, I look at a game that allowed for the identification of similarities between cultures. I conclude by examining how cooking an Iranian dish allowed Mahmud's language (Farsi) and culture to be at the centre of learning for the first time. I argue that all these practices contributed to a reversed appropriation of the CoP concept.

7.1.1 Using the story of Nasreddin Hodja to develop an inclusive learning environment

Nasreddin Hodja is a famous figure across the Arabic world and represents an important element of their literature (Baynham, 1986). The character of Nasreddin is similar to many figures found in Aesop's fables in the western tradition. Also, these stories are close to the Cypriot culture and this ensures a shared interpretation of the story by all children. For these reasons, Ms Roula reported that she wanted to include the story of Nasreddin Hodja (see appendix P for the plot) in her Greek lesson as, in this way, she could create an inclusive learning environment that was of interest to all (Hélot & Young, 2006). It is worth reiterating that Nasreddin Hodja was not the only Arabic book that was introduced in the classroom, as refugee children presented two other books - by the time of data collection - to their peers: *Leila and Leil* and *Mazen and Ziad*. This resulted in rich literacy lessons. The following figure shows the book of Nasreddin that was used during Greek teaching time.

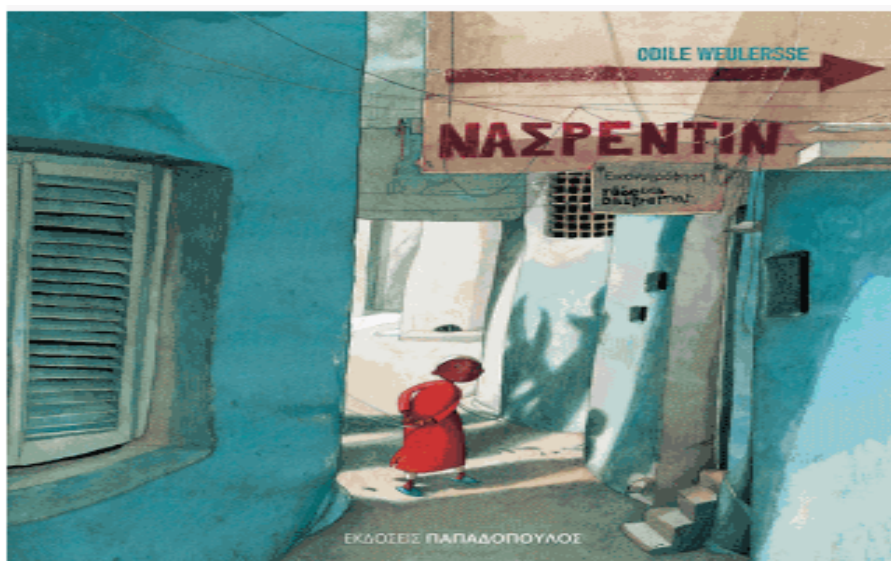


Figure 15: *Nasreddin* from Weulersse (2014)

After reading the story, Ms Roula focused on vocabulary teaching and providing contextual information (e.g. who Hodja was) and then asked children for the meaning of some difficult words e.g. *‘πασουμάκια’* (sleepers) in Greek. This word was also unknown for the Cypriot-Greek children. Ms Roula also asked the children to compare Hodja’s stories to Aesop’s fables and the children concluded that both of the stories follow a similar vein in terms of narration, and providing similar morals-of-the-story. This kind of comparison allowed all children to identify similarities and differences between the different variants of this story. Embracing all children’s cultural backgrounds by referring to stories and myths that all are familiar with, builds an environment of cultural awareness. This kind of practice also resonates with Kirsch’s (2008) findings where she presents two primary schools’ good practice in supporting children’ foreign language development. Kirsch (2008) claims that, when working with cultural literacies, learners benefit in multiple ways. Firstly, children are learning the language being taught - in this case Greek - but also discuss cultural similarities and differences and this results in bringing awareness to the ways that people learn in different parts of the world. In this study, Nasreddin Hodja’s story was used as the main tool for Greek learning (vocabulary, direct speech) but also created an environment where intercultural discussions could take place. By the end of the discussions, children became aware of how many similarities they share with neighbouring countries. The second part of the lesson was oriented towards dramatising some scenes in the story. After practicing the dialogues multiple times, there came a point where the children were ready to use language freely and perform in front of their audience. The classroom was prepared to adjust the space for the children’s performance (see figure 16). Mahan was assigned to Nasreddin’s role, Stathis played the role of the father, and Mikaela, Orestis and Fotini had the roles of the villagers. The story was split into three scenes. The children did not have any set lines and were to improvise the dialogues. If the children encountered any difficulties, Ms Roula provided assistance by prompting key vocabulary and by modelling the tone of the language for each character. This situated activity (role play) went beyond on developing cultural awareness, as it was used as a pedagogical tool as this embodiment of the language stimulated children’s listening skills and their Greek linguistic production. Gibbons (2015) states that, by allowing children to practice reading and new vocabulary in front of an audience (their class), learning is made purposeful. A study that supports the use of role-play in second language learning comes from Magos and Politi (2008). The participants in their study were adult migrants who were learning Greek as a second language and one of the ways that the teacher supported their Greek acquisition was through role play. The scholars argued that, when all the measures were taken such as vocabulary explanation and phonological preparation, then role playing had positive results. The learners reported that their involvement in role playing activities allowed them to enhance their vocabulary, develop

their verbal expressions and improve their fluency and accent. It can be said that, by participating in a language lesson in which the main teaching material was already familiar to them, refugee children also had the opportunity to develop their understanding towards word meaning, practice their pronunciation and use their developing language in a stress-free context.



Figure 16: A scene from the children's role-play

I now turn to another example of how refugee children's linguistic background created opportunities for linguistic and cultural awareness for all children. I present how the Arabic song 'Tiri Tiri Ya asfoura' became a symbol of multicultural teaching and learning.

7.1.2 Cypriot-Greek children singing an Arabic song: developing multilingual and multicultural awareness among participants

Another interesting finding was the Cypriot-Greek children's knowledge of the Arabic song 'Tiri Tiri Ya asfoura' (see appendix Q for the lyrics of the song by Majida AlRumi (Lila TV, 2018)).

During group interviews (see extract 43 below), the Cypriot-Greek children revealed their knowledge of this Arabic song. Mr Antonis (Design and Technology teacher), in collaboration with Ms Mysha, taught the song to the children as an intervention as part of the school's informal social policy inclusion. The song was performed on the 28th of March during school assembly. Figure 17 comes from year 5 Cypriot-Greek students who created a poster which was used as a springboard for their group interview.



Figure 17: Poster created by a group of year 5 children during their interview

As a response to my question about whether they know Arabic, the children started singing and explaining the meaning of some lyrics. To further emphasise their knowledge of the Arabic song that they learnt, in their poster, the Cypriot-Greek children wrote the title of the song with capital letters (TIRI TIRI) to show its centrality in their linguistic awareness. Some quotes from children's poster say: 'We learnt an Arabic song and they liked it a lot'. The pronoun 'they' refers to the refugee children. This indicates that Cypriot-Greek children were proud that they could include a song that reflects their friends' language in their repertoire.

Another quote says: ‘We learnt an Arabic song Tiri Tiri and we liked it a lot’ and ‘We use gestures, we show pictures on the computer’. On the poster, Cypriot-Greek children also expressed their supportive feelings such as ‘We don’t mind that they come from another culture’, ‘We don’t mind that they have a different religion’. They also used Greek characters to represent some of the Arabic words that they learnt and provided their meaning. These quotes reveal the ways in which Cypriot-Greek children experience learning and coming together with different cultures and languages. The Cypriot-Greek children’s attitudes towards their peers’ linguistic and cultural background is the result of the school’s approach to social inclusion. Although the school did not formally lay out a social inclusion policy, such practices suggest that there is a very definite informal social inclusion policy in place.

The following extract is part of the group interview between four Cypriot-Greek children on the ways they experience language learning. It confirms the flexibilised nature of the classroom CoP concept.

Extract 43

Participants: R, Argiroula, Orestis, Stathis and Stavros

Year: 5

Interview

- 21 R Σας μαθαίνουν αραβικά;
Do they teach you Arabic?
- 22 Orestis Εγώ έμαθα τους αριθμούς στα αραβικά
I learnt the numbers in Arabic
- 23 Stathis Εγώ ξέρω κακές λέξεις ((γέλια))
I know bad words ((laughter))
- 24 Stavros Εμάθαμε τζαι αραβικό τραγούδι
We **also learnt** an Arabic song
- 25 R Πείτε μου το
Sing it to me
- 26 All
طيري طيري يا عصفورة أنا متلك حلوة صغيرة
طيري طيري يا عصفورة أنا متلك حلوة صغيرة
بركض فوق حفاف الزهر... بحجر ع ميات النهر و بحط بشعري بشورة
Fly fly little bird, I am like you nice and small
Fly fly little bird, I am like you nice and small
I run above the tops of flowers,
I soar over the river waters and I put a flower in my hair

- 27 R Ποιος σας το έμαθε;
Who taught you this?
- 28 Stavros Η κυρία Μίσα και ο κύριος Αντώνης
Ms Mysha and Mr Antonis
- 29 R Τα λόγια τι λένε;
What do the lyrics say?
- 30 Stathis Για ένα πουλί που πετά
For a bird that flies
- 31 Orestis Θα το πούμε όταν έχουμε ξένους στις 28 η πέμπτη τζαι έκτη τάξη
We are singing it on the 28th when we have guests, years five **and** six

By stating that they know how to say the numbers in Arabic (line 22), how to swear in Arabic (line 23), how to sing an Arabic song (lines 24 and 26), and by explaining the meaning of the specific words of the song's lyrics (e.g. 'asfoura' means 'bird'), Cypriot-Greek children revealed their willingness to be part of a multilingual community. They feel the need to externalise their linguistic expertise. By demonstrating their knowledge of Arabic through singing the song, Cypriot-Greek children show that language was not a barrier that would keep them away from socialising with their refugee peers. Hélot and Young (2006) had also observed practices such as singing songs in different languages which led to an awareness of the different features of different languages. The scholars commented that these kinds of practices enable all children to experience the opportunities that a multilingual and multicultural setting can offer. Similarly, in this study, by singing this Arabic song and including Arabic in their repertoire, a flexibilised notion of the CoP concept that goes beyond assimilationist views is being revealed (Haneda, 2006). This struggle for legitimacy is not a fixed one but is constantly changing, and this is the result of the two teachers' enlightened approach towards teaching. In this case, we observe that the majority of the participants learn the minority's linguistic and cultural resource. Not only did they learn the song, but they also showed that they are proud to know how to count and swear in Arabic. This shows that Cypriot-Greek children see Arabic as a tool for coming together and socialising with their refugee peers. The children's motivation and appreciation are clearly encouraged by their teachers' pedagogical activities that support this flexibilised version of the CoP concept.

The following extract comes from an interview with the Cypriot-Greek children and further confirms the children's appreciation of the value of participating in a multilingual setting and the development of their multilingual awareness.

Extract 44

Participants: Stavros, Orestis, Victoria, R

Year: 5

Interview

- 56 R Πόσες γλώσσες ξέρετε;
How many languages do you know?
- 57 Stavros Τρεις. Ξέρω Αγγλικά, λίγο Αραβικά τζαι Ελληνικά
Three. I know English, **a bit of Arabic and Greek**
- 58 Orestis Τζαι Κυπριακά τέσσερα
With Cypriot four
- 59 Stavros Α ναι τζαι Κυπριακά
Aw yes Cypriot **also**
- 60 Victoria Κυπριακά, Αραβικά έτσι τζαι έτσι, Ελληνικά, Αγγλικά τζαι Ρώσικα
Cypriot, Arabic **so and so**, Greek English **and** Russian
- 61 R Πώς νιώθετε που υπάρχουν παιδιά που δεν μιλούν Ελληνικά στην τάξη σας;
How do you feel that there are children that don't speak Greek in your class?
- 62 Stathis Μαθαίνουμε τζαι μιλούμε στα Αραβικά
We **also** learn to speak in Arabic
- 63 Victoria Μαθαίνουμε γλώσσες για να μπορούμε να μιλούμε
We learn languages to communicate

In this extract, we observe Cypriot-Greek children encountering their bilingual identities and acknowledging their rich linguistic repertoires that include '*English, a bit of Arabic, Greek*' (line 57) '*and Cypriot*' (line 58), '*English and Russian*' (line 60). This specific variety that they mention indicates their sensitivity towards the different languages that they experience and which co-exist in their everyday life. Their sensitivity and awareness are further heightened by their agentive response towards my provocative question '*How do you feel that there are*

children that don't speak Greek in your class? (line 61). This question is framed negatively - consciously - as I wanted to understand how children perceive what someone could describe as a negative experience. Interestingly, I did not receive the preferred response, as Stathis (line 62) and Victoria (line 63) do not answer my question. What they do instead is reframing the question and, by doing that, they claim agency regarding the direction of the interview. The children's response indicates that they are already convinced of the value of participating in a multilingual-multicultural context. Children had internalised the school's ethos, as they were clearly being encouraged to meaningfully participate and value their classrooms' linguistic plurality. Specifically, I was informed that children '*learn how to speak in Arabic*' (line 62) and that '*they learn languages to communicate*' (line 63). Line 63 suggests that children consider their awareness of Arabic as an asset which allows them to communicate and, consequently, socialise with their refugee peers. As Hélot and Young (2006) argue, developing cultural and linguistic awareness is not about learning the minority students' dominant language, but it is about coming into contact with and appreciating the richness that multilingual settings offer to learners.

I now move on to another example that features an Arabic game which was turned into a literacy text.

7.1.3 Identifying cultural similarities and differences through games

Seven stones is an Arabic game and became very popular with all children and so Ms Roula decided to put the instructions on the classroom wall display after asking Ayuf, Mahan and Mahmud to write down the rules with the support of Ms Mysha. Even though Mahmud could not fully interact with Ayuf and Mahan, he had knowledge of the rules of the game and was able to contribute. Ms Roula's goal was for the children to produce a procedural text to place emphasis on their writing skills. Furthermore, the aim was the finished literacy text to be used as the main teaching material for teaching the whole classroom the use of procedural texts and the present simple tense. The finished text is presented in the following figure.

1

ΟΔΗΓΙΕΣ ΑΡΑΒΙΚΟΥ ΠΑΙΧΝΙΔΙΟΥ: «ΕΦΤΑ ΠΕΤΡΕΣ»

1. Παίρνω εφτά λεπτές και πλατιές πέτρες.
2. Τις βάζω την μια πάνω από την άλλη μπροστά από έναν τοίχο.
3. Στέκομαι μπροστά από τις πέτρες και μετρώ πέντε βήματα.
4. Βάζω έναν κώνο για να ξέρω την απόσταση.
5. Παίρνω μια μικρή και μαλακή μπάλα.
6. Η δασκάλα μας χωρίζει σε δυο ομάδες των τριών μέχρι δέκα ατόμων στην κάθε ομάδα.
7. Η δασκάλα λέει πια ομάδα θα παίξει πρώτη. Για παράδειγμα η ομάδα Α.
8. Το πρώτο παιδί της ομάδας Α ρίχνει την μπάλα για να ρίξει κάτω τις πέτρες.

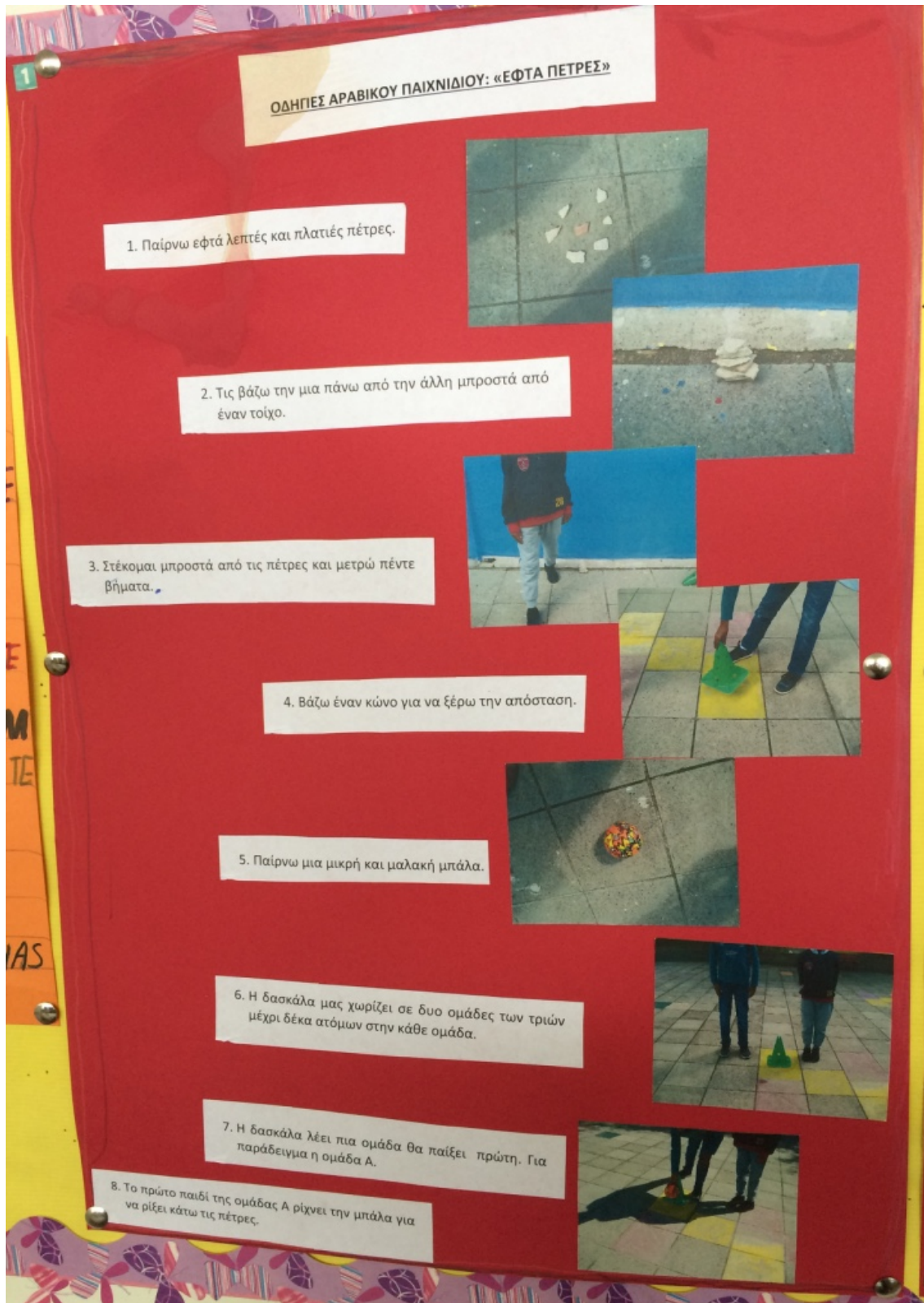


Figure 18: Instructions for the Seven stones game

Instructions for the game: Seven Stones

1. I take seven thin and wide stones
2. I put them on top of each other in front of a wall
3. I stand in front of the stones and I count five steps
4. I put a cone to know the distance
5. I take one small and soft ball
6. The teacher splits us into two groups (three to ten people maximum)
7. The teacher decides which group is playing first. For example group A
8. The first child of group A throws the ball to knock down the stones

Figure 19: Translated Instructions for the Arabic game, Seven stones

Apart from the language objectives, by displaying the poster on the classroom wall, with the intention of teaching the rules of the game, Ms Roula allowed the refugee children's cultural backgrounds not only to become visible but created the appropriate conditions for all children's socialisation. In order for all participants to be able to play the game, refugee children needed to present and explain the rules to them. By presenting and modelling how to play the game, the refugee children's roles within this community were again reversed. They were the ones who were at the centre of the community and the majority of the children needed to find ways to reach them. Regarding refugee children's language learning development, children had the opportunity to relate their known instructions to word meaning and vocabulary, as they had produced the instructions in Greek. Such opportunities allow children to become biliterate as, when dealing with two or more writing systems, children can make connections between their known and unknown vocabulary (Kenner, 2004). As soon as the rules of the game were properly introduced, the children started playing it during break time which led them to an interesting intercultural link. They did not only have different games to exchange, but they also had games in common such as Rock - Paper - Scissors. My fieldnotes and the pictures that I have taken suggest that the children were familiar with this game and it also became very popular among all children. The following figure presents both Cypriot-Greek and refugee children playing the game during break time in the school corridor.



Figure 20: Cypriot-Greek and refugee children playing Rock-Paper-Scissors in both Arabic and Greek

When refugee children and Cypriot-Greek children played the game, they were performing it in the two different languages, Arabic and Greek. By repeating the game in two languages, this was again an intercultural activity that made all children aware of their cultural similarities but it was also used as a tool that stimulated linguistic interaction and, in a way, can be seen as an opportunity to facilitate the learning of basic vocabulary in both Greek and Arabic.

I now turn to the cooking activity where Mahmud's mum was invited to cook an Iranian dish with all the children, which brings to a conclusion the multicultural practices that were developed in the two classrooms.

7.1.4 Cooking an Iranian dish: establishing the classroom's multicultural identity

Another practice that Ms Roula incorporated in one of her attempts to link multiculturalism approaches and teaching was inviting Mahmud's mother to cook rice pilaf with the year 5 children. The children's involvement in cooking an Iranian dish did not only serve the multicultural knowledge exchange but had a language goal, which was to work on imperative verbs, develop vocabulary, and for the children to be able to produce recipe instructions in Greek (production of a procedural text). The activity was organised in the following way.

Mahmud's mother brought her friend who speaks English in order to translate the instructions for Ms Roula. Ms Roula was to translate for the children in Greek. Mahmud's mother was speaking in Farsi so, in this case, for the first time, Mahmud was in a privileged position in having direct access to knowledge. This interactive, translingual activity (operating in three different languages) was an accurate reflection of the emerging collective multilingual identity of this class.

The following figures show children working together cooking an Iranian dish, which they remarked was similar to Cypriot pilaf, with the difference that, in Cyprus, they do not add raisins.



Figure 21: Children cooking with Mahmud's mother



Figure 22: Children preparing the ingredients

The following extract is a part of the fieldnotes that I took on that day, and describes children's interactions.

Extract 45

Participants: year 5 children

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

...Mahmud's mum introduces herself and describes to the teacher the dish that she is cooking today. Her friend translates in English and Ms Roula translates in Greek for all the children. The children seem to be excited and say that they are hungry. Ms Roula divides them into groups and distributes the responsibilities (washing, cutting etc). Mahan and Ayuf are in separate groups. Mahan goes next to Ayuf all the time and whispers something in Arabic while the instructions are being explained. Ayuf responds back. Mahmud seems to be confident and follows the instructions. All the children are excited and compare the dish to the Cypriot pilaf...

06.03.2017

Fieldnotes

The children's interactions and whispers in Arabic may suggest that they were explaining to each other the process or making comments that were related to this cultural practice, or just

talking about things that were not related to the activity. In any case, this kind of engagement, that was close to the interest of all children, sparked their lively interactions. A similar study was conducted by Mills and Mills (1993). They examined a 5-year-old Punjabi learner's language learning practices in an English mainstream primary school. The scholars were interested in the ways his interactions with his peers and teacher supported his English learning. One of the activities observed was cooking a jacket potato. One practice that seemed beneficial for the child was when the other Punjabi speaking children provided the teacher with the equivalent Punjabi cooking words. This enabled Jasdeep to understand the process and, in a way, to associate English cooking instructions with the already known ones. Even though this activity was beneficial in terms of vocabulary development in the target language, it did not directly involve the child's cultural experience in the learning process. On the other hand, Due, Riggs and Augoustinos' (2016) ethnographic study of the Intensive English language programmes for newly arrived migrant and refugee children in Australia, emphasised embedding children's cultural experiences in the learning process. These scholars referred to a similar activity to the one I observed, as, in their study, they described an activity where a child's father comes and prepares a dish from his home country, Sri Lanka, with the children. The scholars claim that this kind of activity was not only used as a springboard for supporting children's English vocabulary (terms for food preparation) but it was also a practice where children brought 'their own culture, background and experiential knowledge into the classes' (ibid, p. 1290). However, this good practice did not take place in a mainstream class but in a 'special class' that was designed to accommodate the needs of newly arrived migrant and refugee children. In my study, refugee children had the opportunity to bring their cultural knowledge into the mainstream classroom which not only led to all children's enhancement of Greek but also to the appreciation of their culture by all of their peers. On a second level of analysis, this practice offered the opportunity for refugee children to come closer to their Cypriot-Greek peers in the sense that this exchange of knowledge constructed a new community where all the members equally offered their expertise. As mentioned earlier in the literature review, Lave and Wenger (1991) claim that when newcomers engage in legitimate peripheral participation, in this case, cultural experience, then this later leads to their full participation in the new community. But it is not only refugee's children's participation that was evolving. It was both Cypriot-Greek children and teachers' who also legitimised their own participation through this practice as they needed - themselves - to learn how to participate in this activity that involved Farsi as the main medium of instruction. In a way, we see the minority, in this case, Mahmud, becoming the core member and the majority of the participants trying to grasp the tools when it comes to language access so that the knowledge be shared between them. It can be said that, in a multilingual setting, it is necessary for the roles to be flexibilised or reversed

as, in this way, any power tensions can be limited, which results in a more inclusive learning environment.



Figure 23: Children enjoying the Iranian rice pilaf during free activities

Up to this point, we have seen that creating a multilingual and multicultural context does not presuppose teaching the minority language as, in this case, it would be practically impossible, and it is not the educational aim. However, by valuing all children's languages during teaching time and by using cultural artefacts and literacies to include languages other than Greek, teachers offer opportunities for socially situated activities that allow children to make meaningful contributions that result in the enhancement of the target language (Hélot & Young, 2006; Kirsch, 2008). This finding contradicts Theodorou's (2011) and Papamichael's (2011) findings on teachers' marginalised practices and ideologies towards minority children. In this study, the two teachers were transforming their classrooms into multilingual and multicultural sites and were creating opportunities for language learning and social participation for all children. It seems to be crucial to have a flexibilised version of the CoP concept because, in multilingual and multicultural settings, a static CoP frame would not allow space for all children's linguistic and cultural resources to become visible and utilised for the benefit of all. By putting refugee children at the centre of interaction, all children were empowered to experience learning as a dynamic process where both Cypriot-Greek and

refugee children become, in different instances, the experts and the peripheral learners because their roles could be reversed.

The second part of chapter seven focuses on the semiotic resources that were utilized in this school and which also supported the refugee children's learning and social participation.

7.2 Mobilising semiotic resources: when the linguistic mode is not enough

Drawing on the claim that human communication is multimodal in the sense that it does not only rely on one mode - the linguistic - but involves other modes such as images, moving images, gestures and gaze (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), this section focuses on the 'multiplicity of modes, all of which contribute to meaning' (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010, p.183), as means for participants to find a common ground to communicate. By semiotic resources, I refer to the use of both linguistic and non-linguistic features that were available or were developed within the school and classroom environment to enable refugee children to enrich their learning of Greek and feel welcomed and valued in their new community. In chapter three, I drew attention to the semiotic nature of communication and here, I elaborate on these ideas given the nature of the data I present. In this section, I firstly refer to the school's linguistic landscape as this is a key element in the construction of an overt multilingual and multicultural environment that implies the school's inclusive policy. I then turn to the use of images and how they were exploited during teaching as mediational tools that resulted in a better teaching experience of Greek for all children. I conclude the chapter with the use of gestures which, similarly to images, were used as mediational tools for conveying meaning.

7.2.1 Kilada's multilingual landscape: a reflection on its social inclusion policy

Kilada primary school had a strong multilingual landscape which includes the school's entrance, corridors and the two classroom wall displays. Cenoz and Gorter (2008, p. 267) argue that 'the linguistic landscape has a symbolic and informative function and it is multimodal, because it combines visual and printed texts, and multilingual, because it uses several languages'. Drawing on this notion, this part of the thesis looks at the potentials that Kilada's multilingual landscape is geared towards the development of an inclusive social policy. It also examines how this multimodal surrounding creates opportunities for reflection on the target language for all children.

The following figure illustrates the school's entrance. It is accompanied by a note that is written in both Arabic (on the left) and Greek (on the right) which says: 'Please close the door'.



Figure 24: School entrance sign

By illustrating Greek and Arabic at the school doorway, the school sends a very clear message to staff members, parents and children that this school is not just for monolingual speakers. The school implicitly lays out its strong ethos on diversity. The whole entry is curated to send a clear message that Arabic and Greek are of equal importance and status in this school. When analysing the linguistic landscape, it is necessary to take into consideration its multimodal nature (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) and that is why I draw on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) analytical approach to the grammar of the visual to discuss how the combination and placement of different modes confirms the school's social inclusion policy. I consider the choice of the linguistic, gaze and the colour modes important elements for meaning construction.

Regarding the linguistic choice in figure 24, I observe that this institution has chosen Arabic and Greek to simultaneously be displayed at the entrance door despite the MoEC's position of schools following a monolingual and monocultural model. This school did not prioritise

Greek over Arabic, but it took into account its population's linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Using the multimodal terminology, it can be also said that the font size and colour of both languages are the same. That means that there was no intention of promoting one language over the other. This is an inclusive sign that was intended to assign equal status to the languages used by the school's children. In this vein, it can be observed that Arabic is not positioned under Greek, as such a display could lead to a hierarchical distinction between the two languages. In fact, both languages are positioned in line (parallel) which indicates their equity in the school sphere. Displaying such signs is likely to make refugee children feel welcomed and undergo a smooth entrance into their learning community.

Another site of Kilada's multilingual landscape can be found on year 5's walls, where Ms Roula had signposted some of the classroom's main objects in the three prevailing languages, Greek, Arabic and English. The incorporation of these three languages reflects the school's desire for a collective multilingual identity.



Figure 25: Trilingual sign for a fan



Figure 26: Trilingual sign for a bookshelf

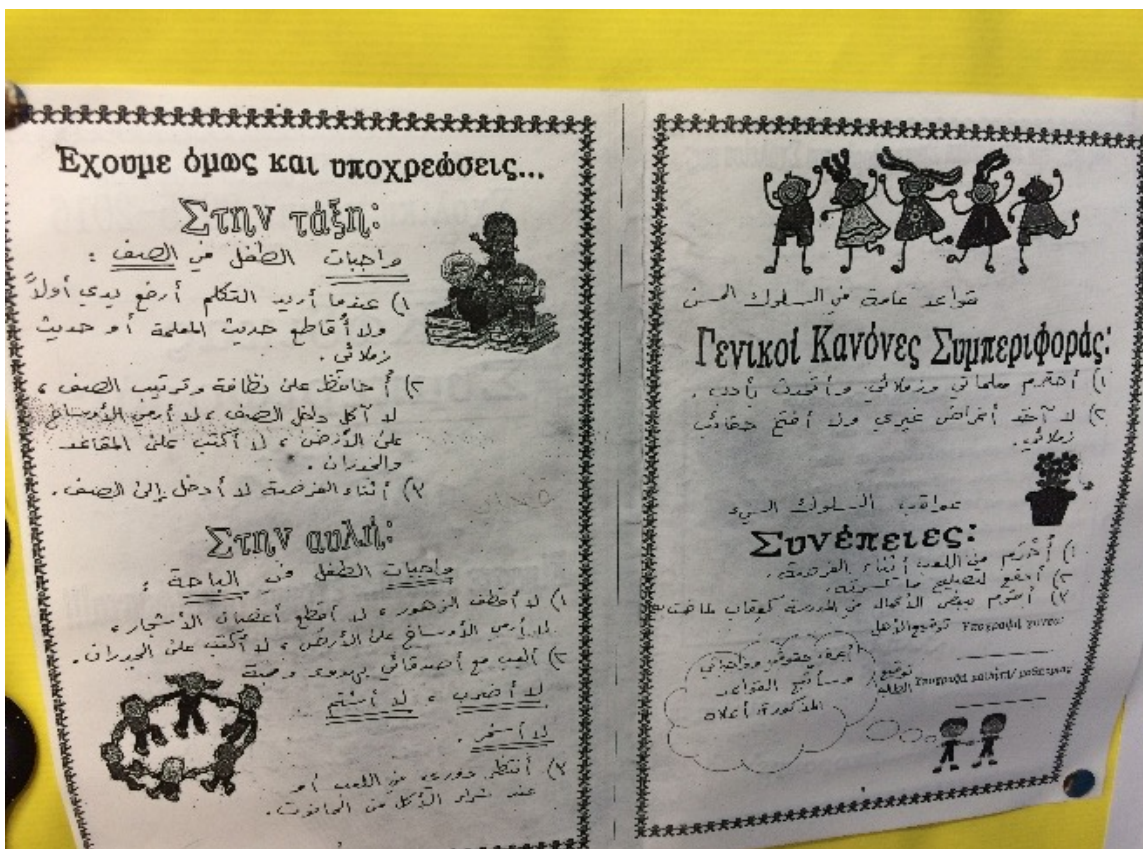


Figure 27: Sign for the General Rules of Behaviour

The inclusion of three languages on these signs reflects the multilingual reality of the children of this school and school's sensitivity towards their linguistic backgrounds. By writing in three different languages, the meaning of the objects does not only serve an informational function, but it certainly also represents a symbolic one (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). According to Cenoz and Gorter (2006), the linguistic landscape of a context reflects its language policies and the status given to its different languages. Regarding figures 25 and 26, the order in which the three languages are presented goes like this. Firstly, there is Greek, the language that is the official medium of instruction and carries an authoritative connotation, followed by English which is the common language that was used between participants and finally, Arabic, the other prevailing language in the school's linguistic sphere. In this case, the order that the three languages are placed in may suggest a hierarchy between them, but this does not take away from the school's attempt to promote linguistic equity. Figure 27 represents the *General Rules of Behaviour*. This is featured on the classroom display. What is interesting is that the headings are written in Greek, followed by the rules that are written in Arabic. The same rules were also put on the wall in Greek. By bringing the two languages together in a text, the teacher further supports the idea of the flexible integration of the two languages, as this text reflects children's linguistic trajectories (Busch, 2015).

It can be said that this school supported a multilingual approach to teaching by which I understand that it did not aim at teaching the minority language, but allowed it to be visible and purposefully incorporated into the classroom's landscape (Hélot & Young, 2006). By following this approach, Kilada sets the foundations for a real application of what the MoEC supposedly argues as intercultural education. As previously seen, these messages were not only being displayed for the sake of displaying them, as teachers and children were acting upon a multilingual approach to teaching and learning.

The following figures, 28, 29 and 30, represent some of the posters that were created by year 5 children for an educational project that they prepared with their teacher, Mr Roula, for children's rights, in collaboration with the *Cypriot Commissioner for Children's Rights*. These posters were displayed in a museum in the capital city of Cyprus (Nicosia). The posters are accompanied by slogans and were, again, displayed in the school's corridors.

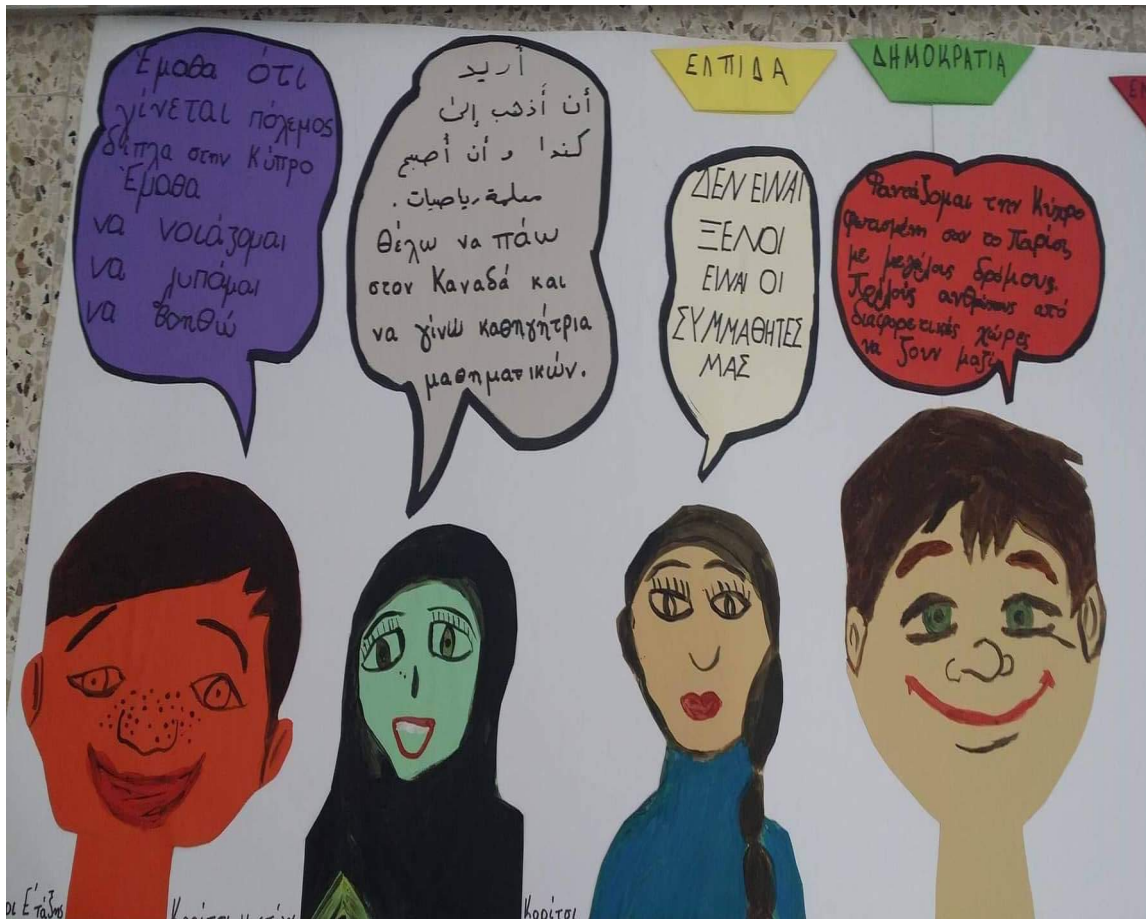


Figure 28: Poster

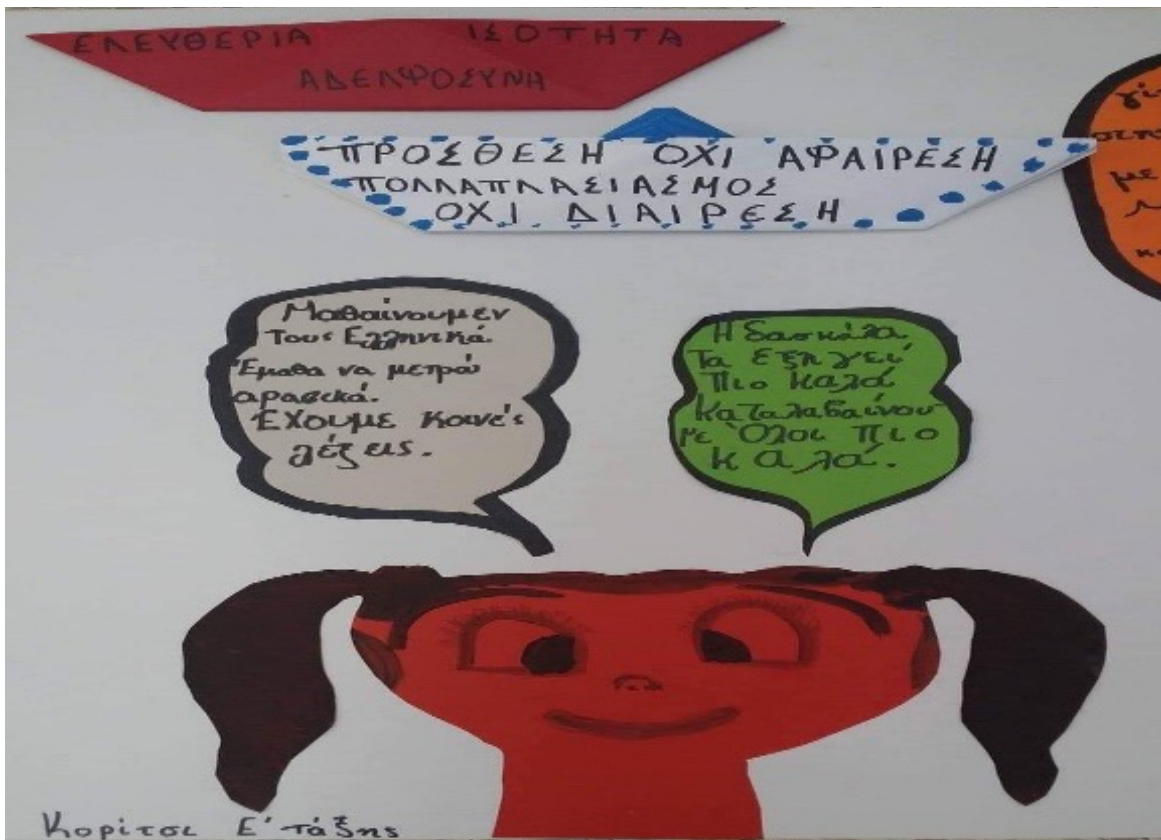


Figure 29: Poster

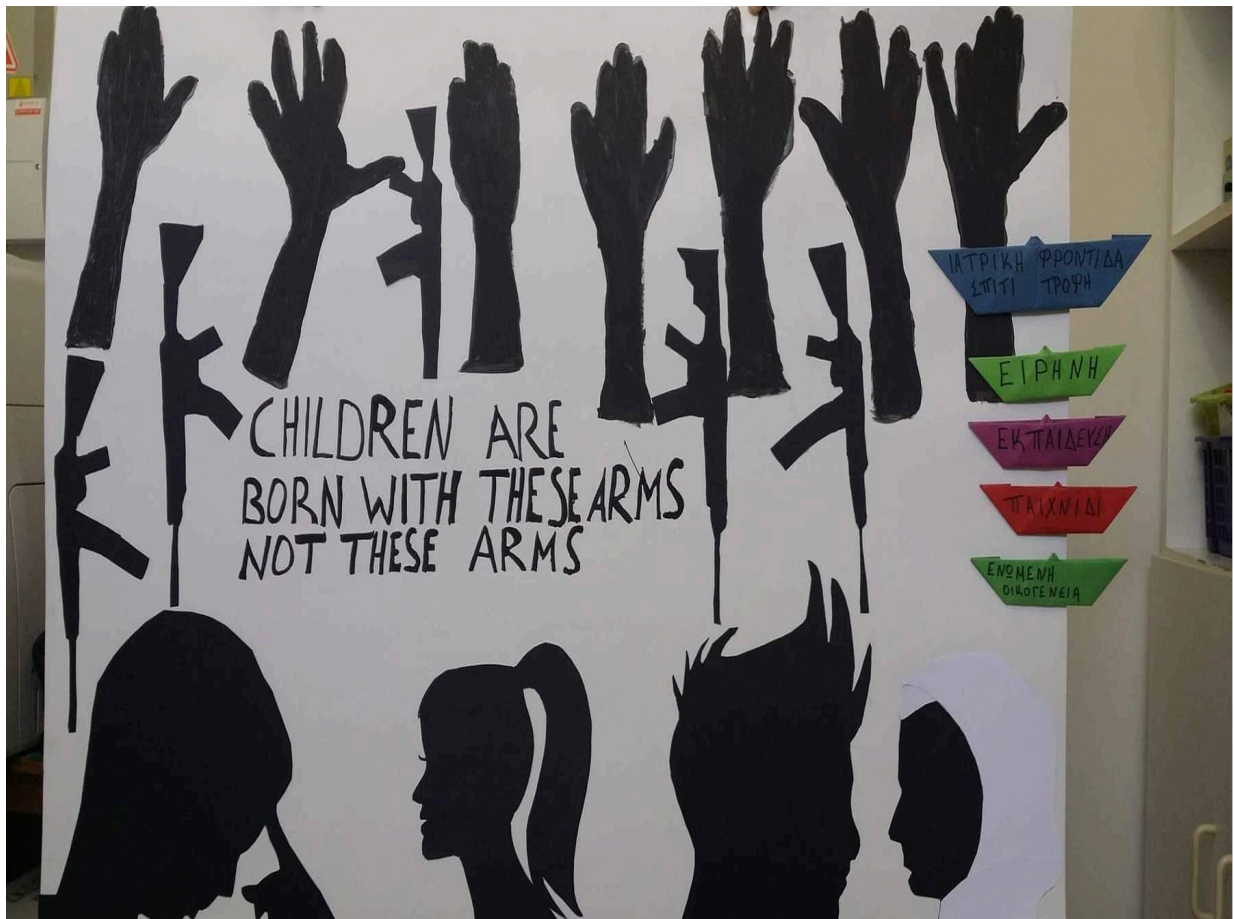


Figure 30: Poster

Figure 28 comprises of four types of children: two Cypriot and two Arabic learners (two boys and two girls) who occupy half the space, depicted in a close up shot and staring the viewer directly in the eyes. From left to right, there is a Cypriot-Greek boy, a refugee girl, a Cypriot-Greek girl and a refugee boy. The speech bubbles above the children's heads represent their feelings and thoughts and are hand-written by the children themselves. The first child (on the left) says in Greek: 'I found out that a war is happening next to Cyprus. I learnt to care, to be able to help'. The second bubble is written in Arabic and then translated into Greek: 'I want to go to Canada to be a Mathematics professor'. The third bubble says in Greek: 'They are not strangers they are our classmates' and, finally, the last one says: 'I imagine Cyprus like Paris with big roads and many people from different countries all living together'. Above the speech balloons, there are two slogans written in Greek in capital letters: 'Hope' and 'Democracy'. The language of multimodal analysis shows us that the selection of the linguistic code, the way the children are portrayed (gaze towards the viewer), and the selection of colour all constitute a very carefully constructed image that tries to send a clear message to the viewer. The selection of both Arabic and Greek being embedded in this literacy text that will be exhibited and seen by the island's authority figures sends the

message that these languages are of equal importance for this institution. If the Arabic language was absent, then the message would be totally different, with issues of marginalisation of one community becoming visible. By displaying the different scripts of two different languages (Arabic and Greek), the children were encouraged to experience the classrooms as sites of multilingualism where their repertoires were appreciated. Cypriot-Greek children's texts indicate their empathy and support towards their refugee peers and refugee children's texts signal their aspirations and hopes for a better future that they built while being in Cyprus. The two slogans written with capital letters (hope and democracy), further reinforce the inclusive ethos of the institution. Regarding gaze, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), when a represented participant meets the viewer's gaze, then it is a way to demand from the viewer to be in a close imaginary relationship with them. Thus, the producers of this poster call upon the viewers to be part of this symbolic relationship and be included in this dialogic analysis of their portraits. The children's smiles are intended to show that children are happy despite their differences. The children also feel comfortable enough to portray their cultural differences, as we observe the addition of the hijab but also the choice of the colour for their skin representation. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, colour can signal people's identity as 'it is used by people to present themselves and the values they stand for' (ibid, p. 230). By choosing lighter and darker colours to represent their skins, children embrace their differences. What is interesting is that the Cypriot-Greek boy (left) has darker skin than the refugee boy (right), which challenges the perceived stereotype of refugees having darker skin than Cypriots.

Figure 29 is part of the poster and focuses on one participant's close-up. The participant uses the Cypriot dialect to state that: 'We teach them Greek. I learnt how to count in Arabic. We have similar words' and 'The teacher explains it better; we all understand better'. Again, the choice of the language, and, specifically, the use of the dialect, indicates that children are very much aware of their own linguistic diversity and this choice may imply their sensitivity towards other languages. The content of the child's ideas establishes their school and teachers' enlightened approach towards learning as something often perceived as a problem: the addition of children that have other languages than the society's main language, in fact, it can be perceived as a form of enrichment. As the child points out, *we all understand better*. The child also embraces her multilingual awareness, as she wants to place emphasis on her ability to count in Arabic, which shows that she considers multilingualism as an asset. She also makes an important observation that reveals her awareness of the languages she experiences, as the phrase '*We have similar words*' suggests that the girl wants to highlight their similarities. These can also be found at a language level (see extract 8 for an example). Above the speech bubbles, we observe a

slogan in capital letters stating, 'Addition not Subtraction, Multiplication and not Division' and above it 'Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood'. Both slogans have the same font size and are written in capital letters which further places emphasis on the content of the message. The choice of the first slogan indicates a combination of the language of mathematics (pedagogical subject) with the language of inclusivity (social message). Both slogans serve the same goal, which is to indicate the inclusive ethos that this institution carries.

The last figure, 30, illustrates four shades representing Cypriot and refugee children facing each other. The contradiction of children's arms and guns sends the messages of peace and the boat-shaped creations send the message of 'medical care, home and food' 'peace' 'education' 'play' and 'united family'. The choice of the linguistic mode in this case is significant as the slogans are written in English. The choice of English suggests a need for a wider recognition and acceptance of the message (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), as these posters are not only being displayed in the school, but they have also been presented in a museum in the capital city of Cyprus. Thus, the message is intended for a wider audience and for formal authorities to take into account the basic needs of children who are neglected by the system for the most part (Spaneas, Cochliou, Zachariades, Neocleous & Apostolou, 2018). The selection of black and white as the main colours contrasts with the colourful boat-shaped creations that carry the social messages. The black and white represent reality and the colour represents the signs of hope. This choice may suggest that there is a struggle between reality and what needs to be done. The absence of gaze between the represented participants and the viewers, or as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) call this kind of image, the 'offer', may indicate the creators' intention to place emphasis on the written mode of the produced text as it invites the viewer to pay attention to children's rights to medical care, education and a united family.

The language of the multimodal analysis showed that the linguistic landscape of this school indexes its welcoming and respectful character. It can be said that the school's linguistic landscape was part of its hidden curriculum which was promoted through these actions. The choice of the linguistic mode shows that one language did not diminish the other. It also showed how a school's linguistic landscape can become a pedagogical tool that promotes multilingual awareness. The absence or presence of gaze and colour indicated the different intentions of the creators to send strong and clear messages. Similar findings can be found in Kirsch's (2008) study on teaching foreign languages in primary school. Kirsch claims that having multilingual displays of children's authentic work can be used as a useful resource for developing multilingual and multicultural awareness, as it can be a stimulating resource for developing children's positive attitudes to language and language learning. For example, by

placing Arabic and Greek next to each other, Cypriot-Greek and refugee children can become aware of different linguistic aspects such as issues of directionality and script formation. Regarding cultural aspects, all children become aware of their differences in, for example, cultural characteristics (hijab) and similarities (same aspirations).

I now analyse a prevailing mode that was used during teaching to assist meaning representation, the use of images.

7.2.2 Use of images: relating meaning to a visual artefact

In a setting where the monolingual tradition is challenged, other modes of communication become more visible (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Flewitt, 2006). In this case, the use of images had a distinct role in meaning making for supporting refugee children's participation in the learning process. However, it proved that not only refugee children were benefiting from the use of visual aids, but the lessons became more interesting and useful for all learners. In this study, not only the teachers were using visual aids but also children themselves to assist and communicate with each other.

The following extract shows Cypriot-Greek children's sophisticated understanding of the nature of human communication and, in this case, how they perceive the mediating role of images when supporting their refugee peers in meaning making processes.

Extract: 46

Participants: Orestis, Stathis, Argiroula, Researcher

Year: 5

Interview

- | | | |
|----|-----------|---|
| 52 | R | Εσείς πώς τους μαθαίνετε Ελληνικά;
How do you teach them Greek? |
| 53 | Orestis | Ασπούμε την μπάλα, δείχνουμε τους τζαι λαλούμε τους φέρμου την μπάλα
Let's say the ball, we show them the ball and we tell them bring me the ball |
| 54 | Stathis | Τζαι λαλούν μου τι εν τούτο τζαι λαλώ τους ball τζαι μαθαίνουν
And they say to me what is this and I tell them ball and they learn |
| 55 | Argiroula | Σε μια ιστορία ασπούμε, μπορεί να ζωγραφίσουμε την ιστορία για να καταλάβουν
For example, in a story we can draw them the story to understand |

In my question about how they teach Greek to their refugee peers (line 52), Orestis claims that by pointing out an object (ball) and providing the direct quote, they help their peers to enrich their vocabulary (line 53). Argiroula refers to the incorporation of drawing, in order to explain to their peers, the meaning of the story (line 55). By using a ball, Orestis orients learning towards play as he does not give a classroom example. He uses a play example – playing with the refugee children – that is a non-pedagogical activity and he implicitly indexes socialising with them. Through socialisation, Orestis will be able to teach his friends new vocabulary. He sees play as leading to learning and socialisation as leading to learning and the teaching that he does facilitates socialisation with his peers. Argiroula’s comment ‘*we can draw them the story to understand*’ (line 55) indicates her own understanding of the multimodal nature of communication and how, in the absence of the linguistic mode, other modes become more salient (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Argiroula indicates that the use of images is a powerful mediational tool to associate vocabulary with meaning.

The following extract highlights the reciprocal learning and teaching processes that children were experiencing which, again, challenges the linear understanding of the CoP concept, as refugee children also drew on the use of image to teach their peers Arabic vocabulary.

Extract 47

Participants: Christophoros, R

Year: 5

Interview

- | | | |
|----|---------------|--|
| 55 | Christophoros | Κυρία τζαι μεις ξέρουμε κάποιες λέξεις στα αραβικά

Ms we also know some words in Arabic |
| 56 | R | Ήντα λέξεις;

What kind of words? |
| 57 | Christophoros | Κυρία ξέρουμε το γουρούνι

Ms we know the word pig |
| 58 | R | Ήνταλος τζαι εμάθαν σας τες;

How come they taught these? |
| 59 | Christophoros | Κυρία μπορεί να χρωματίζαμε κάτι τζαι ασπούμε να μας ελαλούσαν
<hadzi> έτσι

Ms we may colouring something and let’s say they were telling us
<hadzi> like this |

In their attempt to showcase their linguistic awareness, Cypriot-Greek children provide examples where the roles of peripheral and established or novice and expert participants are being reversed (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In line 59, Christophoros explains that refugee children were also drawing on the use of images to teach their Cypriot-Greek peers Arabic vocabulary. Cypriot-Greek children invited the refugee children's desire for linguistic exchange and, at some level, became the peripheral participants and refugee children the expert ones. This kind of participation suggests that refugee children also related learning with socialisation and, also, that their desire and agentive role was being reinforced by the teachers and the school's enlightened approach to teaching. In both extracts, 46 and 47, children highly valued and considered the use of images as the best way to support each other's understanding considering vocabulary and showcase their linguistic expertise.

The following extract portrays Ms Roula's theory of teaching and learning which contradicts the sadly pervasive racist discourse that everybody is being dragged down to the level of the refugee. Ms Roula is a convincing example of how multimodal teaching benefits all learners.

Extract 48

Participants: TR, R
Interview

23 R Γιατί θεωρείτε πλεονέκτημα την πολυπολιτισμικότητα και πολυγλωσσία που υπάρχει στην τάξη σας;

Why do you consider multiculturalism and multilingualism as an advantage for your classroom?

24 TR Καταρχήν, κάμνω πιο καλόν μάθημαν για να καταλαβαίνουν όλοι καλύτερα άρα χρησιμοποιώ πιο πολλές μεθόδους διδασκαλίας τις οποίες ίσως να μεν έπρεπε να σκεφτώ αν είχα μόνον ελληνόφωνα παιδιά. Άρα έτσι όλοι εκτίθενται σε περισσότερους τρόπους διδασκαλίας ή διαφορετικές μεθόδους οι οποίοι μπορεί να αφορούν όχι μόνον την ακοή τους αλλά και την όρασή τους δηλαδή διδασκαλία με εικόνες με βίντεο άρα γίνεται το μάθημα πολυτροπικό.

First of all, **I do a better lesson**, so as for everyone to be able to understand so I incorporate more teaching methods which I **wouldn't have thought about** if I was only having Greek speaking children. Therefore, everyone is exposed in more teaching practices or teaching methods which relates not only to listening but visual skills as well which means teaching with images and videos transforms the lesson into a multimodal one.

- 25 R Όσον αφορά τις πρακτικές που αναπτύσσεις για να μάθουν Ελληνικά τούντα μωρά. Επρόσεξα διάφορα πράγματα. Δηλαδή το ότι αναδεικνύεις την γλώσσαν τους αφήνεις τους να εκφράζονται στην γλώσσα τους το να συνεργάζονται το να βοηθά ο ένας τον άλλον
- As far as the practices you develop so as **these** children to learn Greek. I have noticed so many things. You allow their language to be visible, **you let them express themselves**, they work with each other, they help each other
- 26 TR Ναι, έσσειε πολλά πράματα. Η ορθογραφία με εικόνες, εμ πολλά βίντεο, να ζωγραφίσουν την ανάγνωση τους. Εντάξει διώ έμφασην όμως στο μάθημα έννεν απλώς όλα ξέρεις δημιουργικά άνευ στόχου. Ο στόχος είναι να μάθουν τζαι να φτάσουν σε έναν καλόν επίπεδον τζαι στα μαθηματικά τζαι στη γλώσσα...
- Yes, **there are many things**. The orthography with pictures, em many videos, to draw their reading. Ok **I give** emphasis on the actual lesson **it's not just** everything about creativity without any goal. The goal is to learn and to reach at a good level both in mathematics and language...

Ms Roula's response to my answer regarding why she considers multiculturalism and multilingualism as an asset reveals her multimodal approach to teaching, meaning the potentials created by the incorporation of multiple modes. In line 24, Ms Roula highlights the usefulness of drawing on different modes that not only support refugee children's learning but the learning for all students. She also claims that this approach to teaching makes her lessons better as she provides opportunities to everyone to be exposed to multiple teaching practices that will support their listening and visual skills. The teacher suggests that the use of images provides children with the necessary information in order to associate the image to the meaning of the word. Ms Roula carries on and explains that she does not expect that the linguistic part will be the refugee children's dominant mode, and thus she develops alternative forms of assessment such as the drawing of pictures to assess refugee children's orthography (line 26). Her theory of teaching opposes the racist discourse around the issues of seeing migrant and refugee children as burdens upon the learning process that every child remains at the level of the migrant children. Her teaching reveals the exact opposite, as she claims that the addition of these children in the classroom accommodates the needs of all the children. Her comment 'I wouldn't have thought about' (line 24) is in fact an assessment of the affordances that such a multilingual setting has to offer for meaning making processes (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The presence of the migrant children, she is suggesting, produces more inventive teaching on her part, which, crucially, all learners benefit from.

Figures 31, 32 and 33 confirm Ms Roula's application of the multimodal approach to teaching. Figures 32 and 33 are part of her teaching materials that were produced to support refugee children to associate word meaning with an image, and to pay attention to writing and orthography. Figure 34 comes from Mr Grigoris and further supports the ethos that lies behind the teaching approach of the two teachers.

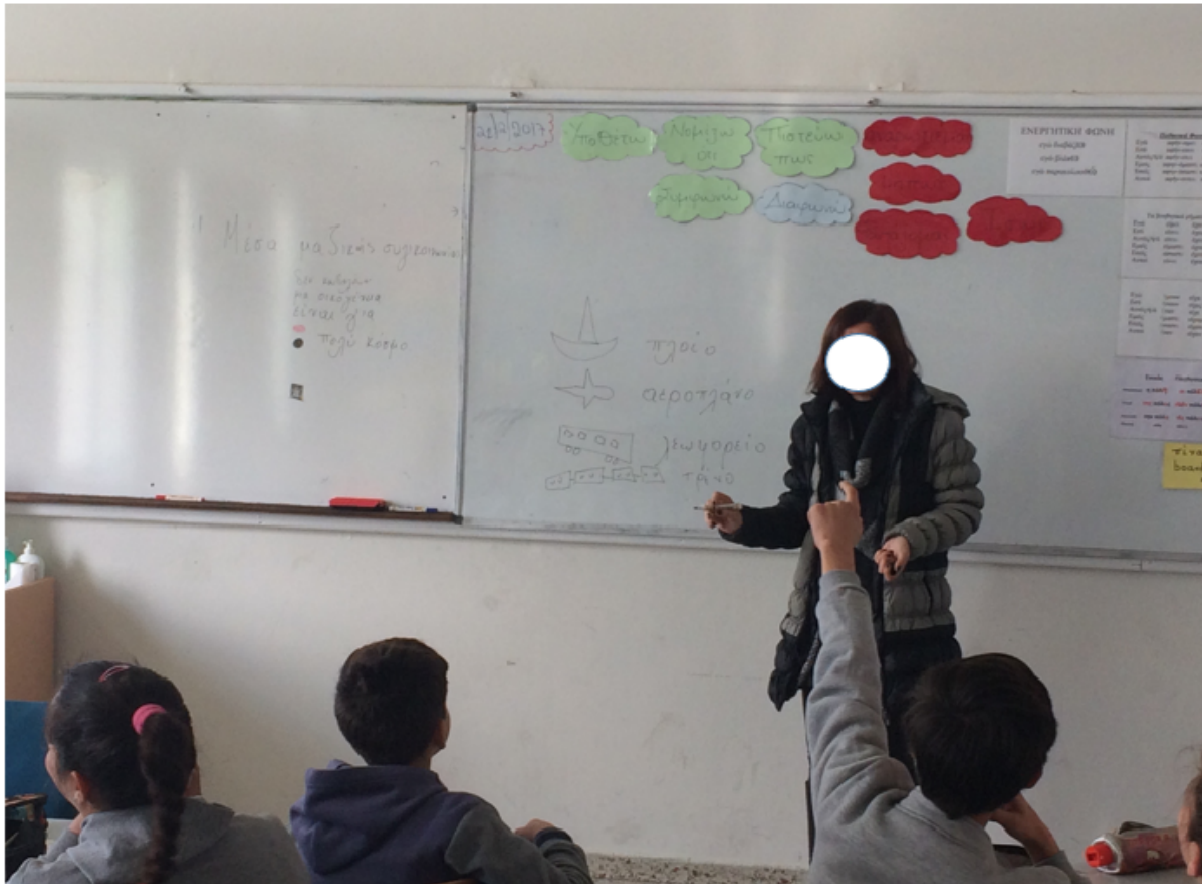


Figure 31: Ms Roula teaching vocabulary through using images



Figure 32: Image representing an anchor

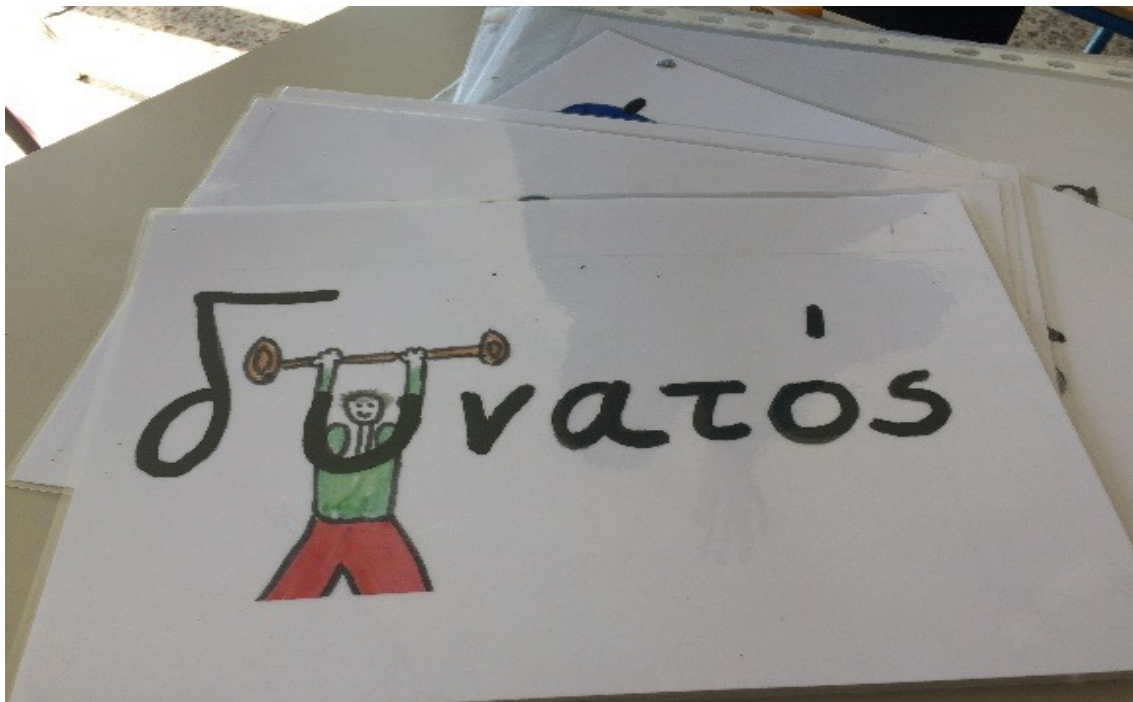


Figure 33: Image representing the adjective 'strong'

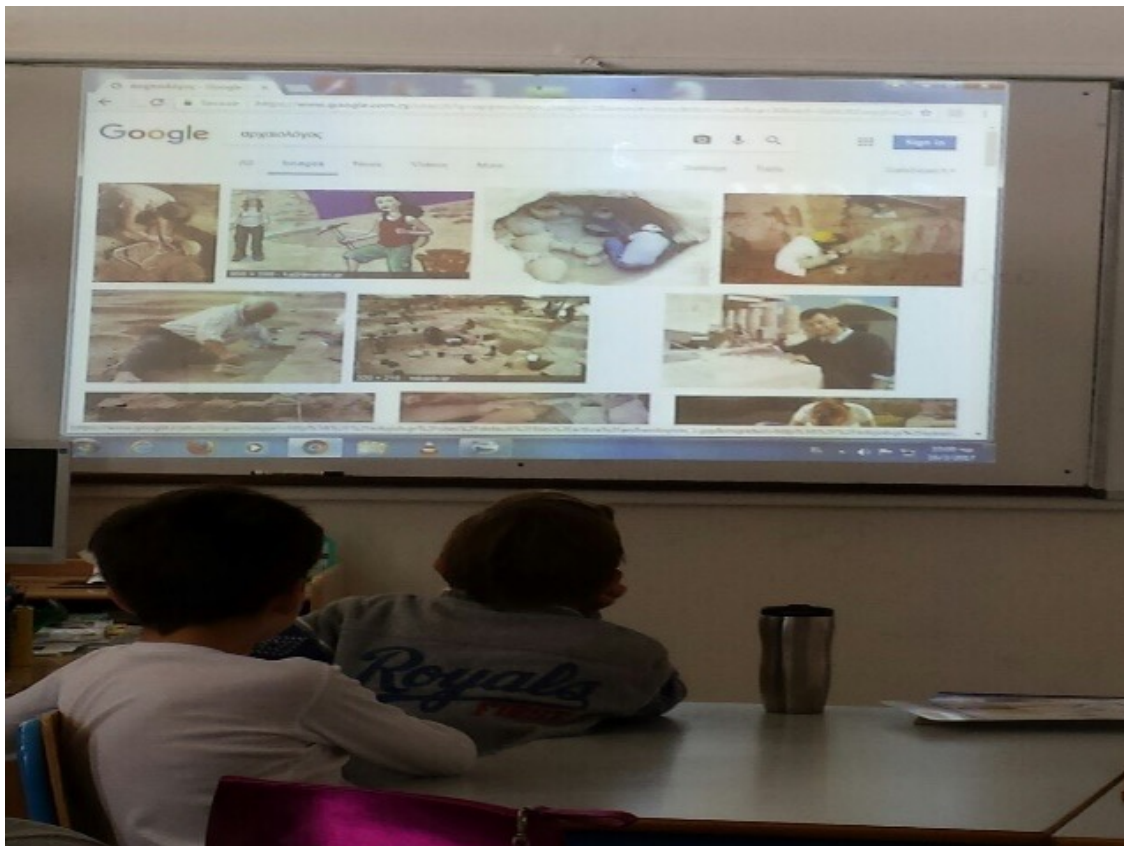


Figure 34: Image representing an archaeologist

Figure 31 was taken during a Greek lesson and the focus was on teaching the different means of public transportation. In order to support the refugee children's understanding of the new vocabulary, Ms Roula spontaneously drew next to each of the means (ship, airplane, bus and train) the relevant image.

Figures 32 and 33 show some of the laminated images that Ms Roula created in order to place emphasis on writing and orthography. By providing images during teaching, Ms Roula scaffolds children's Greek learning as these images were later used to support children's writing activities. In figure 32, the represented word is the word *anchor*, and the focus is on the formation of letter <u>. To further allow children to connect the orthography with the word, Ms Roula creatively formed the letter <u> in the shape of an anchor. The same goes for the word *strong*, represented in figure 33 that also contains the letter <u>. Similarly, the shape of letter <u> illustrates a barbell so the children can easily make the connection and retrieve the newly taught vocabulary.

Figure 34 comes from a classroom lesson where Mr Grigoris made use of Google Translate's function to easily retrieve an image to represent the meaning of the word *archaeologist*, which was unknown for the majority of the children, as they had confusing ideas about what an archaeologist is and does.

Figures 31, 32, 33 and 34 are illustrative examples of the two teachers' sophisticated multimodal approach. The teachers understand that they need to teach meaning and script to children who are not speakers of Greek. There is a long tradition in language teaching literature supporting the importance of the visual for second language learning. In his book titled, *The construction of English: culture, consumerism and promotion in the ELT global coursebook*, Gray (2010) provides a historical account of the theorisation of the visual in language teaching textbooks. Gray goes back to Corder (1966), who was one of the first applied linguists to theorise the role of the visual element in language teaching, to Howatt (1984) who talked about the use of visual materials during the 17th century and, more recently, to Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, 2006) and their multimodal framework for analysing multimodal texts. Goldstein (2008), a recent scholar, also highlights the educational role of images in language learning contexts. In his book, *Working with Images: A resource book for the language classroom*, Goldstein provides many practical examples of how to use images to teach grammar (e.g. modal verbs, tenses, adverbs), the alphabet to younger learners and for teaching basic vocabulary (greetings, food, numbers). Ms Roula is an appropriate example that corresponds to Goldstein's suggestions for the meaningful integration of images during language teaching. Ms Roula explores all her available resources that put image at the centre of her teaching and that result in an engaging lesson for all learners.

The next extract presents an application of the integration of images during a Greek lesson in year 5.

Extract 49

Participants: TR, Mahan, L (unknown learner)

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 58 | TR | <p>πριγκίπισσα (3) θάλασσα/ αύριον η δουλειά σας είναι να μου βρείτε πεντε
 princess (3) sea/ tomorrow your job is to find five</p> |
| 59 | | <p>θηλυκά που έχουν δυο σ (.) δυο σ/ η μέλισσα ξέρεις τι είναι? ((μιλά στο Μάχμουτ))
 female that have double s (.) two s/ do you know what bee is? ((talks to Mahmud))</p> |
| 60 | L | <p>=τι;=
 =what?=
 </p> |

- 61 TR =αυτή είναι η μέλισσα (1) και ΤΣΙΜΠΑ/ κάτσε να σου τη δείξω σε εικόνα
(.) ((τα παιδιά κοιτάζουν για εικόνα στα παραμύθια της βιβλιοθήκης))
=this is the bee (1) and it STINGS/ let me show it to you in an image (.)
((children are looking for an image in the library))
- 62 =έτην/μέλισσα/ ξέρεις τι είναι η μέλισσα/ άτε Μάχαν βοήθα/
=**here it is**/ bee/you know what bee is/ **come on** Mahan help/
- 63 λοιπόν Χρίστο διάβαζε οκ; (5)/ εκατάλαβες Μάχμουντ;=
well Christos read ok? (5)/ Mahmud did you understand? =
- 64 Mahmud =μέλισσα/
=bee/

This extract highlights the practice of multimodal vocabulary explanation during teaching. Ms Roula's aim is to include all children in the learning process. When she realises that some of her children lack basic vocabulary, she turns to the use of image to provide Mahmud access to lexical items (line 61). Mahmud's repetition of the unknown lexical item (line 64) shows his conscious active engagement, as the only times he could signal his participation in classroom interactions was when a multimodal approach was integrated. This kind of interpretation is aligned with studies focusing on the development of multimodal materials for bilingual learners. These studies suggest that the appropriate use of images support children's vocabulary learning (Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn & Tsatsarelis, 2001; Moses, 2015). Kress *et al's.* (2001) ethnographic study, examined how year 7 students conceptualise learning through using images and other modes in science classrooms. Through the analysis of classroom video recordings and interviews with students and teachers, the researchers found that when multiple modes were meaningfully combined (colour, gaze, spatial dimension), then more opportunities for students to engage in a transformative process that allowed them to understand scientific concepts occurred. The scholars call for educators to participate in a sign-making process with their students to respond to the multimodal nature of human communication and learning. Despite their findings considering the teaching of the science subject, they can also be applied to other subjects, especially in classrooms where children who are recent arrivals participate and the linguistic cannot be the main medium of communication.

The final semiotic resource that was utilised by the learners was the use of gestures, which were predominantly used by Cypriot-Greek children to mediate their peers' understanding.

7.2.3 Use of gestures: relating meaning to physical action

Within the SCT literature regarding second language learning, gesture is considered to have a mediational function (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Rosborough, 2014; van Compernelle & Smotrova, 2014) as it is believed to be related to thought and language, 'that is, internalising the L2 through embodied processes' (McCafferty, 2004, p. 148). For example, gestures including pointing, touching, and bodily movements were observed while Cypriot-Greek children tried to represent meaning to their refugee peers, and, thus, gestures served as mediational tools in the refugee children's self-regulation process, meaning gaining control over their Greek learning.

The following extract comes from the year 5 Cypriot-Greek children's group interview where I ask how communication is achieved between them and their refugee peers. Children unintentionally discuss Total Physical Response teaching methods.

Extract 50

Participants: R, Argiroula, Stathis, Stavros

Year: 5

Interview

- 20 R Εσείς πώς μιλάτε μαζί τους;
How do you speak with them?
- 21 Stavros Αγγλικά, Ελληνικά
English, Greek
- 22 Argiroula Μιλούμε με απλές λέξεις τζαι κάμνουμε τζαι απλές ερωτήσεις τζαι δείχνουμε τους για να συνεννοηθούμε
We use simple words **and we ask** simple questions **and** we point out to communicate
- 23 R Πώς συνεννοάστε με το Μάχμουτ;
How do you **communicate** with Mahmud?
- 24 Stathis Μιλούμε στα Αγγλικά, μπορεί να μιλήσουμε με νοήματα
We speak in English, we may use gestures

In my question about how they communicate with their refugee peers (line 20), Cypriot-Greek children list a number of practices that they draw on, but the use of gestures seemed to play a prevailing role (lines 22 and 24). In the two different instances, Argiroula and Stathis, in lines 22 and 24 respectively, highlight their perceptions about how communication

is achieved and these are in line with the multimodal nature of communication (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Flewitt, 2006). Drawing on gesture to carry on the conversation seems to lift the weight off the linguistic mode as, through this kinaesthetic activity, children were able to combine more than one mode to express meaning. This kind of method goes back to one of the traditional teaching methods, especially in primary education, the Total Physical Response (TPR) approach in which gesture is key. The TPR method was developed by Asher (1977) and a key principle is that, when physical action is related to teaching, the learner pays attention to listening (receptive skill) and, when asked, can easily recall and perform through speaking (productive skill), the taught language. This method is usually used in the early stages of language learning.

The following two extracts are part of the same lesson and illustrate the appropriation of gestures as mediational tools to allow all children participate in the learning process. The refugee children's responses indicate evidence of active listening skills as they revealed conscious attention to their peers' gestures. In the following extract, Ms Roula tries to explain to Ayuf who a general of the army is.

Extract 51

Participants: TR, Christos, Ayuf, Christophoros

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

- | | | |
|-----|----------|---|
| 104 | TR | μπράβο που μου δείχνεις τον αξιωματικό ((Αγιουφ δείχνει)) εν σαν αξιωματικό/
bravo that you show me the military officer ((Ayuf points)) he is like a military officer/ |
| 105 | | (2) εμ: θέλουμε το στρατηγό (.) και είναι ανώτερη βαθμίδα πρέπει να σου το
(2) em: we want the general of the army (.) and it's a higher level but i need to |
| 106 | | δείξω όμως: στο:=
show it but: at:= |
| 107 | Christos | κυρία εννά του το δείξω εγώ
ms i will show him |
| 108 | TR | πώς εννά το δείξεις Χρίστο (.) με παντομίμα;
how are you going to show that Christos (.) by using pantomime? |
| 109 | | Χρίστο διάταξέ τους μπρος μαρς/ διάταξέ τους ((ο Χρίστος κάνει τον στρατηγό)) |

Christos command them march forward/ command them ((Christos acts like a general of the army))

110 ΠΡΕΠΕΙ να φοράς όμως το σκουφί σου=
YOU NEED TO wear your army cap=

111 Ayuf =κυρία (1) τζαι μεις έχουμε/
=ms (1) we **also** have/

This extract is an example of how children understand human communication and the opportunities that exist when the linguistic mode is not the strongest one. Christos creative response to how to support his teacher and eventually his refugee peer to understand what a general of the army is by using his body shows that gestures were also part of the children's repertoire and were used to support engagement in the learning process. Ms Roula supports Christos's initiative and makes use of verbs such as '*march forward*' in the imperative mood to express commands to help Christos performance (line 109). Ms Roula's language links to TPR methods, where the aim is to coordinate the taught vocabulary to physical movement. This kind of approach provided a learning opportunity that engaged all learners to observe how certain vocabulary is modelled and gave all children the opportunity to further establish new knowledge through an embodiment language approach.

Rosborough (2014) followed a sociocultural approach to language learning and examined the use of gestures by a teacher and a Spanish primary school student as mediational tools that supported the teaching of English. The study focused on the interactions between these two, one primary school student and her teacher. The researcher analysed episodes where the communication between them was challenging and an embodied gesture interaction was used to tackle the problem. By analysing both speech and gestures, Rosborough provided two comprehensive extracts where both the participants reached a deeper level of common understanding (intersubjectivity) through an embodied interaction. Due to lack of the linguistic mode (use of English), both participants turned to gesture to overcome the linguistic problem which resulted in the child's active engagement with the task. Ayuf's response also indicates his active listening skills and the high attention that he paid towards his friend's embodied performance, which is indicated by his claim that 'we also have' referring perhaps to the existence of generals in the army in his country (line 111).

In the following extract, Cypriot-Greek children show that they have clearly internalised the mediational use of gestures in supporting their peers' meaning making regarding new lexical

items. In this example the aim is to convert the mood of the verbs from the indicative to the imperative.

Extract 52

Participants: TR, Christophoros, Stathis, Mahan

Year: 5

Lesson: Greek

- 351 TR κάτω τα μολύβια/ προφορικά σ:/ λέω το ρήμα χαράζουμε που είναι
put the pencils down/ orally s:/ i say the verb scratch which is
- 352 στην οριστική και θέλω να μου το κάμετε στην προστακτική (.)
is in indicative mood and i want you to make it into the imperative mood (.)
- 353 δεύτερο πρόσωπο ενικού και δεύτερο πρόσωπο πληθυντικού
second person singular and second person plural
- 354 του ρήματος χαράζω/ διατάξετε τους απέναντι σας ((κάνει κίνηση που δείχνει ότι χαράζει))
of the verb scratch / command the people opposite you/ ((makes the move in the air how to scratch))
- 355 Christophoros Μάχμουντ χάραξε/
Mahmud scratch/
- 356 Mahmud χάραξε χάραξε/
scratch scratch/
- 357 TR πηδάμε=
jump= ((first person plural))
- 358 Stathis =πήδα=
=jump=
- 359 TR =Μάχαν να σε ακούσω/ στοπ/ ποιος θα μου το δείξει;
=Mahan let me hear you/ stop/ who is going to show it?
- 360 Stathis =έτσι κυρία ((ο Στάθης σηκώνεται να δείξει με το σώμα του τι σημαίνει πηδώ))
=like this ms ((Stathis stands up and uses his body to show what jump means))
- 361 TR εντάξει Στάθη μου (.) βλέπεις το; τι θα πεις; εσύ; τι θα του πεις;;
o:k my Stathis (.) **can you see it?** what are you going to say? what are you going to say to him?

362 Mahan =πήδα/
 =jump/

After Ms Roula produces the taught verb (scratch), she immediately represents the action through an embodied move (line 354) in order for all children to associate meaning with action, which shows that Ms Roula also makes use of her own repertoire that includes the use of gestures. The children are working in pairs and, in line 356, we observe Mahmud responding to Christophoros instruction by repeating the taught verb. The aim was to produce the verb in both the second person singular and second person plural. Mahmud did not produce the second person plural but only repeated Christophoros instruction. Despite his inability to reach to high grammar levels, Mahmud showed evidence of an active listener who was able to perform orally. For the next verb, 'jump', Mahan is requested to provide an answer (line 359) but Stathis volunteers to explain the meaning of the verb through an embodied performance (line 360). This embodied performance results in Mahan's correct response for the first part of the activity (imperative second person singular). We cannot assess whether Mahan's correct response is related to the embodied performance or whether he will be able to transfer his knowledge to real life talk or academic writing. However, he had the opportunity to relate Stathis physical action to the new lexical item. In their study, van Compernelle and Smotrova (2014) examined whether foreign university students can appropriate their teacher's gesture to mediate their learning of English while participating in an intensive English programme. The scholars found that learner's repetition accompanied by high rise intonation of the taught lexical item that was previously gestured by the teacher signalled their conscious appropriation of the correct linguistic production. In their extracts, the scholars show how one learner imitated his teacher's pointing and gesturing while providing the correct lexical item (prepositional phrase) as a way of self-regulating his linguistic performance. Despite Mahmud and Mahan not appropriating gestures and kinaesthetic activity themselves, their response (extract 51) and repetition (extract 52) towards the taught vocabulary and grammar activity respectively while interpreting physical actions indicates their own self-regulating process towards their linguistic performance.

The second part of chapter seven dealt with the multimodal nature of communication focusing on the analysis of the school's and classrooms' linguistic landscape and the incorporation of images and gestures as complementary modes for mediating refugee's Greek learning. These multimodal practices further supported the claim that second language learning is a socially and physically situated process that evolves when learners

make use of the symbolic and materials tools that a multilingual environment offers (Rosborough, 2014).

The following paragraph concludes the findings chapters and provides a summary of the main findings discussed in chapter seven.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter, I drew attention to the classroom's multicultural and multilingual practices that arose and to the mobilisation of the semiotic resources which all contributed to the equal participation and socialisation of all children in the learning context. The findings suggest that, even in a nominally monolingual setting where the medium of instruction is different than refugee children's, the teachers and the children still managed to find ways to support language learning. In the first part of chapter seven, I analysed the ways in which the teachers not only made refugee children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds visible, but also how their enlightened approach towards teaching led to a shift of the CoP frame. By drawing on refugee children's home literature (Nasreddin Hodja) to teach direct speech and fluency, by supporting the development of multilingual awareness for all children (singing an Arabic song, learning Arabic vocabulary), by playing emphasis on an Arabic game and at the same time teaching about procedural texts and presenting the simple tense and by involving children in creative cultural activities (cooking an Iranian dish) to teach imperative verbs, teachers provided opportunities for supporting certain linguistic skills, but also allowed for a disposition of the roles regarding who comes to the centre and who is at the periphery of the community. In some cases, refugee children were the ones who had access to knowledge. Thus, Cypriot-Greek children became peripheral participants needing to claim their legitimacy by illustrating their linguistic and cultural awareness. This school allowed for a dynamic application of the CoP concept that moves beyond the idea of apprenticeship because refugee children were meaningfully engaging in learning and social activities that did not aim at their static assimilation.

As far as the use of the semiotic resources is concerned, I analysed three ways in which children and teachers were making use of the multimodal nature of communication. First, the multilingual landscape of the school and the two classrooms reflected their inclusive policy and ethos towards equality and can be seen as part of school's hidden curriculum. By displaying multilingual signs and posters accompanied by slogans that argue for social justice, this implies that teachers were working towards an inclusive approach to teaching where all languages and cultures are of equal importance. The multilingual landscape and teachers' inclusive approach to teaching were not only beneficial for refugee children, as

children confirm that *'The teacher explains it better; we all understand better'*. Regarding exposure with the target language, by displaying multilingual signs, the teachers provided opportunities for critical reflection when it comes to the different features of the two languages (script, directionality). Second, in cases where the linguistic mode was weak and could not add to meaning, other modes played a more significant role. Specifically, the role of images was thought to be a powerful mediational tool that allowed learners to associate vocabulary to meaning and pay attention to orthography and writing. It also allowed Ms Roula to 'teach a better lesson' that responds to the needs of all learners. Third, the role of gesture, similar to the role of images, had a mediating function as refugee children were able to interpret and respond to their Cypriot-Greek peer's embodied guidance, revealing their active listening skills, and thus being able to regulate their own understanding of Greek. Such claims move beyond stereotypical statements that everyone is dragged down to the level of the refugees, as all children were experiencing the classroom's multicultural and multimodal potentials in a positive way.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discussed the findings of this study, which ranged from children's flexible deployment of their linguistic repertoires to the development of their linguistic practices and, finally, to the multicultural and multimodal potentials a multilingual context creates. Chapter 8 provides an overview of the study's aims and research questions and discusses the theoretical, methodological and pedagogical contributions and implications of the thesis. I then discuss directions for future research, present some of the study's limitations and I conclude with some final thoughts on how this study has shaped my understanding academically but also how it heightened my aspiration to fight for social justice at every level.

Chapter 8: CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

This thesis originated from my wish to understand how newly arrived refugee children manage to participate in a new learning environment and what kind of practices they employ to understand new linguistic structures. Drawing on a sociocultural framework of second language learning that sees learning as the result of socially situated activities (Vygotsky, 1978; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006), this study attempted to build on the literature of second language learning and pedagogy by examining the practices that a group of refugee children in primary education in Cyprus developed in order to learn Greek. I began by reviewing the literature regarding the language learning education of minority children in a local (Cypriot) and international setting. I argued that, in Cyprus, there are no studies examining the linguistic and multicultural practices of refugee children with an attempt to theorise good practices and also, even though it has been four years since I have started investigating the phenomenon, the educational policies in Cyprus regarding the linguistic and social support of migrant and refugee children still remain at a superficial level. As far as the international literature is concerned, the studies do not make a clear distinction between the educational needs of migrant and refugee children and in cases where refugee children's educational needs are examined, the children participate in homogeneous reception classrooms and not in mainstream ones. My research questions aim to bridge the gap in the existing literature by providing evidence on how one school in Europe created the appropriate conditions for refugee children to make use of their linguistic and cultural resources that not only supported their own learning and participation but enabled better teaching to take place for all children. In this chapter, I begin by restating the aim and the study's research questions. In the following four sections, I synthesise and discuss how the findings answered the study's research questions by making critical links to the reviewed literature. Following this, I present a dynamic model that illustrates the interrelations between the practices that were identified: flexible use of linguistic repertoires, translating, code-switching, repeating, use of multicultural practices and semiotic resources. I then consider the study's theoretical contributions, methodological implications and pedagogical contributions and implications. Finally, I discuss future directions for research regarding the education of refugee children in other European countries, the study's limitations and some final thoughts that cover personal and theoretical reflections that I underwent while developing my understanding of issues of language learning, forced migration and social justice.

8.1 Discussion of the study's aims and findings

My research questions were intended to shed light on the linguistic practices that a group of refugee children developed and the ways in which the multicultural practices and the use of semiotic resources that were deployed during teaching allowed them to learn the target language – Greek - and become members of their new learning community. The study's findings are intended to contribute to the body of literature on Applied Linguistics and language education in Sociolinguistics, drawing on sociocultural approaches to second language learning that moves beyond a descriptive sociolinguistics analysis of language use and returns to the roots of knowledge construction, placing emphasis on the mediational role of children's linguistic practices and a school's multicultural and multimodal approach to teaching. The richness of the linguistic data, the application of the SCT lens to language learning and the creative methodological approach incorporated, qualify this study as making a significant contribution to the field of second language learning. This study also challenges assimilationist perspectives when it comes to forming classrooms communities.

The study was driven by four research questions:

1. What are the linguistic repertoires of refugee children in a Cypriot primary school?
2. What are the linguistic practices deployed by refugee children and how do these facilitate the learning of Standard Modern Greek in the classroom domain?
3. What multicultural practices arise and what semiotic resources are mobilised in the classroom and how do these facilitate refugee children's learning of Standard Modern Greek and their social participation in the classroom?

By answering these three questions I can now address the fourth:

4. What are the implications of this study for developing an inclusive curriculum in refugee recipient settings?

In the coming sections, I discuss how the findings answer the research questions and how they relate, complement or are in opposition to points made in the literature review.

8.1.1 Validating multilingualism

Question number one 'What are the linguistic repertoires of refugee children in a Cypriot primary school?' is answered in chapter five where I present children's available linguistic repertoires (Greek, Arabic, Cypriot, English and Farsi) and the ways these were flexibly utilised to accommodate either their learning or social needs. Each language was seen as a symbolic tool (Vygotsky, 1978) that was not only used to mediate children's learning and

allow them to move beyond their own understanding but also to indicate shared knowledge, thus establishing their ties with their own subcommunity or developing new ties with their new community. The findings of this study further develop our understanding regarding the notion of linguistic repertoires in applied/sociolinguistics as the children of this study seemed capable enough in making decisions on which language to use and for what purpose, reflecting their multilingual identities. This finding is tightly linked to participants' lived experiences (Busch, 2015) where learners experience their repertoire as a whole. They can draw on uneven parts to make meaning and, in this case, refugee children were multilingual in practice and, by putting their multilingualism into practice, they also helped the other children to develop their multilingual awareness and to move beyond their bilingualism of Greek and Cypriot. This is precisely what Creese and Blackledge (2011) argued in their work on flexible bilingualism in complementary schools where learners' smooth navigation between their linguistic identities allowed them to be seen as creative learners and knowledgeable peers who thoughtfully embraced their multilingual identities. In this study, I showed that, when refugee children are participating in an inclusive environment which allows for their cultural and linguistic backgrounds to be visible and integrated during teaching, it is beneficial for everyone. Despite children's trauma, and the system's inability to provide them with tailored support, refugee children showed a sense of enthusiasm and optimism to learn and socialize. The school and their participation in these two classrooms seemed to provide structure in their lives. Children developed mechanisms so as not to be isolated socially and academically by finding ways to overcome their difficulties.

Greek was the medium of instruction and when children showed willingness to conduct a whole conversation in Greek, this indicated children's ability to gain control over their learning as, instead of remaining silent, they chose to use their limited knowledge of Greek to support their own understanding (Drury, 2007). In so doing, they showed awareness of Greek orthographic conventions, fluency and speech production, advanced listening skills and the ability to identify grammatical features of Greek (distinction between nouns and verbs). Learning to participate in Greek discourse activities by assisting or being engaged in teamwork activities suggest skillful bilinguals who strategically navigate between their available repertoires to communicate meaning.

Arabic was also visible during refugee children's interactions and this shared resource of theirs', supported their learning of Greek. Children were able to seek clarification from their more knowledgeable peers, reflect on Greek concepts, look for correct lexical items and reveal evidence of metalinguistic awareness through playful comments identifying phonological similarities between Greek and Arabic. Drawing on Arabic to make meaning

from Greek highlights the importance of the incorporation of children's dominant language during teaching as this allowed them to move beyond their actual skills and gain control over their understanding of Greek (Antón & DiCamilla, 1999). What was unexpected was the use of Arabic by Cypriot-Greek children. This was the result of their socialisation with refugee children that allowed them to expand their own multilingual identity.

The use of Cypriot-Greek was of importance as it was the language that all children were naturally acquiring. Cypriot was used by refugee children to claim solidarity with their Cypriot-Greek peers and, by using it, they were creating more opportunities for language experimentation and use. Refugee children showed awareness of when to use Greek and when to use Cypriot, which confirms Snell's (2013) characterization of bilingual learners as multiskilled speakers who use their resources purposefully.

English was an extra resource that was visible during learning time and was used in many cases as a lingua franca between participants. English supported refugee children to signal their active participation and also allowed teachers to draw on an extra resource to make sure that every child received the appropriate information.

Lastly, Farsi was only used by one speaker, Mahmud, who managed to make his linguistic identity visible by commenting upon phonological and semantic differences between Arabic and Farsi and illustrating his communicative competence.

Such findings contradict the MoEC's monolingual ideology of promoting the monopoly of SMG only, as these two classrooms were seen as multilingual and multicultural sites where children experienced their repertoires as a whole and felt comfortable to flexibly draw on their available linguistic repertoires to make meaning. All children from the two classrooms experienced multilingualism as an everyday practice and as a resource that did not cause any teaching or learning problems, for example, learners being off task or teachers losing control. This finding highlights the claim that mainstream classrooms can be seen as multilingual sites (Hélot & Young, 2006) in which children's different linguistic repertoires are not seen as a problem but as a resource in the sense that their use of them enables their participation in the learning process. My study provides evidence that the recognition of existing linguistic repertoires leads to a richer learning environment for all children that are educated to accept the other in their lives.

8.1.2 Linguistic practices as mediational tools

Question number two 'What are the linguistic practices deployed by refugee children and how do these facilitate the learning of Standard Modern Greek in the classroom domain?' dealt with refugee children's linguistic practices. It is answered in chapter six where I present the three main linguistic practices that children made use of: translating, code-switching and repeating. As mentioned in chapter six, translating is understood as the practice of transmitting meaning from one language to the other and was embedded in refugee children's everyday practice. Code-switching is understood as the alternation from one language or uneven parts of one language to the other, whereas repeating was understood as children repeating their own utterances or responding to their teachers' guided feedback.

The data suggest that when children were translating each other by drawing on their dominant language (Arabic), they were given the opportunity to enhance their own vocabulary, confirm their own knowledge and pay attention to their receptive skills. Translating was not seen as a linear process as, in order for children to be able to translate, they needed to firstly grasp the meaning of specialised vocabulary in their own language and then transfer it to the target language (Chen & Gregory, 2004). Translation was also found in children's literacy skills as they need to translate texts from Arabic to Greek and, by doing that, they were given the opportunity for lexical development, grammar and discourse adaptation (Baynham, 1986, 1995). It also revealed evidence of their metalinguistic awareness as they were in a position to identify different features between the two languages, reflect upon them and produce two different texts (Kenner, 2004). For example, children paid attention to the two systems' directionality, orthography conventions and word formation. They were aware of left to right direction for Greek and the opposite for Arabic, and that unlike Arabic, the characters in the Greek alphabet rarely vary in shape. By being able to put into practice and experiment with their writing skills, it also illustrates the transformative nature of translation (Cook, 2010) as children were able to apply their own interpretations for the creation of a new version of their original production (Baynham, 1986). The school's translator and Google Translate prove to be important mediating tools for children's enhancement of pronunciation, orthography and vocabulary.

Children again experienced the positive outcomes of code-switching. It was not perceived as incompetence, but as a sophisticated practice that allowed learners to access and evaluate the target language while, at the same time, making use of its communicative function. Children used CS to search for vocabulary, illustrate their advanced vocabulary, and pay attention to speech production. They were also given the opportunity to extend their Greek production. CS was also used in a playful manner by the children. This represents evidence

of metalinguistic awareness. For example, through a playful alternation between Greek and Arabic, children showed that they were able to identify phonological similarities and semantic differences between the two languages indicating their familiarity with Greek meaning and sounds. (Drury, 2004). Children also incorporated CS in order to be able to participate in socially situated activities by keeping the conversation going with Cypriot-Greek speakers to avoid gap in communication (Arnfast & Jørgensen, 2003). Thus, their CS here brings issues of intersubjectivity (Antón & Dicamilla, 1999), understood as common understanding and affiliation, as children were able to maintain their focus on linguistically demanding activities.

Repeating was another practice that was approached through a sociocultural lens. It was seen as an opportunity for children to regulate their own understanding and move beyond their present linguistic skills (in that moment). Through repetition, children were given the opportunity to produce the correct form of Greek utterances (speech production), enrich their vocabulary, pay attention to their listening (receptive skills) and improve their reading skills. When children self-repeated, they gave themselves time to notice their gaps and plan their correct production (Mondada & Pekarek- Doehler, 2004). This was also a practice that allowed them to experiment with the language (Drury, 2007). In doing so, they generated autonomy in their learning. By responding to their teachers' feedback, children were given the opportunity to reflect upon their errors and attempt an extension of their linguistic productions (DiCamilla & Antón, 1997). They also appropriated a transformative take on repetition by selectively responding to their teachers' recast and, by doing that, were producing a recontextualised version of their teachers' recast.

The aim of this linguistic analysis was not to quantify the correct linguistic production of refugee children, but to document single interactions and incidents where learning takes place (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Lantolf, Thorne & Poehner, 2015) and to illustrate practices that were developing in order to enhance their learning of Greek. Translating, code-switching and repeating are scaffolding tools that allowed children to move beyond their then Greek skills and gain control over their own learning while participating in socially situated activities where language was an important element of meaning negotiation.

8.1.3 Making refugee children's cultural and semiotic resources visible

Question number 3 was 'What multicultural practices arise and what semiotic resources are mobilised in the classroom and how do these facilitate refugee children's learning of Standard Modern Greek and their social participation in the classroom'. This question is answered through chapter seven which emphasises teachers' multicultural and multimodal approach to teaching and learning. Chapter seven reveals how the school and specifically the two teachers

provided opportunities for learning by consciously designing activities drawing on a multicultural and social semiotics approach. This meant integrating refugee children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds during teaching (e.g., using a literacy text that is close to refugee children's culture as the prime material for teaching Greek, by encouraging all children to develop their own multilingualism by learning an Arabic song, by creating a Greek literacy text based on an Arabic game to teach grammatical elements -use of imperative verbs- and finally by designing a whole Greek lesson based on a creative activity, cooking an Iranian dish). This resulted in the development of a multicultural disposition in which the multicultural and multilingual resources of all children were equally incorporated in the learning process (Hélot & Young, 2006; Kirsch, 2008). When it comes to refugee children's social participation, portraying their multilingual identity and using it to support their peers' understanding, was a way of developing a strong sense of belonging between them (Mills & Mills, 1993). This would allow for a dynamic relationship between learners to flourish while participating into the CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This dynamic relationship was reflected in the reversed roles that they acquired, as, in some cases, Cypriot-Greek children were the ones who needed to claim their legitimacy towards their participation in refugee children's community by learning, for example, basic Arabic vocabulary or songs.

The mobilisation of other semiotic resources such as images, gaze and gestures was also part of the school's and teachers' enlightened approach that allowed all children to participate equally. The use of other semiotic resources was reflected in the school's landscape but also in the two teachers' multimodal approach to teaching. The school's rich multilingual landscape was a reflection of its social inclusion policy but also a reflection of its collective multilingual identity (Kirsch, 2008). The language of multimodal analysis showed that the school did not prioritise one language over the other as Greek, Arabic and English were given equal prominence in the school's corridors and classroom wall displays. Furthermore, the combination of different modes allowed for a critical reflection on meaning construction to take place (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The use of images had a prevailing role during teaching as, by using them, the refugee children had the opportunity to associate meaning to images, and to pay attention to orthography and writing. Also, this multimodal approach was seen as very profitable by all learners. The teachers claimed that, by working with multimodal texts, they deliver a better lesson. The use of images was not only utilised by the teachers but by the learners themselves. Cypriot-Greek children used images to teach refugee children Greek and refugee children used them to teach Arabic to Cypriot-Greek children. Again, the roles between expert and novice became reversed. Apart from images, gestures were also a tool that was used by Cypriot-Greek learners to support their peers' meaning construction. This embodiment performance allowed refugee

children to associate meaning to physical action and, by responding to gestures, refugee children showed evidence of their developed listening skills and indicated their active participation - agency over their learning (McCafferty, 2004). The incorporation of these modes during teaching and communication eliminated the stigma that the linguistic mode needs to be the most prevalent. In a multilingual setting, other modes come to the fore, allowing children to broaden their horizons when it comes to incorporating a multimodal approach to communication to encounter otherness.

8.1.4 Adopting a social justice approach to language teaching

'What are the implications of this study for developing an inclusive curriculum in refugee recipient settings?' was question four. Its answer is the amalgam of chapters five, six and seven and its main argument concerns where good practices are developed and incorporated. The main conclusion to be drawn from the findings is that the practices observed were available only because they were promoted by the school's informal social inclusion policy. The practices of the flexible use of children's linguistic repertoires, the development of translation, code-switching and repeating, and the multicultural and multimodal teaching approach were systematically incorporated in the everyday lessons without treating children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds as having a deficit. In contrast, the lessons were the richer for all learners. The answer to question number four also touches upon three dimensions when it comes to contributions and implications: theoretical, methodological and pedagogical. I elaborate extensively on these aspects in section 8. 2. However, to briefly say what the implications are for enabling refugee children to become participants in the school community, I argue for a social justice approach to language learning which moves beyond essentialist views on assimilating the newcomers into the old-timers' practices. This is to be an approach that focuses on designing frameworks that allow for all children's equal participation (Cummins, 1986, 2005). Busch's (2015) interpretation of linguistic repertoires provides a useful framework for linking people's linguistic trajectories to their life experiences. Such understanding allows for a critical approach to language teaching for children who come from war-torn areas and are traumatized. It means that children do not need to be inducted in assimilationist programmes but are able to participate in environments where their linguistic backgrounds are seen as resources. Thus, a social justice approach to language teaching allows for the elimination of language discrimination that a monolingual ideology and policy imply (Kubota, 2012), as, when children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds are not valued in the classroom community, then it is more likely that minority children are marginalized. Toohey's (2000) longitudinal ethnographic study supports this claim. Her discursive analysis and application of a social justice framework for education showed that, when children are not seen as

legitimate participants but as deviants from the 'normal' discourse, then they 'become systematically excluded' (ibid, p.93) and not offered opportunities for meaningful participation. In this study, by going into a school that values their linguistic and cultural backgrounds every day, it can be said that this had a positive impact on refugee children's learning experience. It could be claimed that this was a way of healing their trauma (McBrien, 2005; Capstick & Delaney, 2016). These children found an environment that not only supported them linguistically, but also actively developed the appropriate conditions for the enhancement of their social skills. It could be said that, when an institution, in this case, Kilada primary school, challenges monolingual and monocultural approaches to language learning, both minority and majority experience positive learning and social outcomes. This approach is also rooted in Vygotsky's theorization of human development and potentials (ZPD) when socially interacting rather on focusing on learners' individual potentials. Vygotsky's theorization also goes back to Marx's historical materialism method of analysis which emphasises the collectiveness of knowledge and, again, not the individual aspect of development (Lantolf, 2006). This is precisely what my analysis aims to bring: an argument that the inclusion of refugee children in mainstream education not only benefits the individuals (refugee children and non-refugee children) but also has positive implications at a societal level.

This synthesis of the three findings chapters led me to the production of a dynamic model that represents the interrelation between all the identified practices in this study. This model is inspired by the work of Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay and Negus (1997), who proposed the model of the *Circuit of Culture* to discuss the five interrelated processes that are involved in the production of cultural meanings. For this study, I adopted the model to conceptualise a dynamic illustration of how children experienced the interrelation between the practices that allowed them to learn and socialise.

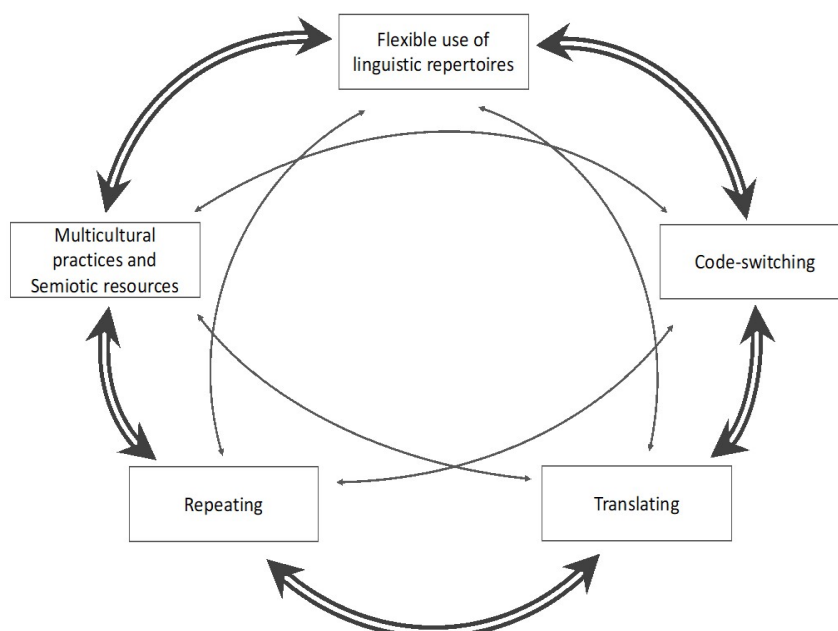


Figure 35: A dynamic model of practices that support refugee children's language learning and social participation (taken from Du Gay's et al., 1997 model)

This model represents the five key practices that were developed and appropriated by children while participating in socially-situated learning activities: flexible use of linguistic repertoires, code-switching, translating, repeating and the use of multicultural practices and semiotic resources. These practices were interconnected in the sense that, for example, the practice of translating, in many cases, overlapped with the practice of code-switching and vice versa as while translating a concept, children were resorting to CS to do that. For example, in extract 19 whilst the focus was on the practice of translation, (Taraf translating to Maya the researcher's instructions), he also resorts to the practice of CS to do that. Also, when CS, children were also resorting to repeating as a way to place emphasis on scaffolding. For example, in extract 29, while Taraf CS between Arabic and Greek he also repeats the same lexical item to place emphasis on the provided support. Another example was when children were participating in multicultural practices (playing an Arabic game), translating, code-switching and repeating also took place. All these practices are intertwined and take language as the main symbolic and physical tool that serves both children's learning and socialising ends.

Having answered the four research questions, I now turn to the study's theoretical, methodological and pedagogical contributions and implications.

8.2 Contributions and Implications of the Study

The contributions and implications of my thesis can be divided into three sections: theory, methodology and pedagogy. Before presenting them, I wish to make a distinction between contributions and implications. The first refers to my original addition in the field of education and second language learning drawing on an SCT framework and the latter refers to how the findings can influence change in methodology, policy and practice. Firstly, there are the theoretical contributions that expand our knowledge regarding SCT perspectives on second language learning. Secondly, there are methodological implications that inform research processes and finally, pedagogical contributions and implications that enrich pedagogy and inform educational policies.

8.2.1 Theoretical contributions

This empirical evidence in this study not only contributes to the developing body of literature on second language learning considering the language education of refugee children, but provides a significant contribution that enhances our understanding of the application of an SCT framework in second language learning. SCT has a number of key concepts that help us understand language pedagogies, but this study considers two in terms of making

theoretical contributions. The first concerns the flexibilised view of the CoP concept and the other, the strong element of peer scaffolding between children who come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and participate in mainstream schooling contexts.

This study changes the idea of legitimate and peripheral participation between learners and sees a flexibilised version of the original CoP concept that is envisaged in Lave and Wenger's (1991) original work. What often happens in schools is that minority children need to be inducted into the school's culture and norms and most of the studies in second language learning apply this peripheral-legitimate participant binary (Toohey, 2000; Ohta, 2001) to examine how newcomers acquire the old-timers' practices in order to establish their participation. This linear and assimilationist way of looking at participation does not capture modern schools' multilingual reality. This study provides evidence for a flexibilised interpretation of the CoP concept as refugee children – 'the newcomers' - using Lave and Wenger's terminology, occasionally took the leading roles when it came to their learning and participation in classroom's activities. In Kilada, refugee children were not only expected to join the school's main community but created a community which refugee children are representatives of. The school was seen as a large community which accommodated the needs of smaller communities and this was the result of the school and two teachers' enlightened approach towards social inclusion policy. The school's enlightened approach allowed for the notion of legitimate-peripheral participation to be flexibilised as, in this particular setting, this community was being reconfigured to become more flexible in order to accommodate the needs of all its learners. For example, when Cypriot-Greek children reveal their awareness of Arabic by writing basic vocabulary on their posters, when they come into contact with famous Arab literacy stories, sing an Arabic song, play Arabic games, or learn how to cook an Iranian dish, this reconfigures the CoP concept. Moreover, by drawing on other modes apart from the linguistic to make meaning, this also contributed to a reversed application of the CoP concept. This reversal allowed refugee children to take centre stage and, by experiencing appreciation of their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, were given the opportunity to meaningfully incorporate their linguistic resources to support the learning of their new language. However, not only refugee children benefited from this role reversal, as Cypriot children were also developing their own multilingualism and were experiencing sophisticated teaching. Such understanding is necessary when applying SCT concepts for the examination of multilingual practices because a static frame would not allow scholars to understand student potentials.

The second contribution is that the examined practices were the result of interactions between the majority and minority groups of learners. The practices were developed in a

mainstream educational context and not in reception classes that accommodate homogeneous groups of learners. By applying an SCT framework to examine such interactional data, I also shed light on SCT informed research on peer scaffolding and, specifically, on the practices of a group of participants whose practices are under-researched (refugee children) in the literature and reveal the strong element of peer scaffolding between majority and minority participants. In the literature, peer scaffolding was mostly examined with respect to learners coming from similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds, focusing on who is more expert than the other (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2005, Moodley, 2007; Due, Riggs, & Augoustinos 2016). Thus, by providing evidence of peer scaffolding between children from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds participating in mainstream education contexts, we add to our understanding that when the appropriate conditions obtain (strong school appreciation of multilingualism), then scaffolding occurs between heterogeneous groups of learners. Language was not a barrier as, for example, Cypriot-Greek children were inventive in the scaffolding that they provided and were able to support their refugee peers by either using simple sentences, images or gestures. This assistance proved to be beneficial for children's language enhancement and provided opportunities for social participation.

8.2.2 Methodological implications

This study added to the developing body of literature in Applied and Sociolinguistics and brought into focus multilingual research by incorporating ethnographic research tools to examine the language practices of refugee children. The incorporation of ethnographic tools allowed me to closely examine participants' linguistic practices and to understand their perspectives. A methodological implication has to do with the multilingual aspect of research. Researching multilingually is the essence for a study that is rooted in this field. Working together with translators that come from different disciplines for the interpretation of the study's linguistic and cultural elements opened up a new pathway for developing a strong awareness of multilingual research (Holmes, Fay, Andrews & Attia, 2013). Transcribing the children's dominant language, and working with translators for data interpretation, indicates a high level of analysis and was part of the study's multilingual character. Many studies in the field only present the English translation. However, this kind of practice seems to omit the authenticity of the conversation about how the argument between the discussants is actually being made. It could be said that this study contributed to the normalisation of the process of conducting multilingual studies and challenged the norm of conducting research in the researcher's dominant language, as this limits the opportunities to examine socially sensitive phenomena. Drawing on a multilingual approach does not only benefit refugee or

settled minority children but also eliminates the stigma for Cypriot-Greek children who are also targeted for speaking in dialect, as the interactional analysis shows that children's linguistic repertoires are resources that allow them to learn the target language. Therefore, by thoughtfully creating space for children's linguistic repertoires to be examined and become visible in the data presentation, I have added to the discussion of researching multilingually and to the methodological discipline that promotes learning and social inclusion. Such an approach can inform people who are intending to research multilingually regarding the methodological processes that need to be addressed, such as the notion of the lone researcher who needs to manage and analyse large amounts of data and the practices that need to be incorporated when analysing the linguistic data of participants that do not share the same linguistic repertoire. These issues need to be further discussed within the field as, in most cases, the researchers develop their own systems due to the lack of adequate discussion that would inform their own methodological process.

Finally, my extensive methodological research confirms Mercer's (2010) finding regarding the gap in educational methodology for a developed research inquiry when examining second language learning. This study provides a creative take on how multilingual classroom discourse data can be analysed and presents how an emic perspective can be fully implemented (incorporation of two translators, presenting the linguistic data in participants' dominant language), contributing to a systemic analysis of data that arise from the examination of sensitive social phenomena. Such an analysis may trigger the development of tailored tools but also a tailored methodological inquiry for the systemic analysis of multilingual data in the fields of second language learning and education.

8.2.3 Pedagogical contributions and implications

This is a study situated in a Cypriot school and with aims to help educators, scholars and educational policy makers in Cyprus and beyond to shape their understandings and stances towards refugee children's linguistic repertoires, life trajectories and identities. The main pedagogical contribution that this study offers, is that it makes visible an example of good practice that speaks to social justice. This study illustrates how teachers can set up a learning community where children can use and develop their linguistic practices by drawing on a multilingual approach to teaching. This study presents another side of the Cypriot-Greek's educational system, contradicting the findings of studies that had been written to date regarding the racist discourse cultivated towards ethnic minorities (Papamichael, 2011; Theodorou, 2011; Zembylas & Lesta, 2011; Charalambous, 2015). This is not to claim that this study reflects the norm, but it could have an impact on pedagogy.

The study suggests the need for a deeper differentiation within the group of migrant children as refugee children are not settled minorities. Thus, everyday teaching practice and curricula need to target their specific needs. Being under a general umbrella term such as 'migrant' or 'children with migration trajectories', does not capture their needs as their experiences differ from other minorities. The findings can inform the local and international literature in language learning and education as this study could speak to settings that are coping with this new phenomenon, especially European Nations dealing with a refugee crisis. Due to the language relations, this study should be of importance for Greece as, at the moment, there is a need for inclusive theories of teaching to be implemented in the mainstream education. The rich ethnographic data offered a framework to understand that educational implications should be built on the argument that the incorporation of refugees' language does not negatively impact their learning process but, on the contrary, makes the lessons richer for all children. Developing an enlightened approach that allows children's repertoires to be integrated in the learning process will only be evident if educational policy makers work towards a multilingual pedagogical model.

Regarding pedagogical implications, I have identified three areas that need to be developed when it comes to pedagogical practice: developing an inclusive discourse, building a multilingual approach to teaching, and community involvement. I address them all in the following paragraphs.

Regarding the development of an inclusive discourse, the most important factor for being able to implement progressive policies that would be efficient in the long term is the development of an inclusive discourse which is about the creation of the appropriate culture that will allow educators to be more sensitive towards their children's needs and thus accept the new policies. It is about building an inclusive discourse that not only affects the educational sector but society too. Many teachers think that the inclusion of children with diverse backgrounds in their classrooms is a problem because they are repeating the dominant discourses of society which sees multilingualism as a problem and not as an asset. Thus, a prerequisite for such change is the education of pre- and in-service teachers around linguistic and cultural diversity so they become sensitive towards their children's linguistic needs. We can see that what is often perceived as a barrier - the inclusion of refugee children in the mainstream – is actually an enriching experience for all participants. Informing educators about SCT and its learning outcomes it will be beneficial for their teaching practices as it will enable them to recognise and embrace children's linguistic repertoires and see them as assets to language learning. Another dimension that needs to be taken into account when developing a change towards educational discourse is to

support a change in the political arena's discourse. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) needs to design an inclusive curriculum that specifically accommodates the needs of all the children as it needs to respond to the societal, economical and globalised phenomena of the 21st century. Despite the refugee children's efforts in learning the language of the host country (Greek), it should not be up to them but up to the institutions and, specifically, up to policy makers who are responsible for designing and defining language policies in Cyprus. Policy makers should work towards an educational model that allows equal linguistic and cultural participation.

This brings up the second area for development regarding pedagogical practice for examination: building a multilingual approach to teaching. The development of a pedagogical framework for the empowerment of all students does not require teachers to have knowledge of children's linguistic backgrounds (Cook, 2000; Hélot & Young, 2006;) but draws on the argument that, by allowing children's dominant languages to be equally developing while learning the target language, this does not harm their learning but, on the contrary, allows for language transfer and language awareness to take place (Cummins, 1984, 1991, 2005). Initiatives that could flourish around this argument are the development and establishment of teaching materials such as dual language books, multimodal and multilingual platforms that do not only rely on the linguistic mode, and curricula and materials that support children's critical thinking and awareness of different languages and cultures (Cummins, Chow & Schechter, 2006). Other measures that could be taken into consideration when working towards a multilingual approach to teaching is the incorporation of bilingual teaching assistants - assistants who are going to be trained in order to respond to children's linguistic needs and be part of the learning process. They would be assistants that share the same language with the refugee children, but they would also be important for children's emotional stability while experiencing this unexpected transition in their lives. Such practices will contribute to the development of a tailored set of activities that support the implementation of a sustainable multilingual framework.

The final area of development is the community involvement which has to do with engaging and inviting families to be part of the learning process (Hélot & Young, 2006). This will support dialogue between the community members and bridge the gap between home and school practice. By bringing parents into the classroom to share their home literacies such as stories and cultural artefacts such as photographs and recipes will allow them to become members of the school's learning activities and also enrich the school's literacy activities. Engaging families in the learning process presupposes also informing them about the aims of education, and that means providing them with the appropriate resources that they could

draw on to navigate the system of the host country. One approach would be setting up community classes where parents are informed about education policies and where they can express their concerns and feel secure about their children's development. An additional practice would be to offer parents Greek language classes but also classes for the enhancement of their heritage languages to maintain a sense of community.

A holistic reform that follows a bottom-up design will create the appropriate conditions for schools to be seen as safe spaces that no child is excluded from because of its background.

8.3 Directions for future research

This study is the first to examine refugee children's linguistic practices in Cyprus and to provide empirical evidence regarding the ways they learn and participate in their host country's learning environment. In the future I aim to expand my research by designing larger longitudinal ethnographic studies because there is a need for a systematic ethnographic approach in the field of education and second language learning regarding refugees' needs and practices. Such studies will allow us to map local practice. Some of the factors that I aim to include that could further inform our understanding of these children's educational and social needs is the examination of teachers' attitudes towards the idea of implementing a multilingual teaching framework and the examination of whether home literacies can play a crucial role in supporting children's school literacy. A longitudinal approach will allow me to build a comprehensive understanding of children's learning trajectories and examine what happens to them after leaving primary school. Finally, I aim to collaborate with international scholars in the field of education and second language learning to design comparative studies that identify how other countries deal with phenomena of rapid migration due to the crisis in the Middle East's and the ways in which they support the education of refugee children in mainstream schooling to become citizens and contributors to society.

8.4 Limitations

While designing this study, I identified some limitations. However, these limitations became more apparent during fieldwork and data analysis. As previously discussed, when researching multilingually, the researcher's linguistic repertoire becomes a limitation not only for data analysis but also for data collection, as I could not work with participants' dominant languages. Due to my lack of Arabic knowledge, I needed to rely on other people to gain a holistic view of the data. For example, during fieldwork, my lack of Arabic prevented me in some cases from meaningfully interacting with refugee children and I needed to rely on Ms

Mysha to explain to me what the children said or did. Also, having to analyse data in a language that I am not familiar with was a big challenge in terms of relying on translators' interpretations. The two translators' insights and interpretations shaped my own understanding in terms of how Arabic was used as a resource to support their Greek learning and, consequently, qualified them as being part of the analysis process. However, my lack of Arabic may raise issues regarding data transcription and analysis.

Another limitation has to do with the notion of the lone researcher needing to analyse a massive amount of data. The amount of classroom recordings was enormous and required an extraordinary amount of time to develop a systematic structure of analysis and, in some cases, gaps occurred due to my efforts to preserve a holistic interpretation.

8.5 Final thoughts

What drove my decision to undertake this research was not only my desire to further deepen my understanding regarding language and language learning but, as stated in the introduction, my own experience as a teacher made me go further and look at this phenomenon in depth. During my four-year engagement, development and interactions within academic and social circles, my decision was becoming stronger and stronger. Up to now, my theoretical and methodological approach has not remained static but it has been reshaped through my interactions with scholars in the field, people who are activists and the fight for social justice and due to recent political phenomena such as the rise of the extreme far right parties, Brexit and, also, the still unresolved Cypriot problem.

I was very lucky to have investigated that particular school, Kilada, at just that time, as the combination of the headteacher and the two class teachers made the school an excellent example of how schools should support refugee children and challenge what is often perceived as a problem. This study shows that, in fact, it is something entirely beneficial.

Investigating the practices of a marginalised and vulnerable group of people not only falls into my academic interests but also within my world view and position towards social justice. Undertaking this research allowed me to further develop my own understanding as an academic, frame my theoretical stance, and develop my methodological approach which is intended to capture the needs of all learners. I have also developed as a human as I was also a learner participating in the examination of a phenomenon that is sensitive and I gained a deeper responsibility for advocating for the rights of marginalised communities.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Classroom observations in years 5 and 6 over a period of eight weeks

Date	Year observation
06.02.17	Year 5
07.02.17	Year 5+all day school
08.02.17	Year 5
09.02.17	Year 6
10.02.17	Year 6
13.02.17	Pilot study
14.02.17	Year 5
15.02.17	Year 5
16.02.17	Year 6
17.02.17	Year 6+all day school
20.02.17	Year 5
21.02.17	Year 5
22.02.17	Museum day with year 5
23.02.17	Year 6
24.02.17	Visiting Asylum seekers' reception centre
27.02.17	National holiday (Green Monday)
28.02.17	Year 5
02.03.17	Year 6
03.03.17	Visiting Asylum seekers' reception centre
06.03.17	Year 5
08.03.17	Year 5 +Visiting asylum seekers' reception centre
09.03.17	
10.03.17	Year 6
13.03.17	Year 5
14.03.17	Year 6
15.03.17	Year 6
16.03.17	Year 5
17.03.17	Year 6
21.03.17	Year 5
22.03.17	Year 5
23.03.17	Year 6
24.03.17	Year 6
27.03.17	Year 5


28.03.17 Year 6


**Total number of Year
5 observations** 15

**Total number of year
6 observations** 13

**Total number of
observations** 28

Appendix B: CERÉ's acceptance for conducting research in a Cypriot primary school


ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ


ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΙΑΚΟ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ
ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΗΣΗΣ
ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ
ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ
ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ

Αρ. Φακ.: 7.19.46.6/37
Αρ. Τηλ.: 22800665
Αρ. Φαξ: 22809513
E-mail: dde@moe.gov.cy

20 Ιανουαρίου, 2017


Κυρία
Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργίου
[Redacted]

Θέμα: Άδεια για διεξαγωγή έρευνας με μαθητές του Δημοτικού Σχολείου
[Redacted]

Αγαπητή κυρία Γεωργίου,

Έχω οδηγίες να αναφερθώ στη σχετική με το πιο πάνω θέμα αίτησή σας προς το Κέντρο Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης, που υποβλήθηκε στις 26 Δεκεμβρίου 2016, και να σας πληροφορήσω ότι εγκρίνεται το αίτημά σας για διεξαγωγή έρευνας με μαθητές του Δημοτικού Σχολείου [Redacted], με θέμα «Μια εθνογραφική μελέτη περίπτωσης των γλωσσικών πρακτικών των προσφύγων παιδιών που βρίσκονται σε μεταβατικό στάδιο σε ένα δημοτικό σχολείο της Κύπρου», την παρούσα σχολική χρονιά 2016-2017. Η απάντηση του Κέντρου Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης σας αποστέλλεται συνημμένα, για δική σας ενημέρωση. Θα πρέπει, επίσης, να παρουσιάσετε το Αναλυτικό Σχέδιο Έρευνας, σε περίπτωση που αυτό σας ζητηθεί.

2. Νοείται, βέβαια, ότι πρέπει να εξασφαλιστεί η άδεια της διευθύντριας του σχολείου, εκ των προτέρων, ώστε να ληφθούν όλα τα απαραίτητα μέτρα για να μην επηρεαστεί η ομαλή λειτουργία του. Επίσης, θα πρέπει να έχετε τη συγκατάθεση των εκπαιδευτικών, στην τάξη των οποίων θα μπειτε για παρατήρηση. Η έρευνα θα πρέπει να διεξαχθεί με ιδιαίτερα προσεγμένο τρόπο, ώστε να μη θίγεται το έργο των εκπαιδευτικών, το σχολικό περιβάλλον ή οι οικογένειες των μαθητών και όλες οι δραστηριότητες που θα αναπτυχθούν πρέπει να εμπίπτουν μέσα στο πλαίσιο που καθορίζεται από το Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα. Η έρευνα θα διεξαχθεί νοουμένου ότι η απώλεια του διδακτικού χρόνου των μαθητών θα περιοριστεί στον ελάχιστο δυνατό βαθμό, ενώ για τη συμμετοχή τους χρειάζεται η **γραπτή** συγκατάθεση των γονιών τους. Οι γονείς πρέπει να γνωρίζουν όλες τις σχετικές λεπτομέρειες για τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας, καθώς και τα στάδια μέσα από τα οποία θα εξελιχθεί. Σημειώνεται, επίσης, ότι τα πορίσματά σας κρίνεται απαραίτητο να είναι ανώνυμα και οι πληροφορίες που θα συλλέξετε να τηρηθούν απόλυτα εμπιστευτικές και αποκλειστικά και μόνο για τον σκοπό της έρευνας.


Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, 1434 Λευκωσία
Τηλ.: 22800600 Φαξ: 22428277 Ιστοσελίδα: <http://www.moe.gov.cy>

Appendix C: Names of all children participating in the study

	Year 5	Year 6
1.	Ayuf	Nikitas
2.	Orestis	Noore
3.	Mikaella	Amin
4.	Stavros	Dimitris
5.	Lazaros	Evgenis
6.	Fotini	Fotis
7.	Mahan	Miroulla
8.	Argiroula	Ioanna
9.	Mahmud	Stephani
10.	Minas	Theodoros
11.	Stathis	Victoria
12.	Philippos	Marina
13.	Andreas	Taraf
14.	Eva	Maya
15.	Christos	
16.	Christophoros	

Appendix D: A picture taken from the asylum seekers' reception centre where refugee children resided



Appendix E: Example of fieldnotes (translation provided in *italics*)

Ημερομηνία: 09.02.16 (*Date*)

Τάξη: ΣΤ' τάξη (*Year 6*)

07:45-08:25 Μαθηματικά κ. Γρηγόρης (*Mathematics Mr Grigoris*)

Το βιβλίο που κάνουν είναι 3^{ης} τάξης (Μέρος Γ') (*Their book is level 3 Part C*)

Η Νουρ συμμετέχει πολύ ενεργά στα μαθηματικά (*Noore is actively participating in Maths*)

Η Μάγια και ο Τάραφ πάνε έξω μαζί με την δασκάλα από Δράσε για ενίσχυση στα μαθηματικά (*Maya and Taraf are withdrawn to go with the ASSI teacher for support in mathematics*)

Η δασκάλα χρησιμοποιεί τα χέρια της για να δείξει μέγεθος, μικρό-μεγάλο (*The teacher uses her hands in order to show size, big-small*)

Ο Τάραφ φαίνεται να γνωρίζει τους αριθμούς (*Taraf seems to be knowing the numbers*)

Η δασκάλα σηκώνεται για να δείξει στη Μάγια συγκεκριμένα (*The teacher stands up to show Maya specifically the way*)

Ο Τάραφ δείχνει να να βρίσκει τις απαντήσεις και η δασκάλα επευφημεί (*Taraf seems to be knowing the answers and the teacher is praising him*)

Πρακτική: Ο Τάραφ επαναλαμβάνει τους αριθμούς που λέει η δασκάλα (*Practice: Taraf repeats the numbers that the teacher says*)

Πρακτική: Τα δυο παιδιά μιλούν μεταξύ τους: ο Τάραφ εξηγά στα Αραβικά στη Μάγια. Η Μάγια δίνει απάντηση στα Ελληνικά (*The two children talking to each other: Taraf explains to Maya in Arabic. Maya provides the answer in Greek*)

Πρακτική: Η δασκάλα λέει στον Τάραφ να εξηγήσει στη Μάγια τι λέει η άσκηση (more knowledgeable peer-scaffolding) (*Practive: The teachers says to Taraf to explain Maya what the activity says, more knowledgeable peer-scaffolding*)

Η Μάγια προσπαθεί να αποκωδικοποιήσει μήνα 'Απρίλη' (*Maya tries to decode the word April*)

Διάλεκτος: Ο Τάραφ μιλά κυπριακά 'δαμε εν εσσει' (*Dialect: Taraf speaks in dialect, 'here is empty'*)

Η Μάγια επειδή συνήθισε να λέει 'κύριε' λέει 'κύριε' στην δασκάλα (ΟΑΠ) (*Because Maya used to call the teacher MR she does the same for a female teacher, SVIT*)

Η δασκάλα κάνει demonstrate τη γλώσσα για να πει 'ένα ευρώ' και '30 σεντ' στη Μάγια γιατί έλεγε ένα τριάντα (*The teacher demonstrates to Maya how to say 'one euro and 30 cents because she was saying one thirty*)

Όταν κάνουν μικρό διάλειμμα μιλούν μεταξύ τους στα αραβικά (*When they are having a small break the children speak in Arabic between them*)

Η δασκάλα δείχνει να προσπαθεί να τους εξηγήσει τι λέει η ερώτηση και τι σημαίνει η λέξη πολλά. Η δασκάλα ξαναλέει τις λέξεις για να τις ακούνε και επαναλάβουν σωστά

'Μη βουράς' εξηγεί ότι είναι μη τρέχετε, μη βιάζεστε δίνει εκδοχές ελληνικών.

'Τι σημαίνει η λέξη περισσότερα;' 'πιο πολλά' η δασκάλα της έδειξε με σύμβολο –για το μαζί κάνει τα χέρια της μαζί. (*The teacher seems to be truing to explain what the question says and what is the meaning of the word many. The teacher repeats the words so as to to listen and repeat them correctly. She explains that the Cypriot phrase 'Μη βουράς' means don't run or do not rush and gives many alternatives in Greek. 'What does the word more means'? the teacher asks. The teacher shows to Maya how to put her hands to illustrate the meaning of plus.*)

08:25-09:05 Μουσική- κ. Αντώνης (*Music-Mr Antonis*)

Ο δάσκαλος αλλάζει θέση τους μαθητές ανάλογα με τις ανάγκες του μαθήματος (*The teacher changes the seating arrangements to accommodate the needs of his lesson*)

Η Μάγια κάνει spelling στη Νούρ για να γράψει τη λέξη notepad (*Maya spells to Noore the word notepad*)

Ο Τάραφ κάθεται με αγόρια (*Taraf seats with the boys*)
 Η Νουρ με κορίτσι και η Μάγια με κορίτσι (*Noore and Maya sit with girls*)
 Ο Τάραφ δεν δείχνει ενδιαφέρον και φαίνεται να μην μπορεί να παρακολουθήσει (*Taraf does not show any interested and seems to be unable to follow*)
 Ο δάσκαλος λέει πως η Νουρ μπορεί και μόνη της γι' αυτό και να εργαστεί μόνη της στον υπολογιστή (*The teacher says that Noore is capable to be working on her own and that is why she needs to sit on her own*)
 Ο Τάραφ φαίνεται να αδιαφορεί για το τι γίνεται (*Taraf shows no interest for what is happening*)
 Ο δάσκαλος φαίνεται να καθοδηγεί τα παιδιά αλλά δεν τραβά το ενδιαφέρον του Τάραφ (*The teachers seems to be guiding all the children but Taraf still shows no interest*)

9:25-10:05 και 10:05-10:45 - Ελληνικά κ. Γρηγόρης (Greek Mr Grigoris)

Η Νούρ λειτουργεί σαν βοηθός (*Noore acts as a helper*)
 Ο Τάραφ έγραψε έκθεση στη γλώσσα του και την διαβάζει στην ολομέλεια της τάξης (*Taraf wrote an essay in Arabic and reads it to the whole class*). Πρακτική: Η Νουρ μεταφράζει από αραβικά στα ελληνικά για την τάξη (μετάφραση) (*Practice: Noore translates from Arabic to Greek for the whole class (translation)*)
 Νουρ λέει οι αντί όχι χρησιμοποιεί γενικά κυπριακές λέξεις όταν μεταφράζει (*Noore says no in Cypriot instead in Greek and she generally uses Cypriot words when she translates*)
 Ένα κοριτσάκι πετάγεται να βοηθήσει να βρουν τη λέξη στα ελληνικά (*One girl jumps in to help find the equivalent word in Greek*)
 Ο δάσκαλος βάζει δυο τρεις λέξεις στα ελληνικά για να χρησιμοποιήσει ο Τάραφ στην έκθεσή του για βελτίωση (*The teacher adds two-three words in Greek so as for Taraf to use them in his essay in order to develop his vocabulary*)
 Η Μάγια και ο Τάραφ κάθονται μαζί και κατά διαστήματα μιλάνε μεταξύ τους στα αραβικά. Επιπλέον ο Τάραφ έχει βλεφική επαφή με Νουρ για συνεννόηση (*Maya and Taraf are sitting together and occasionally talk in Arabic. Also, Taraf has an eye contact with Noore so as to communicate*)
 Συζητούν για το θεατρικό έργο που έχουν δει (*They discuss about the theatre play they saw*)
 Ο Τάραφ και η Μάγια κάνουν άσκηση τονισμού σε φύλλο εργασίας καθώς γίνεται συζήτηση (*While the whole class discusses about the play, Taraf and Maya are working on an emphasis activity-how to add emphasis in Greek*)
 Η Νουρ προχωρεί μαζί με την υπόλοιπη τάξη (*Noore participates in whole group discussions*)
 Ο δάσκαλος ρωτάει αν κατάλαβε την υπόθεση του θεατρικού τη Νουρ για να πει την περίληψη (*The teacher asks Noore whether she understood the plot so as to say the summary*)
 Η Νουρ προσπαθεί, τα παιδιά πετάγονται (*Noore tries, but children interrupt*)
 Νουρ: Ένα παιδί ο Πέτρος... (*Noore: One child, Peter...*)
 Τα παιδιά: είναι στον πόλεμο (*Children: are in war*)
 Πρακτική: Καθοδηγητικές ερωτήσεις: Ο δάσκαλος ρωτάει ερωτήσεις: Γιατί υπέφερε ο Πέτρος (*Practice: Guiding questions: The teacher asks questions: Why was Peter suffering?*)
 Ο δάσκαλος διαβάζει την κριτική που έγραψε για το θεατρικό στα παιδιά (*The teacher reads to the children the review that he wrote about the play*)
 Ο Τάραφ κάνει την εργασία που του ανέθεσε ο δάσκαλος (*Taraf does the exercise that the teacher assigned to him*)
 Ο δάσκαλος κάνει ερώτηση στη Νουρ και η Νουρ αναφέρει κάποια προβλήματα που δημιουργήθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της παράστασης (*The teacher asks Noore a question and she reports some of the problems that occurred during the play*)
 Ο δάσκαλος διαβάζει (demonstrates) απόσπασμα από το μυθιστόρημα για να το έχουν για ανάγνωση αύριο (*The teachers reads, demonstrates an extract from the story and assigns this as their reading homework for the next day*)

Πρακτική: Ο δάσκαλος βάζει το Τάραφ να διαβάσει την άσκηση που του έβαλε. Διαβάζει μια πρόταση στα ελληνικά και το μεταφράζει και στα αγγλικά ο δάσκαλος για να του δώσει το νόημα 'Μια φορά και ένα καιρό' 'Once upon a time' (*Practice: The teacher asks Taraf to read the exercise that he assigned to him. He read one sentence in Greek and the teacher translates it into English so as to transfer the meaning Once upon a time*)

10:05: Ο δάσκαλος συνεχίζει να διαβάζει την ανάγνωση, η Μάγια και ο Τάραφ δεν φαίνεται να παρακολουθούν, η Νουρ φαίνεται να παρακολουθεί, ο Τάραφ φαίνεται να ρωτάει κάτι τη Νουρ από μακριά. (*The teacher keeps demonstrate the reading activity, Maya and Taraf show no interest, Noore pays attention, despite their desks not be close enough, Taraf seems to be asking Noore something*).

Διάλεκτος: παιδί κάνει απορία στα κυπριακά 'Τι λαλεί' και ο δάσκαλος απαντά 'λαλεί'
Ο δάσκαλος βάζει θέμα έκθεσης: Πόλεμος και Ειρήνη (*Dialect: a child asks a question in Cypriot, 'What does it say' and the teacher responds in Cypriot 'it says'. The teacher assigns a title for their essay: War and Peace*).

Λέει ένα παιδί αφού 'δεν το ζήσαμε' ο δάσκαλος λέει γράψε για την ειρήνη αφού την έχεις ζήσει (*A child comments that 'he did not experience it' and the teacher says write about peace that you have experienced*).

Κάθε Πέμπτη κάνουν θέμα έκθεσης. Ο δάσκαλος ζητά από τη Νουρ να μεταφράζει στα παιδιά τις ερωτήσεις τι είναι για μένα η ειρήνη, τι είναι για μένα ο πόλεμος, γιατί γίνεται πόλεμος, πιστεύετε ότι κάποτε θα σταματήσουν να γίνονται πόλεμοι και πώς θα τα καταφέρουμε; 'δικαιολογείται έστω ένας θάνατος παιδιού για ένα καλό σκοπό'; (*Every Thursday they have a an essay. The teacher asks Noore to translate to children the guiding questions such as what is peace for me, what is war for me, what there is war, do you think the wars will eventually stop and how will this happen? Can we justify a child's death if it's for a good cause*).

Γίνεται διάλογος μεταξύ των παιδιών και υπάρχουν απορίες (*A dialogue occurs and there are some questions*).

Πρακτική: code switching. Τα παιδιά δουλεύουν μόνα τους και ο δάσκαλος πάει στη Μάγια και τον Τάραφ και διαβάζουνε μαζί την άσκηση που τους έβαλε. Ο δάσκαλος εξηγεί τα μικρά κεφαλαία γράμματα. Ο δάσκαλος χρησιμοποιεί αγγλικά για μερικές λέξεις και του ζητά να το πει στα αραβικά π.χ νησί island, χάρτης map, κάστρο castle, γίγαντας giant. Ο δάσκαλος μου είπε ότι χρησιμοποιεί Αγγλικά αν και δεν ξέρουν πολύ καλά αλλά επειδή πέρασαν από διάφορες φάσεις σε χώρες μπορεί να πάρουν κάτι. Επίσης θεωρεί τα αγγλικά ως σημαντικό εργαλείο για την πορεία τους μετά γι' αυτό το περιλαμβάνει. (*The children are working on their own and the teacher goes next to Maya and Taraf and they read together their exercise. The teacher explains the difference between small and capital letters. The teacher uses English for some words and asks Taraf to say it in Arabic. He uses English for some words such as island, map, castle, giant. The teacher told me that he uses English even though they are not fully competent because the children went through different phases in different countries and they may have picked something. He also considers English as a useful tool for their development and that is why he includes it*).

Πρακτική μετάφραση: Ο δάσκαλος βάζει τον Τάραφ να χρησιμοποιεί google translator από Ελληνικά σε Αραβικά και αντίστροφο για να καταλάβει τη σημασία των λέξεων. (*Practice of translation: The teacher asks Taraf to use google translator from Greek to Arabic and vice versa in order to understand the meaning of the words*).

Έπειτα ο δάσκαλος πάει κοντά στη Μάγια για να της εξηγήσει την έκθεση. (*After that the teacher goes next to Maya to explain to her the essay*).

Διάλεκτος: Ένα παιδί ρωτάει μπορείς ή μπόρεις είναι το σωστό? (*Dialect: a child asks which one of the two versions of the word 'I can' is the correct one*).

Ο δάσκαλος δίνει οδηγίες και συζητά με τη Νουρ για το τι να γράψει στην έκθεση και θέματα ορθογραφίας π.χ δυο λ. (*The teacher gives instructions and discusses with Noore on what she is going to write in the essay and issues of orthography e.g. double l*).

Η Νουρ κάνει προτάσεις π.χ η ειρήνη είναι καλή και ο δάσκαλος κάνει καθοδηγητικές ερωτήσεις π.χ γιατί τι γίνεται όταν υπάρχει ειρήνη. Η Νουρ φαίνεται να μπορεί να γράφει άνετα, να αναγνωρίζει τους ήχους και να γράφει το αντίστοιχο γράμμα. (*Noore develops*

some sentences e.g. peace is good and the teacher asks guiding questions e.g. why, what is happening when there is Peace. Noore seems to be able to write easily, to recognising the phonemes and to be writing the equivalent grapheme).

Πρακτική χρήση μητρικής γλώσσας: Η Μάγια και ο Τάραφ γράφουνε την έκθεση στη γλώσσα τους (*Practice: use of mother tongue: Maya and Taraf write their essay in Arabic*)

10:55-11:35 Γεωγραφία- κ. Γρηγόρης (Geography Mr. Grigoris)

Ο δάσκαλος λέει να βγάλουν τετράδιο γεωγραφίας (*The teacher asks them to open their geography notebook*)

Μάγια και Τάραφ βλέπουν τι κάνουν οι υπόλοιποι και βγάζουνε το τετράδιο (*Maya and Taraf see what the other children are doing and they also open it*)

Προβολή βίντεο (*Video plays*).

Η Μάγια φαίνεται να προσπαθεί να επαναλάβει με τα χείλη της σιγανά το τι λέει ο δάσκαλος (*Maya seems to be trying to repeat with her lips quietly what the teacher is saying*).

Ο δάσκαλος κάνει ερωτήσεις για την ατμόσφαιρα ο Τάραφ και η Μάγια φαίνεται να μην ακολουθούν όπως ούτε και η Νουρ (*The teacher asks questions about the atmosphere and Taraf, Maya and Noore are not paying attention*)

Διάλεκτος: Φαίνεται να παρακολουθούν το βίντεο τα παιδιά. Ο δάσκαλος το σταματά ρωτάει τι σημαίνει υπερθερμένεται ? ένα παιδί λέει 'κρούζει' (*Dialect: children are watching the video. The teacher stops it and asks what overheating means, a child says in Cypriot burns*).

Η Μάγια παρακολουθεί αλλά φαίνεται να μην καταλαβαίνει τις λέξεις (*Maya pays attention but seems not be understanding the vocabulary*)

Φαίνεται να κατανοούν τις εικόνες του περιβάλλοντος (*They seem to understand the images about the environment*).

Τα παιδιά είναι well behaved παρόλον που δεν καταλαβαίνουν τα πάντα (*All children are well behaving despite not understanding everything*).

11:35-12:15 Ενισχυτική διδασκαλία μαζί με μεταφράστρια (Intensive Greek language class with the assistance of the school's translator)

κ. Γρηγόρης παίρνει αραβόφωνους μαθητές Ε' και Στ' για ενίσχυση (Μάγια, Τάραφ, Νουρ, Άγιουφ και Μάχμουτ ο Μάχαν λείπει) (*Mr Grigoris takes Arabic speaking children of years 5 and 6 out for extra Greek support, Maya, Taraf, Noore, Ayuf and Mahmud. Mahan is absent*).

Η Μάγια διαβάζει τι είχε γράψει 'Έχω ένα μικρό ελεφαντάκι 420 κιλά'. Ο δάσκαλος ρωτά Μάγια πώς διαβάζουμε 1000, 855, 800 (*Maya reads what she has written 'I have a small elephant 420 kg. The teacher asks Maya how do we read 1000, 855, 800*).

Ο Τάραφ ξέρει να διαβάζει 800 (*Taraf knows how to read 800*)

Ο δάσκαλος βάζει ενα ενα να διαβάσουν τους αριθμούς από το 100 μέχρι το 1000 (*The teacher puts one by one to read the numbers from 100 to 1000*).

Τα παιδιά δουλεύουν μόνα τους αλλά κάθονται δίπλα δίπλα (*The children are working on their own but they are sitting together*).

Η Μάγια λέει εξικόσα και ο δάσκαλος λέει εξακόσια (*Maya says number 600 incorrectly and the teacher demonstrates the correct one*).

Το τραγούδι είναι γραμμένο στο τετράδιό της Μάγια και είναι μεταφρασμένο από κάτω στα Αραβικά (*The song is written in Maya's notebook and it is translated underneath in Arabic*).

Η Μάγια μιλά με την μεταφράστρια για τα βιβλία που διάλεξε προηγουμένως στην έκθεση (*Maya talks with the translator in regards to the books that she chosen for the essay*).

Ο δάσκαλος τους βάζει να αντιγράψουν τους αριθμούς από 100-1000 (*The teacher asks them to copy the numbers from 100-1000*).

Μαθαίνουν να διαβάζουν τους αριθμούς 2375, 4608 (*They learning how to read numbers 2375, 4608*).

Ο Τάραφ αντιγράφει το τραγούδι που δεν έκανε γιατί έλειπε (*Taraf writes the song because he was absent the other day*).

Πρακτική επανάληψης: Η Μάγια επαναλαμβάνει τις απαντήσεις που λέει η Νουρ (*Translation practice: Maya repeats Noore's answers*).

Ο δάσκαλος δίνει έμφαση και στα αγγλικά π.χ %= τοις εκατό per cent (*The teacher emphasises in English as well, e.g %= percentage*).

Πρακτική: Η Μάγια δίνει εξηγήσεις στο Μάχμουτ στα αγγλικά, βρίσκουν τα αγγλικά ως κάτι ουδέτερο (*Practice: Maya explains to Mahmud in English, they find English as something neutral*).

Πρακτική: Ο δάσκαλος βάζει το τραγούδι και ζητά να γράψουν ό,τι ακούνε (*The teacher puts the song and asks them to write whatever they listen*).

΄ψηλά στον ουρανό΄ άκουσε ο Άγιουφ (*Ayuf listened 'high in the sky'*).

Ο Άγιουφ γράφει ΄ψιλά στν ουρανό΄ παραλείπουνε τα φωνήεντα γιατί δεν γράφουνε τα φωνήεντα στα αραβικά πχ ΄όντ ανευενει΄ έγραψε η Νουρ (*Ayuf wrote the sentence but omitted the vowels because in Arabic they omit the vowels. Noore omitted the vowels as well in her written product*).

Η μεταφράστρια είπε στη Μάγια να λέει σε παρακαλώ όταν ζητά κάτι και το κάνει. (*The translator said to Maya to say please when she asks something and she does it*).

Πρακτική: Αποδοχή και ανάδειξη μητρικής γλώσσας: Αφού τα έχουν γράψει στα ελληνικά ο δάσκαλος τους ζητά να τα μεταφράσουν π.χ ανεβαίνουν...> (*Practice: Value and promotion of mother tongue: after writing in Greek the teacher asks them to translate*).

Η κ. Μύσα γράφει στα αραβικά τη μετάφραση των ελληνικών του τραγουδιού στον πίνακα για να αντιγράψουν οι υπόλοιποι. Η κ. Μύσα ζητά να της ζωγραφίσουν την λέξη τραμπάλα. (*Ms Mysha writes in Arabic on the board the translation of the song for everyone to copy. Ms Mysha asks everyone to draw the word seesaw*).

Ο Μάχμουτ παρόλο που δεν καταλαβαίνει συμμετέχει, π.χ σηκώνεται να δει στον πίνακα τι ζωγραφίζουν (*Despite that fact that he does not understand, Mahmud participates. He stands up and goes on the board to see what the children are drawing*).

Ο Τάραφ αποκωδικοποιεί τα γράμματα και διαβάζει (*Taraf decodes the letters and reads*).

Ο δάσκαλος έχει ολοκληρωμένο πρόγραμμα για την παραγωγή και παρουσίαση του τραγουδιού σε όλο το σχολείο (*The teacher developed a programme for the production and presentation of the song to the school's assembly*).

Η Νούρ αντιλαμβάνεται πως το τραγούδι είναι παιδικό αλλά η μεταφράστρια της επισημαίνει πως έχει μάθει νέες λέξεις μέσα από αυτό. Η Νούρ μου είπε ότι μαθαίνουν Αγγλικά στο κέντρο, ο μπαμπάς της ξέρει αγγλικά και διδάσκει. Τώρα είναι στην Ελβετία αλλά καθώς μου μιλούσε στα Αγγλικά άλλαξε στα Ελληνικά για να μου εξηγήσει κάτι που δεν ήξερε στα Αγγλικά (*Noore realises that the song is for children but the translator points out to her that she learnt new vocabulary through that. Noore told me that they learn English at the refugee centre and that her dad knows and teaches English. Now he is in Switzerland but while she was talking to me in English she switched in Greek to explain to me something that did not know in English*).

12:25-13:05 Γεωγραφία- κ. Γρηγόρης (Geography Mr. Grigoris)

Ο δάσκαλος γράφει τα μαθήματα (*The teacher writes the homework*).

Ο δάσκαλος λέει στον Τάραφ να αρχίσει να γράφει (*The teacher says Taraf to start writing*).

Τάραφ και Μάγια έχουν ανάγνωση το τραγούδι που έμαθαν πριν. Τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά φαίνεται να το ξέρουν (*Taraf and Maya have as homework the song that they learnt. The rest of the children seem to know it.*).

Η Νουρ έχει τα ίδια μαθήματα με τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά (*Noore has the same homework with the rest of the children*).

Υπάρχει βίντεο για την υπερθέρμανση του πλανήτη. Όταν υπάρχει βίντεο φαίνεται να ενδιαφέρεται ο Τάραφ (*There is a video for global warming. When there is a video Taraf seems to pay attention*).

Η Μάγια παίζει με τα μολύβια της (*Maya plays with her pencils*).

Ο δάσκαλος βλέπει πως δεν μπορούν να ακολουθήσουν η Μάγια και ο Τάραφ και τους λέει να αρχίσουν να κάνουν τις εργασίες που έχουν για σπίτι. Αρχίζουν με μαθηματικά. Στη Νουρ λέει να κάνει ό,τι κάνουν τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά (*The teacher realises that Maya and Taraf are not able to follow and tells them to start working on their homework. They begin with mathematics. She says to Noore to do what the other Cypriot-Greek children are doing*).

Ο Τάραφ ανοίγει το βιβλίο των μαθηματικών του αλλά δείχνει να θέλει να παρακολουθεί το μάθημα Γεωγραφίας και βλέπει το τι κάνουν τα άλλα παιδιά (*Taraf open his mathematics book but wants to participate in Geography's lesson and sees what the other children are doing*).

Ο δάσκαλος ρωτά πώς λέγεται στα αγγλικά Βόρεια και Νότια (*The teacher asks how do we say in English North and South*).

Η Νούρ παίζει με τον συμμαθητή της Νικήτα (*Noore plays with her classmate Nikita*).

Appendix F: Transcribed interview with Noore and Maya

Participants: Noore and Maya

Length: 26:11

Information: The two girls are sitting next to each other trying to draw their friends on a piece of paper

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 1 | R | Πονάς το κεφάλι σου?
Do you have a headache? |
| 2 | M | شو؟
<u>What?</u> |
| 3 | Noore | وجعك هلا؟ كثير؟
<u>Does it hurt now? A lot?</u> |
| 4 | Maya | اي وجعني
<u>Yes, it hurts me</u> |
| 5 | R | Τι σημαίνει <συ>?
What does <συ> mean? |
| 6 | N | Τι
What |
| 7 | R | Α εκατάλαβα το!
Aw I figured it out! |
| 8 | Maya | شو؟
<u>What?</u> |
| 9 | R | Ναι
Yes |
| 10 | Maya | Τι, ναι
What, yes |
| 11 | R | Και το <λα> όχι
And <λα> όχι |
| 12 | Both | Ναι
Yes |

- 13 R Λοιπόν θέλω να μου ζωγραφίσετε τον εαυτό σας πάνω στην κόλλα, τον εαυτό σας
Well I want you to draw your selves on the paper, your self
- 14 R Εσένα να μου ζωγραφίσεις την Μαγια
You draw Maya
- 15 M شو؟
What?
- 16 N نرسم حالنا
We draw ourselves
- 17 R Τον εαυτό σου
Your self
- 18 M حالنا؟
Ourselves?
- 20 N مم
Mm
- 21 R Μπράβο πολύ καλή σκέψη
Bravo that's a good thought
- 22 N هذه
This one
- 23 R Εχωρίσετε την κόλλα μπράβο ok
You divided the paper bravo ok
- 24 M نور تعرفي ترسمي
Noore do you know how to draw?
- 25 N شوفي أنا مميله هيك الورق. مايا زيحي هيك
Look, I've slanted the paper like this. Maya move over.
- 26 M شو هاللون ما يكتب
This colour it doesn't write

- 27 R Τι λαλείτε τωρά μεταξύ σας?
What are you **saying** to each other now?
- 28 N Είπα της το χέρι σου
I told her your hand
- 29 M شو هذا اللون اللي معك أنا ما
What is the colour that's with you I'm not?
- 30 R Μάγια μου από πού είσαι?
Maya where are you from?
- 31 M Ιρακ
Iraq
- 32 R Στο Ιρακ πήγαινες σχολείο?
You were attending school in Iraq?
- 33 M Ε ναι
E yes
- 34 R Τι τάξη επίεννες?
What year **were you at?**
- 35 M Ε πέμπτη και τέλειωσε ((mistake in verb-subject agreement)) έκτη ναι εγώ شو أنا المفروض صف شو اسمه
Ah year 5 and I finish ((mistake in verb-subject agreement)) year 6 yes I what I am supposed to be in grade, what's it called?
- 36 N السابع έπρεπε τωρά να είναι πρώτη τάξη
The seventh? she was supposed to be now in the first year of high school
- 37 M Πρώτη πρώτη γυμνάσιο αλλά εγώ είμαι ε
Seven seven high school but I am e
- 38 N Να μάθει πιο πολλά
To learn more

Appendix G: Guiding questions for children's interviews

What is your name?

Where are you from?

What do you do everyday at school?

Who are your friends?

How do you communicate with your friends?

How many languages do you speak? Can you name them for me?

Are you using all the languages you know at school? For what reasons?

How do you learn Greek at school?

How do you support each other (peers) when learning Greek?

What does your teacher do to help you learn Greek?

Appendix H: Guiding questions for teachers

What is your name?

What is the position you hold in the school?

How do you consider the fact that you have children from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in your class?

How do you manage to support them linguistically and emotionally?

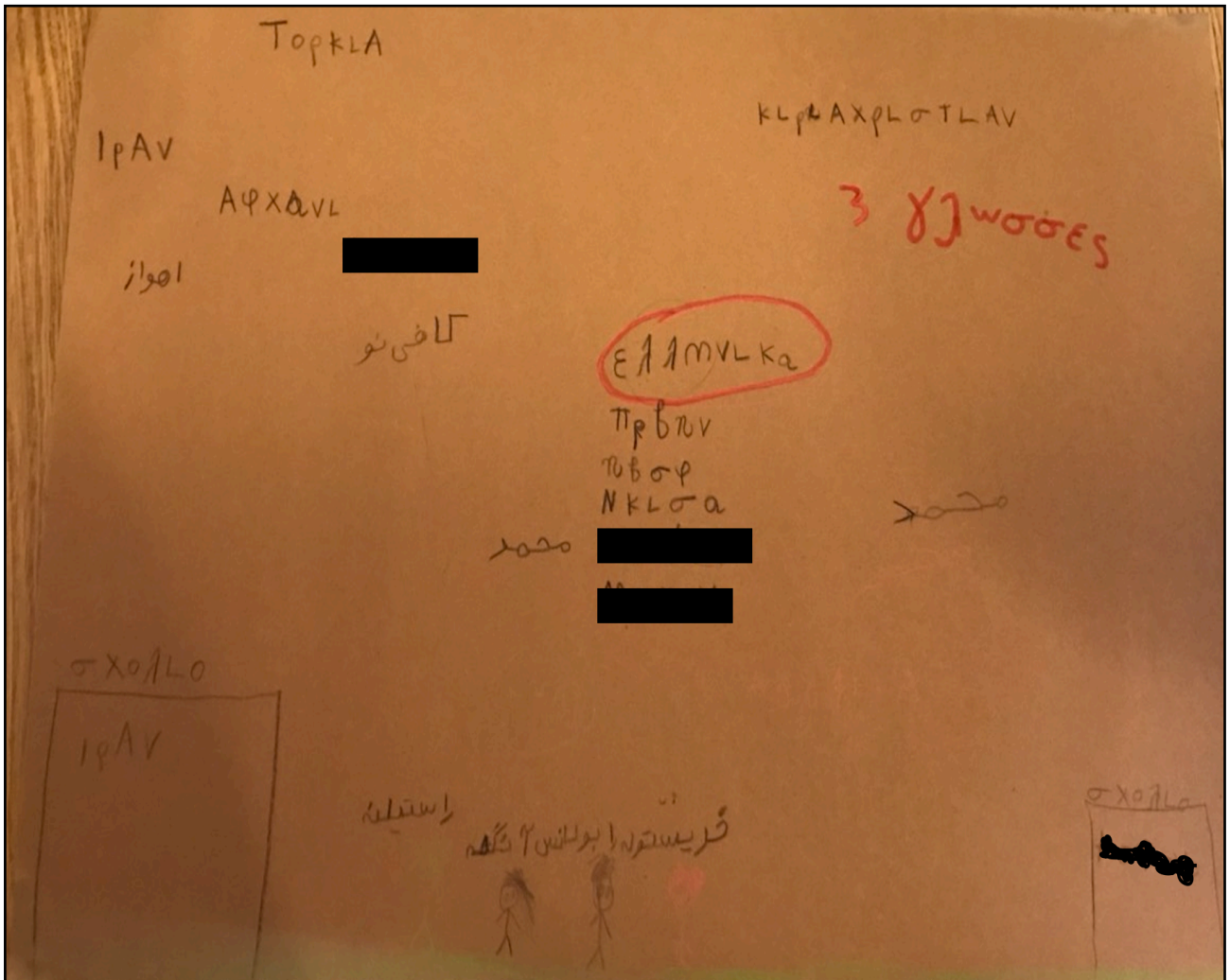
How do you manage to support all of your children while having to include children from different linguistic backgrounds in your lessons?

How is your school's policy in regards to multilingualism?

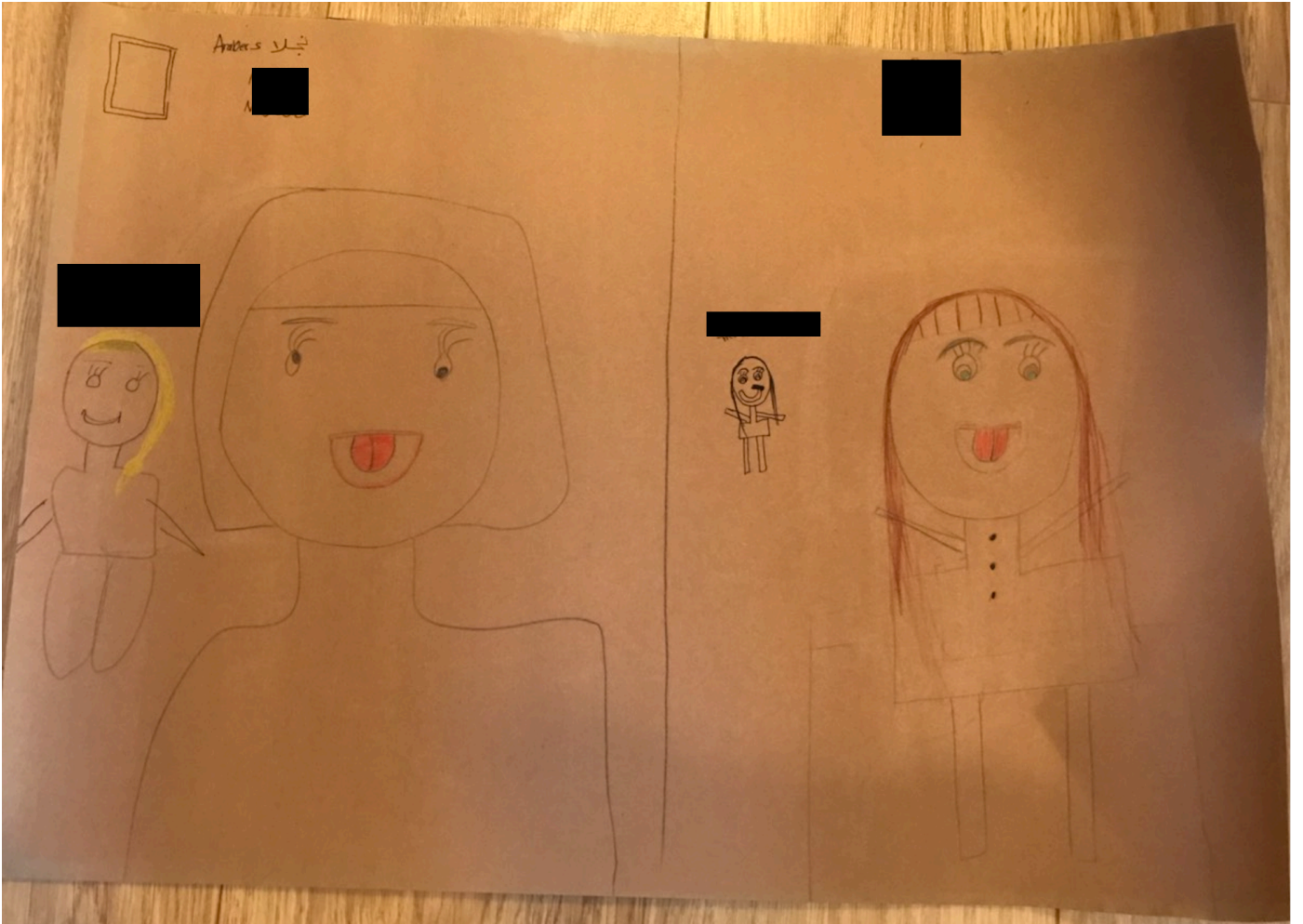
What is the role of MoEC in supporting these children? Do you receive any specific guidance?

What kind of advice would you give to a teacher in order to maximise all of their students learning potentials while teaching in multilingual spaces?

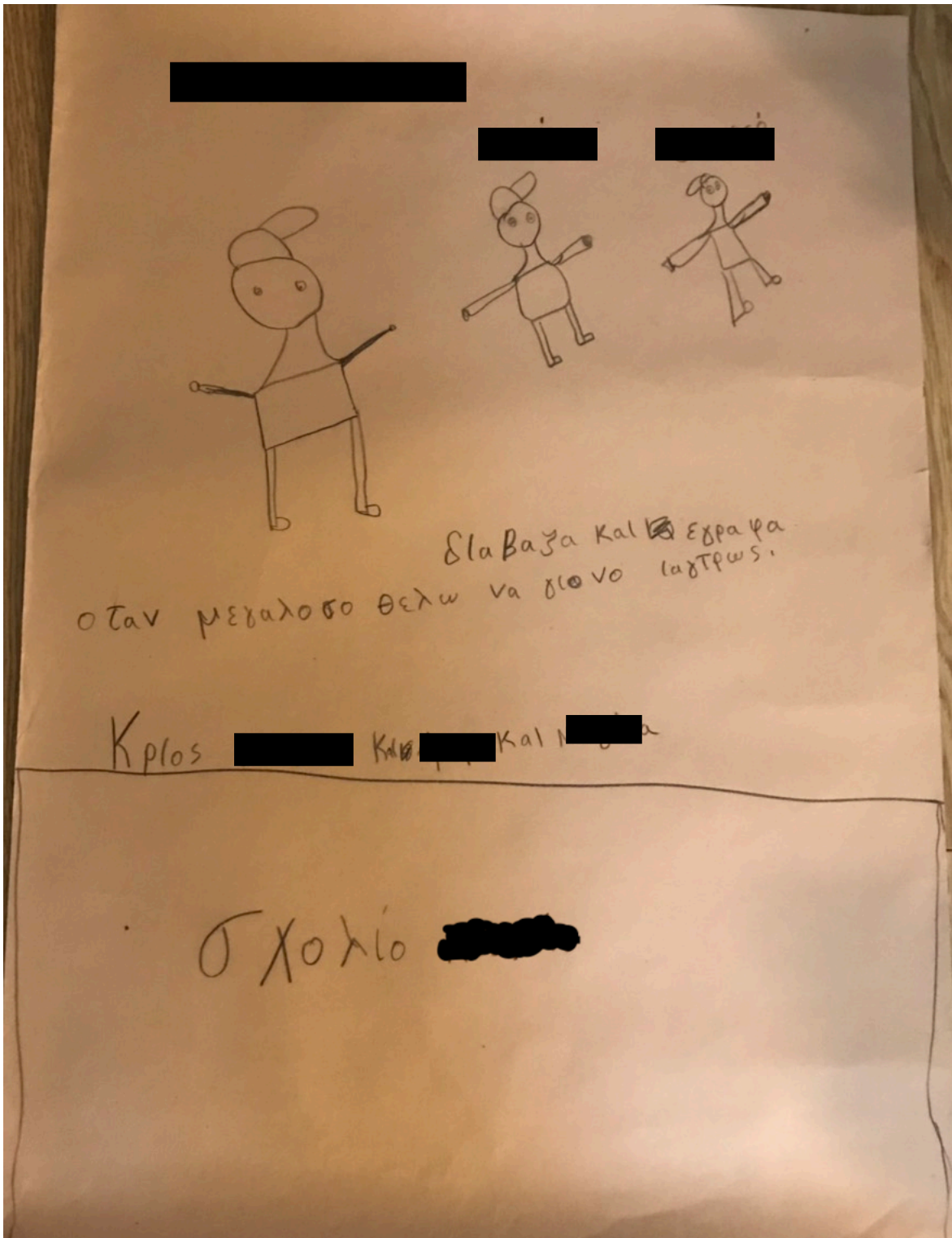
Appendix I: Children's drawing posters during interviews



(a): Mahmud's drawing



(b): Maya and Noore's drawing



(c): Taraf's drawing

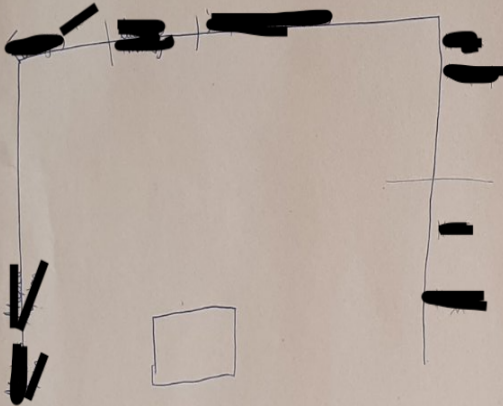
Χατζιρ = χαρταίρι
 Μάντρας = σχέδιο
 Χατζαρά = πέτρα
 Μανός = ψαλίδι
 Χαουρακά = χαρτί

Κοίλι = φάε
 Κάλιτα = σκύλος
 Αφούρα = Πύλη πουλι
 Πιρι = πέτα
 Μέρχατο = Γεια
 Σαδαν = αλελου-καρμύλα

Διάρα = ούε
 Φούρα = φριζόρα
 Σάβρα = δέντρο
 Κούτα = καπέλο
 Φαράουχα = φράουλα
 Σάτα = τσάντα
 Β = ναι
 Για = όχι
 Φουστόν = φέρβη
 Πατσέρον = πατερίκι

Ασφαρ = κίτρινο
 Αχφαρ = κόκκινο
 Αλφαρ = θείος
 Κριμρ = βελούδο
 Κιμρ = ποτό
 0 = φούρες
 1 = ασχέτ
 2 = νεν
 3 = τζατέ
 4 = αρπα
 5 = χαμσε
 6 = εϊτε
 7 = σαμπα
 8 = τολόνε
 9 =
 10 = αρα

Χα πιτι = αγάπη μου
 Χμαρ = χαίδαρι
 Κτορι = σερά μου
 Διτα = εζώ
 Λιτα = εσού/είσαι



(d): Stephani's drawing

Appendix J: Excel sheet on data organisation

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	Date	SoundFile	Participants	Content	Transcribed	Length	Themes							
2	10.02.2017	Y6100217Obs1	year 6 (essay)	classroom recording	yes	58:05:00	repetition, codeswitching							
3	02.03.2017	Y6020317Obs21	year 6 (maths)	classroom recording	yes	52:11:00	translation, codeswitching							
4	10.02.2017	Y6100217Obs3	year 6 (greek lesson with ms Mysha)	classroom recording	yes	46:29:00	repetition, codeswitching							
5	28.02.2017	Y6280217Obs4	year 6 (supporting greek)	classroom recording	yes	50:14:00	translation, codeswitching							
6	17.02.2017	Y6170217Obs5	year 6 (english lesson)	classroom recording		55:49:00	use of multiple repertoires							
7	11.02.17	Y6020117Obs6	year 6 (english lesson focus on Maya)	classroom recording	yes	43:24:00	codeswitching							
8	11.02.17	Y6020117Obs7	year 6 (computers lesson)	classroom recording		43:41:00	codeswitching							
9	21.02.2017	Y6210217Obs8	year 6 (supporting greek lesson)	classroom recording		42:12:00	translation, codeswitching							
10														
11														
12														
13														
14	17.03.2017	Y6170317Int1	Noore, Maya	Interview		26:11:00	code-switching, translation							
15	21.03.2017	Y6210317Int2	Miroula Fotis, Stefani, Marina	Interview		27:39:00								
16	17.04.2017	Y6170417Int3	Taraf	Interview	yes	22:26								
17	21.03.2017	Y6210317Int4	Amin	Interview	yes	16:24								
18	17.03.2017	Y6170317Int5	Ioanna, Victoria, Theodoros, Nikitas	Interview	yes	19:58	arabic song, value of all languages							
19														
20														
21														
22														
23														
24														

Appendix K: Transcription conventions adopted by Ochs (1996) and Seedhouse (2004)

?	Question mark shows rising in intonation in English and Arabic
;	Question mark shows rising in intonation in Greek
(.)	Period in parenthesis shows pause of less than one second
(0.4)	Numbers in round brackets indicate pauses in seconds
-	Hyphen shows that the participant is reading in syllables
[]	Square brackets show overlapping utterances
=	Equals shows latching- if inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and at the beginning of the next speaker's adjacent turn indicates that there is no pause between the turns
e:r the::	Colon and double colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound, the more colons the greater the lengthening
(xx)	Single parenthesis filled with xx show inaudible utterances
(())	Double parenthesis filled in with comments show researcher's comments
<>	Chevron brackets refer to phonological pronunciation and grammar and are represented by the IPA system
CAPITAL	Capital letters show extra emphasis and loudness of the utterances
L	Unidentified learner
LL	Several unidentified learners
■	Every utterance in black is what was actually uttered
<u>Underlined utterance</u>	<u>The underlined utterances show that the utterance was originally produced in the Arabic language</u>
<i>Italics utterance</i>	<i>The italics utterance show that the utterance was originally produced in the English language</i>
Bold	The bold font shows that the utterance was originally produced in Cypriot

*For cities, countries and names I'm using capital for the initial letter

Appendix L: Generating themes while transcribing

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Table Tools Design Layout Tell me what you want to do... Sign in Share

File Home Insert Design Layout References Mailings Review View EndNote X9 Design Layout Tell me what you want to do... Sign in Share

Clipboard Font Paragraph Styles Editing

307	TG	αυτή είναι μια δεκάδα/ this is one tenth/
308	Taraf	ΕΞΙ= SIX=
309	TG	=ΕΞΙ δεκάδες/ APA εξήντα εννιά ίσον (.) εξήντα εννιά ΙΣΟΝ εξήντα εννιά ίσον =SIX tenths/ SO sixty nine EQUALS sixty nine equals sixty nine e[quals
310	Maya	ίσον (2) ίσον;= [equals (2) equals?=-
311	Taraf	/ίσον يساوي = =equals equals/
312	Maya	εξήντα εννιά/ = زائد ولا شو ضرب ولا ؟ sixty-nine/ plus or what? times (.) or?=-
313	Taraf	=ΙΣΟΝ يساوي= =Equals equals=-
314	Maya	=؟هكذا= =like this?=-
315	Taraf	/اه ا= =yes yes/
316	TG	άρα Μάγια Τάραφ/ εξήντα εννιά ίσον ΕΞΙ δεκάδες και το δεκάδες το βάζω δ εντάξει έξι δεκάδες και πόσες μονάδες;=-


Alexandra Georgiou
use of code-switching to explain vocabulary

26

Page 26 of 46 7901 words English (United States) 100%

Appendix M: Consent letter for parents sent in Arabic

Institute of Education



1

إلى الأهل الكرام ،
 اسمي ألكندرا يورغينو وأنا أخصي رسالتي من الدكتوراه في جامعة لندن
 لهذا أقدم بعني في مدرسة كوفينو عن كيفية تعلم الأولاد اللاتين اللغة
 اليونانية والمزاج التعليمي المتبع في هذا المجال .
 مشاركة ابنكم/ابنتكم في هذا البحث يجب أن أصل على إذن منكم بذلك لكي
 ألاحظ الطلاب أثناء الحصة الدراسية .
 أن أكون اليوم عن تجربتي من تعلم اللغة اليونانية .
 أود أن أشكر لكم بأن هذا البحث لن يؤثر على محتوى الدرس وعلى المعلومات
 التي أجمعها سيتم معالجتها بطريقة تامة فقط لغرض البحث . لن يذكر اسم
 المدرسة أو الصف أو اسم الطالب في هذا البحث أو أي شيء آخر . المشاركة في
 هذا البحث اختيارية ويمكن للطلاب أن نسحب منهجنا حينما يريد .
 أخصي أن يشارك ابنكم/ابنتكم في هذا البحث ، وإذا كنتم موافقين أرجو منكم
 أن توفقوا الاستمارة المرفقة وتعيدوها إلى المدرسة .
 إن كان لديكم أي استفسار يمكنكم التواصل معي عن alexantrageo@gmail.com

أسمح لابني/ابنتي أن يشارك في البحث .
 لا أسمح لابني/ابنتي أن يشارك في البحث .

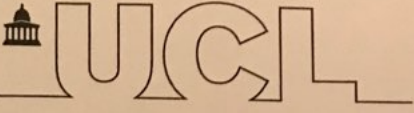
Επιτρέπω στο παιδί μου να συμμετέχει στην έρευνα.
 Δεν επιτρέπω στο παιδί μου να συμμετέχει στην έρευνα

اسم الطالب:
 اسم الأهل:
 توقيع الأهل:
 التاريخ:

UCL Institute of Education
 20 Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL
 Telephone +44(0)20 7612 6000

Appendix N: Consent letter for parents sent in Greek

Institute of Education



Εκμάθηση ελληνικών από πρόσφυγες σε ένα δημοτικό σχολείο της Κύπρου

Ημερομηνία:

Αγαπητοί γονείς και κηδεμόνες,

Ονομάζομαι Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργίου και είμαι υποψήφια διδάκτορας στο Ινστιτούτο Εκπαίδευσης στο Πανεπιστημιακό Κολλέγιο του Λονδίνου. Θα ήθελα να σας ενημερώσω για την έρευνά μου στην οποία θα ήθελα να συνεργαστώ με το σχολείο του παιδιού σας. Ενδιαφέρομαι να ερευνήσω πώς τα παιδιά τα οποία είναι πρόσφυγες μαθαίνουν ελληνικά και τους τρόπους με τους οποίους το εκπαιδευτικό μας σύστημα τα υποστηρίζει. Το χρονικό διάστημα που υπολογίζεται να κρατήσει η συλλογή δεδομένων είναι από τον Ιανουάριο μέχρι τον Μάρτη 2017. Θα το εκτιμούσα εάν είχα την άδειά σας να:

- παρατηρήσω το παιδί σας κατά τις σχολικές περιόδους στην τάξη αλλά και στο ολοήμερο προαιρετικό σχολείο
- μιλήσω με το παιδί σας ανα διαστήματα όταν είναι παρούσα η δασκάλα της τάξης για τις εμπειρίες τους στο να συνεργάζονται με τα παιδιά τα οποία είναι πρόσφυγες.

Θα ήθελα να σας πληροφορήσω ότι οποιαδήποτε παρατήρηση γίνεται δεν θα επηρεάζει τη μάθηση των παιδιών σας και όποια πληροφορία και αν συλλεχθεί είναι αυστηρώς ανώνυμη. Το όνομα του σχολείου, η τάξη ή το όνομα των μαθητών απαγορεύεται να δημοσιευθούν σε αυτή την έρευνα ή σε όποια άλλη έρευνα ακολουθεί. Η συμμετοχή του παιδιού σας είναι εθελοντική και μπορεί να αποσυρθεί όποτε το θελήσει.

Ελπίζω ότι το παιδί σας θα λάβει μέρος στην έρευνα και εάν συμφωνείτε με τα πιο πάνω παρακαλώ υπογράψτε την πιο κάτω δήλωση και επιστρέψτε την στη δασκάλα/δασκάλο του παιδιού σας. Εάν έχετε οπουδήποτε απορία σχετικά με τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας παρακαλώ μη διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί μου είτε τηλεφωνικώς στο 0035799951545 ή με email στο alexantrageo@gmail.com

.....

Επιτρέπω στο παιδί μου να συμμετέχει στην έρευνα.

Δεν επιτρέπω στο παιδί μου να συμμετέχει στην έρευνα

Όνομα παιδιού:

Όνομα γονιού/κηδεμόνα:

Υπογραφή γονιού/κηδεμόνα:


Ημερομηνία:

UCL Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL
Telephone +44(0)20 7612 6000

Appendix O: Consent letter for children

Μαθαίνω Ελληνικά

Ημερομηνία:



Αγαπητά μου παιδιά,

Με λένε Αλεξάνδρα και για κάποιο χρονικό διάστημα θα βρίσκομαι στην τάξη σας να βλέπω τον τρόπο που μαθαίνετε! Θα ήθελα επίσης να σας μιλήσω για τις εμπειρίες σας στην Κύπρο και συγκεκριμένα για τον τρόπο που μαθαίνετε ελληνικά! Θα έχουμε μια μικρή συζήτηση και μπορείτε και σεις να με ρωτήσετε πράγματα που θέλετε. Μπορεί επίσης να σας ζητήσω να κάνετε κάποιες ζωγραφιές για μένα για να μπορούμε να ζητήσουμε. Θα έχω μαζί μου το μαγνητοφωνάκι μου για να μην ξεχνάω αυτά που μου λέτε! Δεν θα πω σε κανένα ό,τι κι αν μου πείτε γιατί αυτά είναι προσωπικά δεδομένα και γι' αυτό τον λόγο θα χρησιμοποιώ ψευδώνυμο! Σε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή μπορείτε να σταματήσετε να συμμετέχετε στην έρευνα. Μπορείτε αν θέλετε να μη λάβετε μέρος στην έρευνά μου. Όποια και αν είναι η απόφασή σας παρακαλώ δώστε αυτό το γράμμα στους γονείς/κηδεμόνες σας και ζητήστε τους να το συμπληρώσετε μαζί. Μετά επιστρέψτε το πίσω στη δασκάλα σας!

Σας ευχαριστώ πολύ! Ανυπομονώ να συνεργαστώ μαζί σας!

.....

Παρακαλώ γράψε το όνομά σου, διάβασε τα κουτάκια και βάλε √. Υπόγραψέ το το και γράψε την ημερομηνία.

Το όνομά μου είναι:

Η τάξη μου είναι:

Θέλω να συμμετάσχω στην έρευνα

Δεν θέλω να συμμετάσχω στην έρευνα

Υπογραφή:

Ημερομηνία:

Appendix P: Plot of Nasreddin Hodja

The specific plot of Nasreddin that was presented in Year 5, was about peoples' criticism. Nasreddin and his father loaded their donkey with supplies to sell them in the market. However, they received many critiques by the villagers on the ways that they were riding their donkey, which made Nasreddin to change how he carried their supplies. At the end, the father advised his son that he should not listen to what other people say.

Appendix Q: Lyrics of the song *Tiri Tiri Ya asfoura*, by Majida AlRumi

Lyrics to 'fly, fly little bird' by Majida AlRumi

Fly fly little bird, I am like you nice and small
Fly fly little bird, I am like you nice and small
I run above the tops of flowers,
I soar over the river waters and I put a flower in
my hair
I run above the tops of flowers,
I soar over the river waters and I put a flower in
my hair

Where is your house, dear bird? I only see you
flying
You have but two wings, tell us a little something
And if they ask us we will say we did not talk to
the bird

Fly fly little bird, I am like you nice and small
I run above the tops of flowers,
I soar over the river waters and I put a flower in
my hair

You are friends with all the family, you tell them
all what we have done
We played, we studied our books, we caused
mischief and we ate
And we did not see you or you see us
How did you know, little bird?

Fly fly little bird, I am like you nice and small
I run above the tops of flowers,
I soar over the river waters and I put a flower in
my hair

كلمات أغنية: طيري طيري , يا عصفورة – لماجدة الرومي

طيري طيري يا عصفورة أنا متلك حلوة صغيرة
طيري طيري يا عصفورة أنا متلك حلوة صغيرة
بركض فوق حفاف الزهر... بحجر ع ميات النهر و بحط بشعري
بشورة
بركض فوق حفاف الزهر... بحجر ع ميات النهر و بحط بشعري
بشورة

بيتك يا عصفورة وين ما بشوفك غير بتطيري
ما عندك غير جناحين حاكينا كلمة صغيرة
ولو سالونا بنقلن ما حاكتنا العصفورة

طيري طيري يا عصفورة أنا متلك حلوة صغيرة
بركض فوق حفاف الزهر... بحجر ع ميات النهر و بحط بشعري
بشورة

انتي و كل الاهل صحاب بتحكيين شو ما عملنا
لعينا درسنا بكتاب و تشيطنا و اكلنا
و ما شفناكي و شفنا
كيف عرفتي يا عصفورة

طيري طيري يا عصفورة أنا متلك حلوة صغيرة
بركض فوق حفاف الزهر... بحجر ع ميات النهر و بحط بشعري
بشورة