

**TRANSLANGUAGING IN RWANDAN CLASSROOMS:
CASE OF
*MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES IN TWO SECONDARY SCHOOLS***

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THESIS

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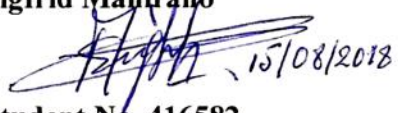
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Declaration

I, *Sigfrid MANIRAH*O, declare that this thesis entitled **Translanguaging in Rwandan Classrooms: Case of Multilingual Practices in two Secondary Schools** is my own unaided work; and that the information quoted from other sources has been duly acknowledged.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.0 SYNOPSIS

The present thesis focuses on the implementation of the current language-in-education policy at secondary school level in Rwanda. More specifically, it is an attempt to document the nature of classroom “multilingual practices” (*Translanguaging*) in the virtually monolingual context of Rwanda; and explore the way in which flexible and judicious use of all the languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire has the potential to enhance deeper Subject Content Teaching/Learning as well as Language Competence Development.

In recent years, multilingual practices in schools referred to as “Translanguaging” have retained much attention as valid classroom teaching/learning strategies (Williams 1980; Carcia 2009; Lewis, Colin, and Baker 2012; Hornberger & Link 2012); and many studies have concentrated efforts on identifying their functions in the classroom and the benefits they bring to the teaching/learning process (e.g.: Creese & Blackledge 2010, Muhonen 2012; Jonsson 2012; Li Wei 2011; Makalela 2013, 2014, 2015). However, the linguistic and cultural diversity character of the contexts in which most of these studies have been/are being conducted seems to suggest that Translanguaging occurs only in such *linguistically* and culturally hyperdiverse contexts.

The present thesis argues that multilingual practices (*viz. Translanguaging*) occur even in contexts of low linguistic and cultural diversity like Rwanda. However, virtually no studies have documented the nature of multilingual practices in low linguistic and cultural diversity contexts and explored their role in fostering deeper Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development.

Through the lenses of the theories of *Translanguaging* (Lewis et al. 2012); *Language Proficiency* (Cummins 1979; 1999); *Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing* (Anderson & Krathwohl 2001); and *Multicompetence* (Cook 1995, Hill et al. 2006, Altpekin 2010, Franceschini 2011); and also in a unique multilingual context where two African languages (Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili) and two European languages (English and French) are competing for space on the Rwandan linguistic market, this study attempts to fill the gap by examining the dynamics of classroom multilingual practices in two secondary schools in Rwanda; and ascertaining their potential to enhance Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

As the present study is undertaken in a context of multilingualism, it is necessary to start by a presentation of multilingualism in Rwanda; and a discussion of what the linguistic situation in secondary schools represents. In this Section, therefore, I firstly present the “extent of multilingualism in Rwanda (Sub-section 1.1.1). Then I discuss the multilingual/basically monolingual situation of Rwanda (Sub-section 1.1.2); and I close the Section on an analysis of the language policy in Rwanda as the basis of multilingualism in the country (Sub-section 1.1.3).

1.1.1 The Extent of Bilingualism in Rwanda

African Languages

For an account of African languages in the context of Rwanda, one can’t but firstly mention a number of languages brought in by former refugees who had mainly taken refuge in neighboring countries. Indeed, following the repatriation of an estimated 850,000 former refugees of whom many had fled the country as far back as 1959 (Rosendal 2009), many languages may have been introduced in the country from neighbouring countries such as DRC and Tanzania reputed for their linguistic “megadiversity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000),” but the list could be hard to establish. What is sure is that languages like Lingala from DRC, Luganda from Uganda, and Kirundi from Burundi and others can be heard in Rwanda from time to time. However, as these languages cannot be identified with any specific location, they can be viewed as simply characterizing individual bilingualism.

Other African languages, however, are specifically identified with some areas of the country. Thus, apart from dialects of Kinyarwanda (Rudacogora 2014; 166) which are really very slight regional variations; other African languages are spoken in border areas of Rwanda in addition to Kinyarwanda (CONFEMEN 1986 and the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) in Rosendal 2010). As Rosendal (2010) lists them from CONFEMEN 1986 and the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), these languages, all ‘Bantu of the Niger-Congo family’ are:

‘Oluciga, spoken by approximately 96,000 people in a zone along the North East Rwandan border with Uganda; Igihavu spoken by 96,000 people in a north western zone on the border with DRC; Amashi, spoken by 35,000 people on the south west border with DRC; and Ikirashi [small number unspecified] spoken in an eastern area on the border with Tanzania (Ibid. 210)’.

As I gathered from personal communication with friends from the areas where these languages are spoken; generally all the speakers of these languages also use Kinyarwanda for their everyday communication. Most of them grow up simultaneously learning both of the languages; others learn Kinyarwanda when they go to school; and still others are, at a later stage, naturally immersed in Kinyarwanda which is actually used all around them. Their L1s are thus spoken among friends of the same area or in the family; so that they rarely need to use them anywhere else; and in fact, the result of this situation is that, there appears to be practically no linguistic minorities in the country (Rosendal 2009) in spite of the existence of these languages.

Finally, one note on Kiswahili, an important African language in Rwanda, is necessary. Firstly, this language is the first foreign language to have been introduced in Rwanda. That was during the German Protectorate (between 1898 and 1916) (Rosendal 2009; Rurangirwa 2014; 2002 Census, 2005) and it was used for administration and communication with the population, as well as a medium of instruction since 1907 in the nascent formal education. It is worth noting that, even though this language has no official status (Rurangirwa 2014)¹, it is very important as it is not only taught in most Rwandan schools, but also; it is used in all the countries sharing borders with Rwanda (Tanzania, Uganda, DRC, Burundi); it is the lingua franca of the East African Community of which Rwanda is a member; and it is spoken in Kenya, a country through which many commercial transactions to and from Rwanda transit (Ibid. 2014).

¹ Meanwhile Kiswahili has acquired an official status in addition to Kinyarwanda, English, and French.

In sum then, it would be right to say that there might be a number of African languages spoken by individuals in Rwanda in addition to Kinyarwanda. Many reasons, however, make them invisible. Firstly as earlier mentioned, most of them, especially the ones introduced after 1994 with the repatriation of former refugees are not identified with any area where they are particularly used. Secondly, even those which are identified with a certain territory as mentioned above, are so small (together representing 0.3%) that their speakers find it more useful to integrate the mainstream society which uses Kinyarwanda (Nkurunziza 2011 cited in Gafaranga et al. 2013: 320). Finally, and perhaps as a corollary to the above reasons; as a study on knowledge and use of L2s conducted in Kigali by Karangwa (1995 in Rosendal 2009) has shown; proficiency in those languages is low. In this regard, it will be remarked that, poor competence is even reported by speakers of Kiswahili (Ibid. 1995; 202; Census, 2005; Maniraho 2013) in spite of its long history in Rwanda. Therefore, some African languages are present in Rwanda, but the real situation is that none of them has a communicative strength equating or nearing the ‘communicative potential of Kinyarwanda (Rosendal 2009)’. And as argued next, the situation with European languages doesn’t seem to be any different.

European and Other Non-African Languages in Rwanda

Like in the case of African languages, the first aspect of the presence of European languages in Rwanda is the knowledge and use of some of them by individuals. Indeed, as a number of Rwandans have had to be educated in foreign countries, some people may be speaking Bulgarian, Russian, German, etc. (Personal knowledge of and communication with a number of people who happen to know and use these languages in this way), depending on the language they were educated in. In this regard, even other non-European languages such as Chinese and Japanese have been learnt by people while studying in the respective countries, and thus; they might be being used in the country from time to time. Also some expatriates speaking their native languages, such as Greek, Gujarati, Spanish, etc. can be sometimes heard in Rwanda, just as some advertisements and signs might be seen (Rosendal 2009) though in small number.

Apart from these instances of individual bi-multilingualism, another, more important, aspect of the presence of European languages is directly linked to formal education in Rwanda generally. Indeed, when considering the history of formal education in Rwanda, it appears clearly that foreign language teaching is among its most important activities (Maniraho 2013). Thus French

was introduced by the Belgian colonizer through education in replacement of Kiswahili (Ntakirutimana 2005); English was taught for a few hours throughout Secondary school since 1962; and even some other languages which are not often mentioned, namely Flemish, classic Greek and Latin were taught mainly in seminaries by catholic priests (Maniraho 2013).

What this suggests then is that, generally, all Rwandans who have had an opportunity to go at least through secondary school education are normally “bilingual” with Kinyarwanda and one (or more) European language(s); and most of the time, that (these) European language(s) is (are) French or (and) English; even though “**bilingualism**” in the context of Rwanda is often paradoxically understood as referring to French-English bilingualism²; not Kinyarwanda-French or Kinyarwanda-English bilingualism (Habyarimana 2014). In other words, many European and non-African languages are, to differing degrees, present in the country, but in reality; **English** and **French** are the most important of all, and knowledge of these languages in Rwanda (indeed, bilingualism in the country generally) is mainly related to education.

1.1.2 Rwanda, a “Multilingual Society” and yet, a “Basically Monolingual Society”

From the above presentation, some important remarks can be made about languages in Rwanda; the first being about African and non-African languages as taken together. As has appeared from the presentation, an indefinite number of African and non-African languages were mentioned. However, only two African languages, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili; and two European languages, English and French; are the most noteworthy of all the languages that can be said to be present in Rwanda. Also, no matter how many of these languages you know, you are not considered as “bilingual” unless you know **French and English**. The tendency, therefore, it should be reiterated, is to understand “bilingual” as “**bilingual in French and English**”; not bilingual Kiswahili and English or Kirundi and French; or even in Kinyarwanda-French bilingual nor Kinyarwanda-English (Habyarimana, 2014).

Another remark is about the low number of people who know foreign languages in Rwanda. Firstly, even though a number of foreign languages were mentioned, there are no accounts of how many people know most of these languages, mainly because they are seldom used. In fact,

² Owing to the fact that nearly all Rwandans speak Kinyarwanda, the fact of knowing it is often taken as granted, and thus, it is implicitly viewed as an “unmarked” achievement. On the contrary, knowing other languages is particularly noticed.

the only languages which are recognized as present and generally reported as being used in Rwanda are **Kinyarwanda, French, English, and Kiswahili**.

Concerning these languages more particularly, in spite of their importance in different domains of social life in Rwanda; there seem to be, as can be seen in the Table below, relatively few people who know and use French, English, and Kiswahili. Thus, even though French was introduced in Rwanda as early as 1916, it was used by the Belgian colonizer (2002 Census, 2005) and the elite who served in his administration; and thus it was not widely spread among the population since it has always been transmitted through formal education (2002 Census, 2005; Ntakirutimana 2010); the result being that it was considered as “the language of the educated others (Maniraho 2013).”

And a similar remark can be made about English. Until 1994, the language was not given much emphasis, and even the educated elite were few to know it (2002 Census, 2005; Maniraho 2013). However, with the repatriation of a substantial number of former refugees who mainly had fled to Anglophone countries, the number of English speakers among Rwandans has increased considerably (Rosendal 2010; Samuelson & Freedman 2010). Furthermore, the fact that English is currently the sole medium of instruction from upper primary school to university implies that more and more Rwandans are becoming more or less competent in the language.

Finally, Kiswahili can also be considered as a language with a long history of presence and use in Rwanda as it was introduced as early as 1899 (Rosendal 2009) with German trusteeship. Yet, as it tended to be limited to certain urban (mainly Muslim) quarters in towns; it was not widespread among the population (2002 Census, 2005). In other words, there were relatively few people in Rwanda who knew Kiswahili until recently when the number of its users seemed to increase, again following the repatriation of former refugees who had taken refuge in the countries of the region which use it.

Overall then, it could be said that a number of languages may be present in the context of individual bi-multilingualism in Rwanda; but they are not very visible in terms of the number of people who **know and use** them in everyday communication. This doesn't mean that so called “foreign” languages are not important in Rwanda, however. Rather, all the four languages mentioned earlier, **Kinyarwanda, French, English, and Kiswahili**, can be said to be, from the

societal bilingualism point of view, very important in Rwanda; and they are important for the following reasons respectively:

(1) Kinyarwanda because it is *de jure* and *de facto* the national language; (2) Kinyarwanda, French, English, and Kiswahili because the **four** have an official status³, and are spoken by a relatively substantial number of people (99.4%; 7%; 6%, and 3% respectively); and finally, (3) English, Kinyarwanda, French, and Kiswahili because they **all** have a role in education (English in this respect heading the list as the MoI from upper primary school throughout university; Kinyarwanda following it as MoI at lower primary school; and English, Kinyarwanda, French and Kiswahili in this order all having a role as subjects taught at different levels of schooling).

For a panoramic view of these languages, the following Table gives details on their condition of use and the proportion of the population who use them.

Language spoken	Qualification of the condition of use	Population speaking the language	%
Kinyarwanda	<i>Monolinguals and bi/multilinguals</i>	10,473,668	99.4%
French	<i>Monolinguals and bi/multilinguals</i>	737,635	7%
English	<i>Monolinguals and bi/multilinguals</i>	632,233	6%
Kiswahili	<i>Monolinguals and bi/multilinguals</i>	316,166	3%

Table 1: Languages in Rwanda and proportions of the population who use them⁴

As can be seen in this Table, Kinyarwanda used by practically all Rwandans heads the list. The other languages ranked in the order corresponding to the number of their speakers seem to be low in importance as compared to Kinyarwanda, but other factors contribute to securing them a more important role in the country (Rosendal 2009). Thus, along with these factors, the overall

³ Kiswahili was declared an official language in 2017, thus adding to Kinyarwanda, French, and English; so that there are currently 4 official languages in Rwanda.

⁴ The figures in this Table should not be read as vertically cumulative since the same individuals may figure in more than one row as bi/multilinguals. Indeed, a number of people in Rwanda can speak Kinyarwanda and French, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili, or Kinyarwanda and English to differing degrees; others can speak Kinyarwanda, French and English or Kinyarwanda, English and French; and still others can simultaneously speak Kinyarwanda, French, English, and Kiswahili.

picture presented in this Table allows for the following characterization of Rwanda as a bi-multilingual country.

Rwanda as a Basically Monolingual Society with a Monolingual Tradition

As already mentioned, the above figures present one language, Kinyarwanda⁵; as overwhelmingly dominant. Considering the ‘communicative potential (Rosendal 2010)’ of that language, it **appears** to be in fact dominant. In this regard, Rwanda appears to be a “basically monolingual” society; and observers and researchers who have had to deal with languages in Rwanda have often noted it. Thus, Ntakirutimana (2005: 19) speaks of a country where the whole population communicates through one language; Rurangirwa (2012: 169) characterizes Kinyarwanda as the language of most of Rwandans; and Diki-Kidiri (2002: 4 in Rudacogora 2014) refers to bi-multilingualism in Rwanda as a rare situation where virtually the whole population speaks the same language which is both a national and an official language.

Another more subtle picture linked to the tradition of monolingualism (that of language and identity) is given by Gafaranga, Niyomugabo, and Uwizeyimana (2013) in a study of ‘the relationship between the three official languages in Rwanda (study entitled “*Micro declared language policy or not?: language-like statements in the rules of procedure of the Rwandan Parliament*”). In this article, these scholars gather a number of evidence that convincingly show that the Rwandan society generally associate Kinyarwanda, the national language, ‘with “Rwandan-ness,” with the national identity (Gafaranga et al. 2013: 320)’. In this vein, as Gafaranga et al. (2013) elaborate, the symbolic function of Kinyarwanda is attested to in ‘a variety of intertextual evidence’.

The first evidence produced by Gafaranga et al. (2013: 320) is the national anthem which declares: “Our language unites us” (= *Ururimi rwacu ruraduhuza*). This Anthem, it will be noted, dates from 2002⁶, and echoes a number of other examples of political discourse geared to attempting reunification and reconciliation of the Rwandan people. One such example given by Gafaranga et al. (2013: 321) is the presentation of ‘the absence of linguistic diversity [as] a “clear” evidence of societal homogeneity.’ Still another example is related to the population’s

⁵ The meaning of the word “Kinyarwanda” is ‘the language of Rwanda’.

⁶ This Anthem (*titled Rwanda Nziza*) replaced the former 1962 one (*titled Rwanda Rwacu*).

attitudes toward Kinyarwanda. As Gafaranga et al. (2013) exemplify, a news article about language shift to Kinyarwanda in a small island, Nkombo, in Lake Kivu reports that the fact of the island people shifting to Kinyarwanda makes them feel more integrated ‘in the mainstream Rwandan society’.

To conclude this note about the monolingual character and tradition of the Rwandan society, therefore, it could be stressed that, even though some languages (both African and non-African) may be being spoken by individuals talking to their friends and families; the common denominator among Rwandans is that, for the most part, they virtually all converge on Kinyarwanda (Rosendal, 2010; Mukama; Rurangirwa 2014) regardless of their linguistic background.

That is why, for communication in practically all sorts of situations, the default choice is Kinyarwanda whenever one is sure the interlocutor is not an expatriate. The question that might be puzzling, therefore, is how such a linguistically homogeneous country might have language policy problems (see for example Rurangirwa 2014: “various language conflicts”; Rurangirwa 2012: “the absence of Kinyarwanda in the current language policy”; Rosendal 2009 and Rudacogora & Rurangirwa 2013: tough “competition on the linguistic market in Rwanda,” etc.). Part of the answer as suggested below is likely to be related to the currently criticized tendency to view the world through the lens of linguistic Hyperdiversity/Hypodiversity dichotomy, and to the “monolingualizing ideology” in education.

Rwanda, a “Basically Monolingual” Country, and yet Same Problems as in So-called “Hyperdiversity” Countries⁷

For an understanding of the paradoxical situation of Rwanda being “basically monolingual” and yet having some of the challenges experienced in so-called “hyperdiversity” countries, it is firstly necessary to elaborate on what hyperdiversity/hypodiversity dichotomy entails.

As earlier hinted at, different countries of the world have traditionally been categorized as “linguistically hyperdiverse” or “linguistically hypodiverse” on the basis of the relatively big or

⁷ The terms “linguistic hyperdiversity” and “linguistic hypodiversity” have been used in this Thesis by analogy to Skutnabb-Kangas’ (2000) characterization of countries densely diverse linguistically as “Megadiversity countries.” These terms, therefore, characterize countries counting a relatively big number of languages (linguistic hyperdiversity) as opposed to countries counting a relatively small number of languages (linguistic hypodiversity).

small number of languages they house (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Thus for example, whereas countries like Papua New Guinea (850 languages), India (380 languages), Mexico (240 languages), and Australia (250 languages) are visibly “megadiversity countries”; others like Portugal (one language), Iceland (one language) (Hoffman 1992), and Japan (one language and a few minority languages) (Grosjean 1982) are rather “hypodiverse.” Moreover, as appears from a consideration of the distribution of languages across continents; Europe counts about 3% of the total number of languages in the world (i.e.: approximately 225 languages); both the Americas (North, Central, and South) count 15% (i.e.: about 1,000 languages); Africa has about 1,900 languages (still according to Krauss, 1992); Asia (excluding ex-USSR) counts about 1,600 languages; and in the Pacific, there are about 1,200 (Gunnemark, 1991: 102 in Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

Overall, this means that Africa, Asia and the Pacific together house around 81% of all the languages in the world (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 34-5); and these parts of the world and the Americas can thus be characterized as densely multilingual (approximately 81% + 15% of all the languages), and hence; linguistically “**Megadiverse**” as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) would put it; whereas Europe (3%) is linguistically “**Hypodiverse**.”

That said, however, whereas countries such as Papua New Guinea and Nigeria in linguistically “hyperdiverse” continents are directly seen as densely diverse linguistically (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000), there is still a need to explain how others such as Rwanda, Burundi, Madagascar etc. are basically monolingual, and yet, have some of the challenges that linguistically “hyperdiverse” countries have.

One explanation is that, as was observed throughout the world; save perhaps for rare countries like Iceland and Portugal which are almost sure to count only one language (Hoffman 1992); all other countries in the world; even those which are officially monolingual like France and Germany for example; are in fact multilingual because they house a number of minority groups (Grosjean 1982).

On the other hand, however, another explanation might be that perceiving a country as “hyperdiverse” or “hypodiverse” may really refer to other criteria. As Makoni & Pennycook (2005: 142) put it; it might be a question of ‘the ideology of *countability* (emphasis mine)’ which

was one ‘cornerstone of European governance and surveillance of the world’. Indeed, in virtue of this ideology for example, languages in the colonized countries were *counted* and enumerated and their “speakerhood” specified (Makoni & Pennycook (2005); and such a process seems to have ‘play[ed] a key role in shaping our images of the world, particularly in multilingual contexts (see Ethnologue) (Ibid. 2005: 144)’; and that image is that languages in the colonized (and framed as overwhelmingly hyperdiverse linguistically) countries constitute *a problem* (Ricento 2000 in Chimbutane 2012).

The issue, therefore, might not be a question of the number of languages, but rather; a question of whether or not a country was colonized. That is probably why Rwanda as a “basically” monolingual country went through the same processes of colonial language policy as any other country, “basically monolingual” and “basically multilingual” alike.

Thus, Rwanda as a basically monolingual country, has really no minority groups (Rosendal 2009), no tradition of plurilingualism, and no linguistically distinct territories. And yet, like countries which allegedly had problems of choosing an indigenous language, the country adopted a colonial language (French) as official language; and today it has another European language (English) not inherited from colonization. Thus, with these two European languages (English and French) and two African languages (Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili), Rwanda is, so to say, a “double exoglossic” country; and it is a special kind of a **“basically” monolingual** country. This is a rather complex situation; and what it entails can perhaps be apprehended by examining the Language Policy and Patterns of Bilingualism in post-independence Rwanda.

1.1.3 Language Policy and Patterns of Bilingualism in Rwanda

Language Policy Trajectory in Rwanda

Like in any other ex-colonial country, the first question that had to be addressed in the wake of independence from Belgium in 1962 in Rwanda was the language question. Hence, the very first Constitution of the “*République Rwandaise*” (i.e.: The 1962 Constitution) bore legislation on languages in Rwanda in the following terms: ‘*La langue nationale est le kinyarwanda. Les langues officielles sont le kinyarwanda et le français.*’ (i.e.: The National language is Kinyarwanda. The official languages are Kinyarwanda and French) (Rudacogora & Rurangirwa

2013: 40). In other words, at independence, French which was used during the Belgian UN trusteeship was kept by virtue of Article 5 of the first Constitution of the newly independent state, and Kinyarwanda which, until then, had no official status was simultaneously endowed with the status of a **national** and an **official** language (Nyirindekwe 1999: 14 cited in Rosendal 2010: 96).

In similar vein, all the constitutional revisions (viz. Constitution of 1978, Art. 4; Constitution of 1991, Art. 4) bore the same provisions until 1996 when the *Loi Fondamentale* of 18th January 1996 (Article 17) added English to the two hitherto recognized official languages. Therein, the phrasing in French reads: *Le kinyarwanda est la langue nationale. Les langues officielles du Rwanda sont le kinyarwanda, le français et l'anglais.* (Ibid. 2010: 97). That is: “The national language is Kinyarwanda. The official languages of Rwanda are Kinyarwanda, French, and English.”

This constitutional provision represents the first officially recognized shift from bilingualism to trilingualism. Later, the trilingual policy was to be confirmed in the Constitution of 26 May 2003 in Article 5, Title I. The article reiterated that the national language is Kinyarwanda, and that the official languages are Kinyarwanda, French, and English. In other words, the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda legally entrenched multilingualism with Kinyarwanda, French, and English in the country; and *ipso facto*, Rwanda chose to be, at the same time, a so-called “endoglossic” country, and an “exoglossic” country. Thus, the Constitution translates into legal language two seemingly opposing policy ideologies, namely: “Vernacularization” and “internationalization”.

In virtue of these ideologies, the aim for Rwanda is to promote and develop Kinyarwanda and make it a fully-fledged language of national identity (*national* language) and development (*official* language); and simultaneously, to encourage knowledge and use of French (the ex-colonial language) and later; English (a language of wider communication) and Kiswahili (the lingua franca of the East African Community) as languages of development and international and regional communication. This double aim to “vernacularization” and “internationalization” entails complex spaces and models of language choice and use.

Patterns of Bilingualism in Rwanda

Patterns of bilingualism are described as monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism/plurilingualism; and it would be remarked that these patterns originally applied in Hypodiversity contexts (Europe) have been exported to Hyperdiversity contexts (African, Asian, and the Americas) through colonization. In view of the constitutional provisions explained above as well as their implementation, a complex question to answer is what patterns of bilingualism are applied in the particular multilingual context of Rwanda.

Firstly, concerning the constitutional provisions per se, Rwanda can be said to apply a *plurilingual* policy since the major languages (Kinyarwanda, French, English, and Kiswahili) of the country enjoy official status (Grosjean 1982). However, a consideration of the actual ‘micro implementation’ of this macro language policy (Baldauf and Richard 2006 in Gafaranga et al. 2013: 313) would suggest that *monolingualism* is also, to a certain extent, applied. Indeed, as Gafaranga et al. (2013: 321) convincingly demonstrate through constitutional implementation examples, the above languages are co-official, but Kinyarwanda seems to actually enjoy ‘primacy over the other three official languages’⁸.

The first example in Gafaranga’s et al. (2013) argument is the case hearing of a certain Dr Mugesera recently deported from Canada on Genocide-related crime charges. As the defendant was requesting to plead his case in French, the court denied him the right, arguing that he was competent in Kinyarwanda. Thus, as Gafaranga et al. (2013: 322) conclude, ‘by maintaining that Mugesera had no case because he can speak Kinyarwanda, the court indicated that, in Rwanda, Kinyarwanda is the ‘normal’ official language while the others can be seen as auxiliary languages, to be used only when a participant is not proficient in Kinyarwanda’.

What appears from this example is that institutions like the judiciary are shown to view Kinyarwanda as the default language, but they are not alone to hold such a view: Another equally convincing example that Gafaranga et al. (2013: 322) cite shows that even for the general public; Kinyarwanda is expected to be the default language. That example is from a text about the language of the institutional websites in Rwanda. As Gafaranga et al. (2013: 322) recount, after having gone through a number of institutional sites, the author wonders why these websites in Rwanda use other **official languages** than Kinyarwanda (referring to them as “foreign

⁸ At the time when Gafaranga et al. (2013) were writing, there were 3 official languages in Rwanda, namely: Kinyarwanda, French, and English. Now, Kiswahili has been added as the 4th official language in Rwanda.

languages” though they are official languages in Rwanda); thus somehow denying them ‘not only any Rwanda identity, but also the status of official languages’.

Gafaranga et al. (2013) give more ‘intertextual’ evidence that can’t all be cited here; but the important remark they make is that there are three official languages in Rwanda⁹, but the default language of constitutional implementation is Kinyarwanda. On the other hand, however, this prevalence of Kinyarwanda would seem to indicate that the other official languages are not important, and that Rwanda is a “monolingual” society where other languages can’t have any influence. In this regard, what should be borne in mind is that ‘factors other than legal dispositions are shaping language choices in Rwanda (Rosendal 2009: 36)’; and that indeed, French and English enjoy considerable influence in Rwanda. This can be seen from considering the role of French, for example, in spite of the current primacy accorded to English. Indeed, according to Rosendal (2009: 36)¹⁰,

‘[o]verall *French is used more often* than both [Kinyarwanda] and English – except on billboards, where English and French are used approximately equally often. [Kinyarwanda] is found more than other languages in advertisements containing public notices by government or public authorities, while *tenders and vacancy advertisements* by government and public authorities are *more often in French*. Similarly, the majority of billboards presenting messages about social issues are in [Kinyarwanda] (emphasis mine).’

As Rosendal (2009) concludes, studies are necessary to identify factors in language choice in Rwanda, but it could be safely speculated, for example, that micro policies such as the current language-in education policy, which are elaborated to allow for the non use of Kinyarwanda, the default language (Gafaranga et al., 2013); and use of other official languages certainly have a big role in enhancing the use of English and French, the Kinyarwanda’s co-official languages. It could also be deduced from the above that *de jure* plurilingualism and *de facto* monolingualism

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ At the time when Rosendal (2009) was writing, a new language in education policy which entrenched English as the sole Medium of Instruction from primary school throughout university in replacement of French was put in place in Rwanda. From that time, things have certainly changed with regard to primacy of French vis-a-vis English. In what regards the status of Kinyarwanda as one of the official languages and as **the sole** national language, however, the point Rosendal (2009) is making remains: ‘factors other than legal dispositions are shaping language choices in Rwanda (Rosendal 2009: 36).’

have resulted in a complex linguistic situation in Rwanda where the languages in presence are put in an open competition (Rosendal 2009), and where ‘the relationship between the official languages in Rwanda can be examined in terms of [different] contrasts, including ‘Kinyarwanda vs. non-Kinyarwanda (Ibid. 2013: 321)’.

As elaborated below, therefore, the competition between the national language (viz. Kinyarwanda) on the one hand, and on the other hand, two influential European languages (viz. English and French) and one important African languages (viz. Kiswahili) in Rwanda is a unique case of multilingualism; and for that reason, the study of multilingual practices in Rwandan secondary schools in that context is the more interesting.

1.2 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Context to the study in this Chapter refers to the particular multilingual situation in schools as results from the general multilingual situation in Rwanda. As has appeared from the preceding Section; Rwanda, like any other community, is a multilingual society; but at least two distinguishing characteristics need to be highlighted.

Firstly, foreign languages are numerically underrepresented (about 7%, 6%, and 3% of the population speaking English, French, and Kiswahili respectively in addition to Kinyarwanda) (see Table 1 on p 8). However, this does not mean that they are not important. As they are almost exclusively learnt at school, they tend to be the privilege of intellectuals as is the case in other African societies (Myers-Scotton, 1993). They are thus linked with use in high domains of social life, and they are required for positions in government administration, in the clergy, in education, etc.; and this adds to their importance.

Secondly, the paradox of the language situation of Rwanda is that, in spite of this prominence, no foreign languages are really necessary for general communication in ordinary circumstances (Mukama, in *Rethinking Languages of Instruction in Africa*; Laviolette 2012). In fact, Kinyarwanda is used in practically all circumstances, including social gatherings, worship, business, and government meetings (McGreal, 2008; Rosendal 2010); while other languages are rather used in specific contexts like schools and administration (English, and to a lesser degree,

French); small trade (Kiswahili); and official ceremonies involving international relations (English).

What this means for language use in schools, therefore, is that, even though foreign languages (English, French, Kiswahili) seem to have been favored at school, Kinyarwanda is still the students' 'natural instrument of communication (UNESCO, 1968/1953: 698 in Kamwangamalu, 2000: 121)'; and even in case teachers and school administrators requested them to use the foreign languages they learn in places like the playground; it is likely that they would still use Kinyarwanda as it 'meets their communicative needs (Tabaro 2013)'.

Consequently, English which is the only official language at secondary school level is likely to be used either for academic purposes; or for communication with teachers and school authorities as some schools attempt to enforce the rule of using English for communication. Furthermore, when students go back home, they generally use Kinyarwanda with their families and neighbors. In that way, in spite of the current language-in-education policy, spaces of compelling necessity to communicate in English (and in other foreign languages) are limited (Laviolette 2012), except perhaps in reading since most course books and notes from class are written in English. Finally, since books and printed media are rather scarce in rural areas, opportunities to use foreign languages tend to be rare in rural areas as compared to urban areas.

Briefly, that is generally the multilingual situation in schools as results from the multilingual situation in the whole country. The salient point I have been trying to make in this introductory Chapter is that, Rwanda is a unique case of multilingualism. Indeed, whereas Rwanda is a multilingual society with four official languages, it features a marked imbalance between foreign languages and Kinyarwanda in terms of use in social communication. By contrast, in virtue of the current language-in-education policy, Kinyarwanda is not supposed to be used for teaching and learning at secondary school level. The present study is the more interesting that it is undertaken in a context of competition between two European highly influential languages in the world (viz. English and French); one indigenous language (viz. Kinyarwanda) shared by virtually the whole population; and an African language (viz. Kiswahili) which is important as a *lingua franca* in the East African Community of which Rwanda is a member.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.3.1 The Problem as Viewed through Current Perspectives on Multilingual Practices

In many parts of the world today, more and more schools are characterized by high linguistic heterogeneity. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that life, particularly ‘in South Asia, Africa, and South America’, has traditionally ‘featured considerable heterogeneity and multilingualism (Canagarajah 2011: 3)’. In Europe and North America, on the other hand, linguistic heterogeneity has considerably increased over the last two or three decades, in tandem with globalization which is typically characterized by (among other things); heightened mobility of people (see immigration and job seeking); exchange of goods and services; and information technology and communication.

In the domain of education, this linguistic heterogeneity has resulted in unprecedented increase in ‘plurality of [multilingual] practices (Garcia 2011: 286)’ in most classrooms; and this represents a big challenge to the long seated view ‘constructed in western thought’ that ‘languages [are] autonomous and pure’ (Ibid. 2011: 389)’; and that they are to be taught and used to teach/learn monolingually. It is thus no wonder that the term *Translanguaging* currently used in relation to “multilingual practices” in the classroom is gaining more and more popularity among educationists today.

As a relatively new concept originating from Welsh education practice, the term was used initially to ‘name a pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in bilingual classrooms (Williams, 1996: 64 in Lewis et al., 2012)’. In this sense; Translanguaging ‘means that you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g. English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g. Welsh) (Ibid. 2012)’. This is important for learning because, in order to ‘use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it (Williams, 1996: 64 in Lewis et al., 2012)’.

Since the 1980s when the term was first used by Cen Williams (1994) (a welsh educationist), the above definition has been continually extended, and currently a new dimension of the dynamic use of languages has been added. The term thus refers to

‘the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages (Baker, 2011: 288)’. Thus both languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organize and mediate mental

processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning. Translanguaging concerns effective communication, function rather than form, cognitive activity, as well as language production (Lewis et al. 2012: 641)'.

Reference to two languages, however, doesn't exclude the possibility of more than two languages. Indeed, Translanguaging is also 'a purposeful alternation of *languages* in spoken and written, receptive and productive modes (Hornberger & Link 2012: 262 in Makalela 2015: 201)' (emphasis mine).

What appears clearly, therefore, is that; from mere reception of information in one language and use of the information in another language, the term *Translanguaging* has been extended to cover the dynamic and functionally integrated use of two languages, and further; the alternation of *all the languages* in the speakers' repertoire. This widening of the concept represents a considerable conceptual value: It makes up for the term's relevance to the many varied bi/multilingual contexts throughout the world.

Currently, more and more scholars are turning their 'academic interest (Canagarajah 2011:1)' to this aspect of linguistic heterogeneity in schools and documenting instances of the practice of *Translanguaging* in the classroom. Creese & Blackledge (2012) for example report the beneficial use of Translanguaging in Chinese and Gujarati community language schools in the United Kingdom. In the United States, Garcia & Sylvan (2011) find Translanguaging to be 'the methodology necessary for usefully adapting the particular students' language resources for meaning-making' in a 'network of U.S. secondary schools for newcomer immigrants, the International High Schools'. In South Africa, Makalela (2015: 215) 'investigated how semi-urban, multi-ethnic, and multilingual students in the city of Johannesburg, South Africa, negotiate their new identities through languaging experiences'. And increasingly more investigations in linguistic "megadiversity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000)" contexts (e.g.: in India, Hong Kong, Australia etc.) highlight the pedagogical value of Translanguaging in high linguistic and cultural diversity classrooms.

In view of the multilingual and multicultural character of the social contexts in which these studies are conducted, however, there seems to be an underlying suggestion that *Translanguaging* is a feature of classrooms in linguistic and cultural "megadiversity" contexts;

or perhaps, in minority/majority ‘conflict, oppression, and suppression’ situations like the one that prevailed in Wales (Lewis et al. 2012: 642)’. And yet, *Translanguaging* may be a reality even in basically monolingual contexts like Rwanda. Indeed, whereas studies of *Translanguaging* in “megadiversity” contexts celebrate the pedagogical “coming together” of *many languages* from **diverse** linguistic and cultural groups in the same classroom; there is need to also celebrate the pedagogical “coming together” of *many languages* even if they are from the **same** linguistic and cultural group, and the present study is an attempt to do this.

One of the rare studies that have researched the benefits of *Translanguaging* in a basically monolingual context is Adamson & Coulson’s (2015: 24) study of “Translanguaging in Academic Writing Preparation” in Japan; and it demonstrates the reality of the practice in monolingual contexts. Even so, however, the context as described in the study is one of “partial-English medium,” meaning that both English and Japanese are officially used for instruction.

This is different from the context in Rwanda: From a macro-language policy point of view, there are four official languages, namely: Kinyarwanda, French, and English. But from a micro-language policy point of view (i.e.: language-in-education policy), English is the sole official medium of instruction from upper primary school throughout university since 2009 academic year. English thus replaced French which had been used as language of instruction for nearly a century; and *ipso facto* is still considerably used in the country (Rosendal 2010).

The whole context, therefore, is that two important European languages with an official status (English and French) and two important African languages one of which is a national and official language (Kinyarwanda) and the other an official language and a lingua franca in the East African Community (Kiswahili), are fighting for space in the Rwandan linguistic market. This unique scenario in the Rwandan society at large is reflected through a dynamic linguistic contact in the classroom. This dynamic linguistic contact begs to be researched for the benefit of efficient learning; and yet, little research focus has been directed to the multilingual practices it engenders nor to their influence on teaching/learning.

1.3.2 The Research Problem

As attested to in the literature on languages in Rwanda, multilingualism in the country is markedly characterized by language alternation (and more specifically Codeswitching) (Niyomugabo 2012; Nsanzabiga 2012; Rosendal 2009; Tabaro 2014; Ntakirutimana 2010); and by low competence in foreign languages (Niyomugabo 2012; Nsanzabiga 2012; Ntakirutimana 2010). Seemingly, this concomitance points to a certain causal link between the two phenomena, suggesting that language alternation in Rwandan schools might be doing disservice to learning languages themselves and consequently, to Subject Content Learning as well since the language of instruction (English) is simultaneously learnt as a second language and used to teach and learn other subjects. And yet, current scholarship on multilingualism in the world pertinently commends *Translanguaging* (=multilingual practices) in schools for efficacy in enhancing Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development. In other words, should language alternation in the context of Rwandan schools have a role in low competence in foreign languages, this would indicate that it is lacking in judicious practice. Whether this is the case or not, the present study undertakes to find out.

1.3.3 The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present thesis, therefore, is to draw on “Case Study” research methodology and use the theories of: “Multicompetence” (Cook 1995, Hall et al. 2006, Franceschini 2011); “Language Proficiency” (Cummins 1999); and the “Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing (Anderson & Krathwohl, eds. 2001) as lenses through which to analyze the nature of multilingual practices in two Secondary schools in the particular multilingual context of Rwanda; and ascertain how teachers’ and students’ linguistic repertoire enhances Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development.

1.3.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The overarching aim of the study is thus:

To ascertain the extent to which *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) in the basically monolingual context of secondary schools in Rwanda enhances deeper learning of Subject Content and Language Competence Development.

And the specific objectives stemming from this aim are:

- (1) To analyze the nature of *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) as actually practiced in two secondary schools in Rwanda.
- (2) To ascertain the extent to which *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) in two secondary schools in Rwanda enhances Subject Content Learning; and
- (3) To ascertain the extent to which *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) in two secondary schools in Rwanda enhances Language Competence Development.

The argument leading from this aim and objectives to the formulation of the questions of the study goes as follow:

Firstly, owing to the crucial role of language(s) for mediating learning (Vyghotsky 1981), the first step towards understanding the way in which *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) can enhance deeper learning of Subject Content and Language Competence Development is to ascertain what features of the above multilingual practices are likely to improve mediation of students' Subject Content Knowledge and Language Competence Development. Thus, analysis of the nature of *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) as actually practiced in the two secondary schools under study is the first necessary component of this study.

In view of the progress in the conceptualization of the concept of *Translanguaging* itself, the frame of this analysis includes the following aspects: (1) the relatedness of the constructs of “*Translanguaging*” and (a) “dynamic bilingualism (Garcia 2009a); (b) “Codeswitching”; (c) “Translation”; (d) “Co-languaging”; and (e) “Continuum of emergent scaffolding” (Lewis et al. 2012: 657-661). On the other hand, from the point of view of the pedagogic character of *Translanguaging*, the aspect of (2) Pedagogic Translanguaging contextualization (Lewis et al. 2012: 661) is investigated in terms of the following features: (a) “Developmental use of Translanguaging” (Garcia 2009c); (b) “input-output variation” (Williams 1994, 1996; Garcia 2009a); (c) “Subject-determined Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012); and (d) “Teacher-led/pupil-led use of Translanguaging (Williams 2003; Baker 2010).”

Determining the features of multilingual practices in a given context, however, is not enough for elucidating the influence of *Translanguaging* on learning in that context. From the point of view of Subject Content Knowledge Development, investigation of **how** multilingual practices

enhance learning focuses on (a) the question whether these practices enhance Subject Content Learning; and on (b) the question of the **mechanism (= how)** whereby Subject Content Learning is enhanced through the practice of Translanguaging.

On the other hand, investigation of **how Translanguaging** (=multilingual practices) enhances Language Competence Development focuses firstly on (a) the question whether these practices enhance the development of this competence at all; and if so, on (b) the question of the **mechanism (= how)** whereby Language Competence Development is enhanced through the practice of Translanguaging. In order to achieve the objectives of the present study, therefore, the questions that lead the investigation are as follows.

1.3.5 Key Research Questions of the Study

The present study set out to examine the following overarching question:

How does *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) in the basically monolingual context of secondary schools in Rwanda enhance deeper learning of Subject Content and Language Competence Development?

As argued in the above discussion, this overarching question subsumes the following sub-questions:

(1) What is the nature of *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices), as actually practiced in two secondary schools in Rwanda; and with regard to:

<i>Relatedness of “Translanguaging” to other constructs</i>	<i>Contextualization of pedagogic Translanguaging</i>
(a) “Codeswitching”; (b) “Translation”; and (e) “Continuum of emergent scaffolding.”	(a) “Developmental use of Translanguaging”; (b) “Input-output variation”; (c) “Subject-determined Translanguaging; (d) “Teacher-led/pupil-led use of Translanguaging.”

Table 2: Concepts Related to Translanguaging – Selected for the Study

(2) How does *Translanguaging* (= multilingual practices) contribute to enhancing deeper Subject Content Learning?

Subsumed in this question are the two following ones:

- a) What is the mechanism whereby multilingual practices (= *Translanguaging*) contribute to enhancing students' Subject Content Knowledge Development?
- b) What do teachers think of the role of multilingual practices (= *Translanguaging*) in Subject Content Knowledge Development?
- c) What do students think of the role of multilingual practices (= *Translanguaging*) in Subject Content Knowledge Development?

(3) How does *Translanguaging* (= multilingual practices) contribute to enhancing deeper Language Competence Development?

Subsumed in this question are the two following ones:

- a) What is the mechanism whereby multilingual practices contribute to enhancing students' Language Competence Development?
- b) What do teachers think of the role of multilingual practices in Language Competence Development?
- c) What do students think of the role of multilingual practices in Language Competence Development?

As elaborated below, an attempt to answer these questions is of paramount importance for many reasons.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The necessity for the study of multilingual practices (= *Translanguaging*) in secondary schools in Rwanda can be understood from different perspectives.

a. Firstly, from a theoretical point of view, it is important to note the place of the concept of *Translanguaging* in current scholarship on bi/multilingualism. Until very recently, people believed in language separation as the best way to learn languages, and studies of multilingual practices mark a shift away from that belief. Furthermore, as a relatively new development in the study of multilingualism, there are still many knowledge gaps in the field. As Kanagarajah

(2011) discusses a number of them, one of the most pertinent to the present study is ‘the tendency to see Translanguaging as an intuitive capacity for which multilinguals are naturally endowed (p. 9).’ According to Canagarajah (2012: 9), this is not the case, and ‘translanguage needs to be taught’. In this regard, therefore, the present study is important because it might help in understanding the features of multilingual practices in Rwandan schools; and this understanding might be indicative of the way Translanguaging could be taught in Rwanda for its efficacy.

Another issue connected to this one, as Canagarajah (2012: 80) notes, is that there are possibilities for “translanguagers” to make errors in the practice of Translanguaging. Also, as Canagarajah (2012: 80) still remarks in a more general way ‘we still have a long way to go in developing teaching strategies out of [...] broadly conceived models’ of Translanguaging. Canagarajah (2012) makes a number of other remarks, and their pertinence for the justification of the present thesis is that, since it is a new concept, Translanguaging needs to be documented in different contexts with a view to furthering understanding of the practice, and thus this understanding would pave the way for its usefulness in the particular context of Rwanda.

b) Secondly, from an experiential point of view, it is important to note that, as already hinted at; schools in Rwanda operate in **a unique context of multilingualism**. Whereas the Rwandan population at large is virtually monolingual with Kinyarwanda as the ‘all practical purpose (Gafaranga, 2001 :207)’ means of communication, all schools are bi/multilingual by virtue of the fact that teaching English and using it as MoI is mandatory, and that French and Kiswahili are also taught as optional subjects. In other words, the work done in schools (and more particularly secondary schools) with regard to language learning and use is the real foundation of multilingualism in Rwanda since Rwandans generally become multilingual through schooling. Research on multilingual practices in secondary schools is thus necessary to ascertain their efficacy in terms of the development of multilingualism in Rwanda.

c. Another reason concerns subject content development. In all times, one undisputed aim of any education is and should be ‘Subject Content Knowledge Development’. Since language is the most important tool for mediating learning (Vygotsky 1981), poor skills in the language(s) used as MoI logically entail difficulties in Subject Content Knowledge Development. It is thus

essential to ascertain the extent to which different multilingual practices (= *Translanguaging*) are likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge in the particular linguistic context of Rwanda today.

d. A fourth reason is more directly related to the history of foreign languages in Rwanda. From the time of its inception (i.e.: in the 1900s during the German colonial rule), formal education has always used foreign languages as MoIs. The aim of this practice has been implicitly and explicitly to develop competences in foreign languages among students. In spite of this aim, however, researchers and journalists have, as earlier mentioned, reported poor skills in foreign languages among Rwandans (Ntakirutimana, 2010; Mukama, 2010; Hayman, 2005; 2002 Census, 2005). It is thus important to reflect on the way in which classroom multilingual practices in the particular linguistic context of Rwanda can contribute to enhancing the development of foreign language skills among students.

e. Finally, to the best of my knowledge, no study of multilingual practices (= *Translanguaging*) and their impact on Subject Content Knowledge and Language Competence Development in the current context of Rwanda has been done as yet, in spite of the importance of the topic. Through the present research, I hope to draw attention of the people concerned (researchers, policy makers, and implementers) on the necessity to pause and reflect on the use of languages in the new language-in-education policy context; and thus, to help give a chance to the good classroom language practices to have a wider influence on the process of language learning and use to teach and learn in Rwanda.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

In the above Section, it was mentioned that the questions discussed in this study concern: (1) The features of multilingual practices (= *Translanguaging*) in Rwandan Secondary schools; and (2) the role of *Translanguaging* in Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development. These interrelated issues are discussed throughout this study in 7 Chapters arranged as follow:

Chapter 1: Introduction.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature on Multilingual Practices (=Translanguaging) and Theoretical Frameworks.

Chapter 3: Methodology for the Research

Chapter 4: The Nature of Translanguaging in secondary school Classrooms in Rwanda

Chapter 5: The Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development.

Chapter 6: The Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Language Competence Development.

Chapter 7: Interpretation of the Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Overall, the different Chapters contribute to the argument of the whole thesis as follows: Chapter 1 represents an attempt to invite the reader for a discovery ‘journey (Badenhorst 2007)’ into the unknown land of multilingual practices (=Translanguaging) in Secondary schools in Rwanda. Thus, in this Chapter, the multilingual context of the study is briefly described; the problem at hand is explained; the aims and objectives as well as the key questions geared to investigating the **role** of multilingual practices (=Translanguaging) in enhancing students’ Subject Content knowledge learning and Language Competence development are presented; and the rationale for the study is elucidated.

Chapter 2, on the other hand, is a review of the literature on multilingual practices (=Translanguaging). More specifically, it focuses on the current conceptualization of the construct from its origin to the current understanding of the term. It is also about other related concepts such as Codeswitching, Translation, Developmental use, etc. and their relation to the concept of Translanguaging; as well as about “Other Competent Constructs” such as “Heteroglossia,” “Polylinguaging,” “Metrolanguaging,” etc. Further, the Chapter also focuses on the Theoretical Frameworks for the study. It draws on theories of Translanguaging; Language Competence; Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing; and Multicompetence, to select useful ideas for the investigation of the role of Translanguaging in enhancing Subject Content Knowledge and Language Competence Development.

Chapter 3 is about the methodology. In this Chapter, the overall approach to the study; the mode of enquiry deemed appropriate for the situation at hand (i.e.: the “case study”); and the methods used for data collection and analysis are presented. Also, concerning these methods more

particularly, it is worth noting that the qualitative stance of investigation has prevailed; and the rationale for this research orientation is expounded in this Chapter.

After the general introduction, the literature review, and the methodology, the rest of the thesis is about the results of the study. Thus Chapter 4 provides a general description of Multilingual Practices in secondary school classrooms in Rwanda. Here the focus is on how the languages in the teachers' and students' repertoire are actually used in the classroom. In essence, this Chapter answers the first question of the study which is about the features of multilingual practices in secondary school classrooms. The second and third questions, on the other hand (related to the **role** of *Translanguaging* in enhancing the development of students' Subject Content Knowledge and Language Competence Development respectively) are dealt with in chapters 5 and 6.

Finally, Chapter 7 draws on all the discussions in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 to conclude on the nature of multilingual practices in secondary school classrooms in Rwanda and their role in enhancing learning; and to lead the way to recommendations about the likely best ways in the context of Rwanda to enhance Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development through multilingual practices in secondary school classrooms.

CHAPTER 2:

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The present study is primarily a study of (1) multilingual practices (*i.e.*: *Translanguaging*), and concomitantly; a study of the way in which these practices enhance (3) deeper Subject Content Learning and (2) Language Competence Development in the basically monolingual context of Rwandan schools. In this Chapter, therefore, I firstly review the relevant literature to discuss the key concept of Translanguaging and related multilingual practices, as well as other “competing” constructs (Section 2.1). Then, I present a Theoretical framework for the study (Section 2.2); and finally, I review the relevant literature on “multilingual practices” in the classroom (Section 2.3).

Overall, the three-pronged purpose of the Chapter is (1) to unpack the key concepts used to illuminate the study; (2) to define an analytical structure deemed apt to guide the analysis of the data (Badenhorst 2007: 156); and (3) to identify the gap in the existing literature where I position the present study.

2.1 MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES: TRANSLANGUAGING AND RELATED CONCEPTS

2.1.1 Translanguaging: Origin and Concept

Of Welsh origin in the 1980s, the term “Translanguaging” coined by Cen Williams (1994) (a welsh educationist) was first used in schools in Wales as a Welsh word, “trawsieithu” (Lewis, Jones, and Baker 2012: 643). Originally, the term meant ‘translinguifying’ and later, it changed to ‘Translanguaging’. Basically, it refers to ‘planned and systematic use of 2 languages for

teaching and learning inside the same lesson (Baker 2003, 2011; Williams 1994, 1996 in Lewis, Jones, and Baker 2012: 643)’. However, still in the classroom, in a wider sense, and as a ‘provisional and developing idea’, Translanguaging is about ‘making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of 2 languages (Baker, 2011: 288 in Lewis, Jones, and Baker 2012: 641)’.

The way “trawsieithu” or “Translanguaging” works as ‘a pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in bilingual classrooms’ is that information is received through the medium of one language (e.g. English) and used by the student through the medium of the other language (e.g. Welsh) (Lewis, Jones, and Baker 2012: 643-4). As Hornberger & Link (2012: 242) explain, students in classroom Translanguaging ‘hear or read a lesson, a passage in a book, or a section of text in one language and develop their work in another. In this way, input and output are in a different language and are systematically varied.’ As will be elaborated later, however, though the concept originated in a typically bilingual context; its use is currently being rapidly extended to multilingual contexts. Translanguaging as a concept is thus rapidly developing; and it can ‘be seen not only as a language practice of multilingualism, but as a pedagogical strategy to foster language and literacy development (Ibid. 2012: 242)’ in various bi/multilingual contexts.

2.1.2. Translanguaging and Related Concepts

As a developing construct, Translanguaging as Lewis et al. (2012) describe it in relation to other concepts presents two facets, namely: The conceptual and the pedagogic facets. In this Sub-section, I consider the two aspects in turn; in an attempt to summarize the close relation between Translanguaging and other concepts identified as pertinent to multilingual practices in general; and more particularly, to multilingual practices in the classroom.

2.1.2.1 Constructs Related to the Pedagogic Aspect of Translanguaging

Developmental Use

“Developmental Use of Translanguaging” refers to contexts of early stage of learning a new language. As Lewis et al. (2012: 661) point out, Williams’ (2000, 2002) original idea about Translanguaging in the classroom was that the practice ‘may not be effective in a classroom

when children are in the early stages of language learning since effective input and output in two languages depends on both languages being reasonably well-developed or approaching that stage'. However, according to Garcia (2009c in Lewis et al. 2012: 661-2), this idea stems from a view of languages as learned separately. For her, this separate acquisition is not likely to occur: "Emergent bilinguals" become bilingual in 'a dynamic process that refers to the different levels of proficiency an individual has in both languages' even when these levels are low. In this process, Garcia (2009c in Lewis et al. 2012) notes, students use the skills acquired in their first language, and '[t]he languages work with each other, integrating into a bilingual process that makes sense of the subject content. This creative integration aids subject understanding and educational development (p. 662)'. Translanguaging thus appears to be a valid teaching/learning strategy even for emergent bilinguals.

Input and Output: Variations

As pointed out earlier, the original idea of Translanguaging was to 'deliberately switch [...] the language mode of input and output in the classroom (Lewis et al. 2012: 663)'. However, it is suggested that there might be more flexibility 'in most bilingual curricula' (Garcia 2009a); so that now for example in Wales and elsewhere, variations of the input/output pattern are possible. One example Garcia (2009a) gives in this regard is that in high linguistic diversity schools in the U.S. for example, a text may be presented to students newly arrived from Spanish-speaking countries in English along with the same content presented in Spanish. The teacher-student dialogue may be held in Spanish; but writing by students may be in both languages; and the final work may be presented in English based on the drafts in Spanish. Many other such variations may be imagined depending on the languages in presence and the implementers' creativity.

Subject-determined

The idea behind "Subject-determined Translanguaging" is that some subject content areas may lend themselves to Translanguaging more than others so that it may be practiced in these subject areas more than in others. This is because '[t]hose subject areas which do not involve relatively much jargon, abstract notion, or complex language are potentially suitable for Translanguaging at an early stage (Lewis et al. 2012: 663)' Thus for example research in Wales by Lewis et al. (2012) showed that 'Translanguaging was predominantly found in arts and humanities lessons

rather than in the teaching of Mathematics, science, and the more practical areas of the curriculum (Ibid., 2012: 663)’.

Varied Classroom Contexts

There are normally many factors considered to account for the make-up of the classroom. With regard to language, such factors are for example, children’s ‘different first languages, heritage and immigrant languages, higher and lower status languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 664)’. One issue in the organization of lessons in the classroom, therefore, is ‘the balance of majority- and minority-language students in a school so that the majority language does not increasingly dominate (Lindholm-Leary, 2000, 2005 in Lewis et al. 2012: 664)’. When the majority language dominates, ‘informal classroom language may turn frequently to’ it, and students’ language preference may ‘be affected by the saturation of majority-language speakers in a mixed-language classroom (Hickey & O’ Cainin, 2001 in Lewis et al. 2012: 664)’. In this regard, Lewis et al. (2012: 664) explain that

‘... whilst the deliberate and systematic use of two languages in the classroom can be of an advantage to children’s learning, careful consideration must be given to the sociolinguistic context of schools, especially in settings where a minority language coexists with a majority language as media of teaching and learning’.

And Creese & Blackledge (2011: 10 in Lewis et al. 2012: 664) also state, ‘[a]lthough we can acknowledge that across all linguistically diverse contexts moving between languages is natural, how to harness and build on this will depend on the sociopolitical environment in which such practice is embedded and the local ecologies of schools and classrooms’.

Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use

As appears from different reports on *Translanguaging* in the classroom (Garcia 2011; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Lewis et al. (2012), the practice is a ‘deliberate and systematic use of two languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 664)’ meant to enhance learning. However, there might be two models of Translanguaging as Lewis (2008) and Jones (2010 in Lewis et al. 2012: 665) report. On the one hand, the “teacher-led” Translanguaging is a ‘planned and structured activity by the teacher. For emergent bilinguals, the teacher attempts to scaffold the Translanguaging activity, whilst providing Translanguaging cues for the more competent bilinguals in the class (Lewis et

al. 2012: 664)’. On the other hand, in “pupil-led Translanguagings,” activities are undertaken independently by more competent bilinguals. This is achieved by little teacher support and involves pupils who have gained fairly good mastery of both languages. Pupils work independently and usually choose how to complete the Translanguaging activity (Lewis et al. 2012: 665)’. It is noteworthy that as Baker (2010) has remarked, ‘pupils themselves considerably affect and determine flexible language arrangements in a classroom, needing to communicate their conceptual understanding or misunderstanding in an immediate and efficient manner (Lewis et al. 2012: 665)’. Also, Garcia (2009a: 304 in Lewis et al. 2012: 666) asserts that “‘... children translanguage constantly to co-construct meaning, to include others, and to mediate understandings’, enabling language acquisition without having to wait for the teacher to assume her role.”

Deaf and Special Needs Children

In the context of deaf children education, Translanguaging also occurs. Communication in sign language may ‘lead to reading and writing in English (Lewis et al. 2012: 666)’ for example. In that way, ‘Deaf teachers are using Translanguaging, with the language of input and output differing (Ibid. 2012: 666)’

From the pedagogic point of view then; “Developmental Use,” “Input and Output Variations,” “Subject-determined Translanguaging,” “Varied Classroom Contexts,” “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use,” and “Deaf and Special Needs Children Translanguaging” are the six perspectives that have recently augmented the pedagogic aspect of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012). Five more (namely: “Dynamic Bilingualism,” “Codeswitching,” “Translation,” “Co-languaging” and “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding”) have been, as presented in the following Sub-section, described in relation to the **conceptual enhancement** of the Translanguaging construct (Lewis et al. 2012).

2.1.2.2 Constructs Related to the Conceptual Aspect of Translanguaging

Co-languaging

As the term “co-languaging” directly addresses the question of linguistic diversity in the classroom, its relation to the concept of “Translanguaging” appears to be evident. According to

Garcia (2009a: 203 in Lewis et al. 2012: 660) co-linguaging is a term used to explain a situation where ‘the curriculum content is delivered to different language groups simultaneously’. Differences between language groups may be in terms of level of proficiency; in terms of who knows or who does not know which language; in terms of number of languages individuals know, etc. In this type of language arrangement referred to as “co-linguaging (Garcia 2009a),” different groups of students in the same classroom learn the same content through different languages in their repertoire (e.g.: The Internationals High Schools (Garcia & Sylvan 2011) in the United States). In the context of Wales, Lewis (2010 in Lewis et al. 2012: 660) refers to Williams who defines such a language arrangement as “teaching and learning in a bilingual setting” in which students may for example ‘listen to books or tapes in different languages [or go] back and forth to one or the other language’. Understandably, in such settings, Translanguaging strategies are of paramount importance: In “basically” monolingual contexts like the one that is concerned in my own study, however, this kind of arrangement is likely to occur rather marginally. Still, even in this context where most of (if not all) the students speak the same languages, it would be possible to have variations in the languages of input and output; and thus usefully go ‘back and forth to one or the other language’ selected among the languages in the students’ repertoire. In this case, the rationale is not that different group of students have different stronger languages, but rather, because they have different competences in the languages they use in school as compared to their stronger (see L1) language.

Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding

As Lewis et al. (2012: 661) explain, ‘[t]ranslanguaging may be less obvious as a strategy when the language level of the pupil may be insufficient to assimilate content and engage in the process of learning. In such circumstances, pupils need language support if they are to participate in Translanguaging tasks in the classroom’. The suggestion therefore is that frequent use of the Home Language is expected. As an example of what naturally happens, Garcia & Kleifgen (2010: 63 in Lewis et al. 2012: 661) remark that emergent bilingual students ‘frequently conduct discussions in languages other than English when reading in English’. And when they write, they frequently do so ‘first in the Home Language, then translate the writing piece into English (Ibid. 2012: 661)’. As Garcia & Kleifgen (2010: 63 in Lewis et al. 2012: 661) conclude ‘[e]ducators who understand the power of Translanguaging encourage emergent bilinguals to use their Home

Language to think, reflect, and extend their inner speech’. In other words, “scaffolded languaging” is of paramount importance for emergent bilinguals in classrooms (Lewis et al. 2012: 661)’ and thus, a continuum between emergent bilingual practice and Translanguaging is hypothesized.

Codeswitching

The first remark that can be made regarding the relation between Translanguaging and Codeswitching is that both concepts are ‘closely connected in the classroom (Chitera 2009 and Kamwangamalu 2010 in Lewis et al. 2012: 657)’. In fact, as Garcia (2009a) explains, the latter is an aspect of the former; but Translanguaging transcends Codeswitching. In other words, there is, as Lewis et al. (2012: 659) remark, much overlap between the two; and the real difference is that Codeswitching is a term from linguistics while Translanguaging is ‘essentially sociolinguistic, ecological, and situated’. Furthermore, from an ideological point of view, Codeswitching is viewed as having ‘associations with language separation while Translanguaging celebrates and approves flexibility in language use and the permeability of learning through two or more languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 659)’.

In this regard, however, in view of research hitherto done on Codeswitching, it seems that useful insights leading to encouragement of learning using two or more languages have emerged. Thus for example, if Codeswitching refers to ‘the systematic use of two or more languages or varieties of the same language during oral or written discourse (Mahootian 2006: 511)’; also if it occurs both at the discourse (intersentential) and the sentence level (intrasentential) generally as ‘language alternations (Auer 1998; 2000)’; Codeswitching as a multilingual practice, could well be considered as one of the visible manifestations of Translanguaging. In my own study, therefore, whether code alternation occurs at the discourse or the sentence level, in both cases the two phenomena are considered as important for the characterization of *Translanguaging* in Secondary schools in Rwanda.

Another remark which is in line with the sociolinguistic aspect of Translanguaging is that from a *socio-psycholinguistic* perspective; whether “intersentential” or “intrasentential”; code switches are not produced without motivation (Gumperz 1982; Gafaranga 2000; 2002). Indeed, bilingual speakers choose to conduct a conversation in two or more languages with intent to achieve

certain communicative effects; and these effects are linked with the socio-psychological situation in which the conversation takes place (Myers-Scotton 1993: 6). In this regard, starting from the 70s, many scholars (e.g. Blom & Gumperz 1972; Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez 1970) have worked to identify ‘the social motivations for Codeswitching (Ibid. 1993: 46)’; and, more particularly, Gumperz’s enquiry into these motivations led to the realization that speakers ‘exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature (Myers-Scotton 1993: 57)’. From this point of view too, it seems that; though monolingual in orientation; Codeswitching as a multilingual practice is close to Translanguaging.

Translation

Generally, Translation is about conversion of a text written or spoken in one language into another language. Therefore, whereas ‘Translanguaging is the concurrent use of two languages, Translation is more about language separation, scaffolding, and working mainly in the [students’] stronger language (Lewis et al. 2012: 659)’. More concretely in classroom contexts characterized by different students’ dominant languages, ‘Translation may be used so that the weaker academic language (e.g. English) used for content transmission is translated into the children’s stronger (e.g., home) language to ensure understanding and learning of a concept (Ibid. 2012: 659)’. What has been observed in such contexts, however, is that both Translation and Translanguaging are often combined. Thus, Jones & Lewis (2012) identified different categories of Translation in Welsh bilingual classrooms, namely: Translation (for the whole class); Translation for L2 learner; and Translation of subject-related terminology (Lewis et al. 2012: 659).

Further categories of Translation have been observed in other contexts. One is “bilingual label quest” whereby a term is given in one language and the explanation, in another language, which is ‘a pedagogic strategy of accomplishing the task of new vocabulary teaching (Creese & Blackledge, 2011: 17 in Lewis et al. 2012: 659-60). Another is “acts of Translation” documented by Manyak (2004) and characterized by Garcia & Kleifgen (2010: 64 in Lewis et al. 2012: 660) as ‘play[ing] an important role in making meaning accessible for emergent bilinguals and fostering their English literacy development’; whereby sometimes the teacher ‘give[s] the gist of

the lesson', other times 'a written synopsis', and still other times 'written materials' annotated in Spanish or containing Translation are distributed even though the lesson is in English.

Finally, 'Translation occurs during Translanguaging activities', but the difference between the two is that in Translation, 'one language is preferred academically even if it is temporarily the weaker language' whereas Translanguaging 'attempts to utilize and strengthen both languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 660)'.

Dynamic Bilingualism

As Lewis et al. (2012: 656) remark, the term "dynamic bilingualism" was introduced by Ofelia Garcia (2009a). The concept emerged, as Garcia & Sylvan (2011) explain, from a move away from the idea that learning (a) new language(s) consists in adding one, two... autonomous language(s) in a linear fashion (*see linear bilingualism*); to a view that 'goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages, of an L1 and an L2, and of additive or subtractive bilingualism'. It suggests instead; 'that the language practices of all bilinguals [...] do not emerge in a linear' fashion; [that rather they] emerge as 'complex and interrelated (p: 387-8)' practices.

"Dynamic bilingualism" thus represents what Garcia & Sylvan (2011: 387) refer to as the "Second Turn" as opposed to the "First Turn" (or "Linear Bilingualism") of the shift from monolingualism to dynamic bilingualism in schools. Indeed, contrary to "Linear Bilingualism" (or the "First Turn"), "Dynamic Bilingualism" (or the "Second Turn") 'sees the complex bilingual language practices [of bilinguals] as both the center of how language practices occur and the goal for communication in an increasingly multilingual world (Garcia & Sylvan 2011: 388).'

Generally there are, as Garcia (2009a) has proposed, 'two types of dynamic bilingualism for the 21st century – recursive dynamic and dynamic'. Garcia (2009a) explains:

'Recursive dynamic bilingualism characterizes the bilingual development of those individuals who have undergone a high degree of language loss and thus need to recover bits and pieces of their ancestral language practices as they reach back to move forward. *Dynamic bilingualism* refers to the development of different language practices to varying degrees in order to interact with increasingly multilingual communities in a global world (Garcia & Sylvan 2011: 388).'

As Lewis et al. (2012: 656) indicate; this is in line with the concept of *Translanguaging* which is in fact a process of dynamic bilingualism. Indeed, if *Translanguaging* is ‘the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages (Baker 2011: 288)’, it leads to a dynamic development of different practices involving these languages. Arguably, therefore, there is a close link between Translanguaging and dynamic bilingualism (Lewis et al. 2012).

Briefly, these are the five constructs (viz. Co-languaging, Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding, Codeswitching, Translation, and Dynamic Bilingualism) which are described in association with the current development of the concept of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012). Concerning the first two constructs more particularly, there doesn’t seem to be any need for further comment. Indeed, “continuum of emergent scaffolding” clearly appears to *naturally* address the needs of all emergent bilinguals, and “co-languaging” is undoubtedly a necessary language arrangement even in a context like Rwanda where students speak the same languages since differences between students may be in terms of levels of proficiency.

As for “Codeswitching” and “Translation,” a brief critique in view of the current trend in the multilingualism scholarship could be reiterated. As will be discussed further in Section 2.3 of this Chapter, these constructs have served as early evidence of researchers’ awareness of the role of all the languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire in learning. The problem with them, however, is that they are premised on a view of languages as separate, discrete, and neatly demarcated entities. In the present study, therefore, instances of Codeswitching and Translation are treated cautiously in cognizance of this early Theoretical orientation.

Finally, with regard to “dynamic bilingualism” which focuses on how language practices occur ‘in an increasingly multilingual world (Garcia & Sylvan 2011: 388), a plethora of other constructs have been recently developed to capture different aspects of the complex and integrated use of languages by multilinguals. These are, as Lewis et al. (2012: 655) list them; “metrolanguaging” (Otsuji & Pennicook 2010), “polylanguaging” and “polylingual languaging” (Jorgensen 2008; Jorgensen, Karrebaek, Madsen, & Moller 2011), “heteroglossia” (Bakhtin 1981, Bailey 2012), “codemeshing” and “translingual practice” (Canagarajah & Blackledge

2011), “multilanguaging” (Nguyen 2012), “crossing” (Rampton 1995); and “hybrid language practices” (Gutierrez, Banquedano-Lopez, & Tejeda 1999).

As Lewis et al. (2012: 656) remark, this list is long: It ‘reveals the recent profusion of a multiplicity of overlapping terminology’; it is a symptom of ‘breaking new ground (Ibid. 2012: 656)’; and thus, it would be interesting to see whether ‘they all refer to the same concept, or [whether they represent] subtle variations and differences, or even different concepts (Ibid. 2012: 656)’. In line with this suggestion, I attempt, in what follows, a brief account of some of the competing concepts on the above list since they are likely to augment the conceptual framework of the present study.

2.1.3 Other “Competing” Concepts

2.1.3.1 Heteroglossia

The term “heteroglossia” is a Translation of *raznorechie*, a Russian word coined by ‘literary analyst and language philosopher (Bailey 2012: 499-500)’ Mikhail Bakhtin; in his essay written in the 1930s under the title of ‘*Discourse in the Novel* (Ibid. 2012: 500)’. Originally, the term *raznorechie* was meant as an analytic tool to study how ‘meanings in novels were generated and the way in which language and processes of signification in novels were distinct from those of literary genres such as epic poetry (Ibid. 2012: 500)’.

As used today, however, the term (viz. heteroglossia) ‘refers to (1) the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs; and (2) the tensions and conflicts among those signs, based on the sociohistorical associations they carry with them (Ivanov 2001: 259 in Bailey 2012: 499)’. Thus, from the first part of the definition, “heteroglossia” subsumes multilingualism which ‘typically refers to situations and practices that involve “distinct languages” (Bailey 2012: 499)’ (just in the same way as “diglossia” subsumes bilingualism); whereas the second part of the definition includes intra-language social variations such as ‘regional dialects and registers related to profession or age’. Bakhtin, as Bailey (2012: 499) notes,

‘coined the Russian term *raznorechie* specifically to refer to such intra-language variety within Russian, varieties with competing social and political implications, and the term is

sometimes translated as “the social diversity of speech types” rather than “heteroglossia.”

What is then particularly interesting about “heteroglossia” is not so much Bakhtin’s (1930) reference ‘to different kinds of linguistic signs and forms’, but his focus on ‘social tensions inherent in language (Bailey 2012: 499)’ and the ‘competing social and political implications’ which make his approach a powerful ‘general philosophy of language and meaning (Ibid. 2012: 502)’. Indeed, as Bakhtin himself explains, ‘social and political tensions and struggles that exist in society inhabit language, [and this makes] it alive with social meanings (Bailey 2012: 499)’.

One such tension that Bakhtin identifies as fundamentally inherent to language is the one ‘between pulls toward a (national) standard form of language - Bakhtin referred to these forces as “centripetal” forces - and forces that push toward various local, non-standard, or demotic forms, which he called “centrifugal” forces (Ibid., 2012: 499)’. Because of this tension, any language use of any kind inherently occurs in conditions of oppositional forces between the ideological standard and the everyday real-world use of language; and this contributes to making language alive and rich in meanings.

As Bailey (2012: 499) explains in this vein, ‘[w]ords are not neutral instruments, and these social tensions are at work even if the speaker does not intend them and is not conscious of them’. Indeed,

“Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance (Bakhtin 1981: 272).” To speak then, is to participate in these ongoing processes, regardless of one’s intentions to participate in them or not. Our words have already been used by others, accruing social associations, and our use of these words continues the process of accruing and shedding meanings (Bailey 2012: 499)’.

As appears clearly then, ‘[f]rom the perspective of heteroglossia, language is not a neutral, abstract system of reference but a medium through which one participates in a historical flow of social relationships, struggles, and meanings. Linguistic signs come with social and historical associations, and they gain new ones in their situated use (Ibid. 2012: 500)’.

This emphasis on how meanings in language are continuously generated and augmented socially and politically represents a big difference between heteroglossia and multilingualism which is conceptualized as ‘the coexistence of multiple linguistic systems that are discrete, ahistorical, and relatively self-contained (Bailey 2012: 500)’. It is also in sharp contrast to the Saussurean structuralist approach to language which views it ‘as a semiotic system in and of itself’ and treats ‘the social and political functioning of language as marginal (Ibid. 2012: 501)’.

It could be argued, therefore, that putting social and political dimensions at the center of meaning making constitutes a distinctive characteristic of “heteroglossia,” and contributes to making it an important philosophy of language and meaning. Finally, it is noteworthy that; whereas formal linguistics codeswitching implicitly considers the boundaries of language systems to be ‘the boundaries of the language-as-idealized, rather than of actual speech, which may or may not be monolingual (Bailey 2012: 501)’; there is a need to reconcile the heteroglossic and the formal multilingual views of language. This need is summarized in Bakhtin’s (1981: 259) own words thus:

‘[T]he study of verbal art can and must overcome the divorce between an abstract “formal” approach and an equally abstract “ideological” approach. Form and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon - social throughout its entire range and in each and every one of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning (in Bailey 2012:501)’.

As a philosophy of language and meaning then, “heteroglossia” illuminates the process of Translanguaging which is basically about “meaning making” and thus, it is closely related to the practice of “dynamic bilingualism.”

2.1.3.2 Polylinguaging and Polylingualism

For an understanding of the concept of “polylinguaging,” it is firstly necessary to note the *questioning* of the concept of “languages” which has persistently emerged in sociolinguistics codeswitching scholarship over the past few decades (Jorgensen et al. 2011; Ag & Jorgensen 2012; Moller 2008). As Jorgensen et al. (2011: 27) explain, the controversy around the concept of “languages” is that

‘The idea of separate languages as bounded systems of specific linguistic features belonging together and excluding other linguistic features is found to be insufficient to

capture the reality of language use, at least in late modern superdiverse societies, and perhaps altogether’.

This is because languages as abstractions are only ‘sociocultural or ideological constructions which match real-life use of language poorly’ (Jorgensen et al. 2011: 23)’. Indeed, what seems to be the case in real-life is that, instead of learning and using “languages”; speakers learn and ‘use linguistic features which are in turn associated with “languages” (Ag & Jorgensen 2012)’. In other words, speakers don’t use ‘languages, varieties, or lects [; they use] linguistic features as semiotic resources (Jorgensen 2004, Moller 2009).’ In Blommaert & Backus’ (2011) terminology as referred to in Jorgensen et al. (2012: 29); they use “repertoires” or sets of resources, which they command or know. For an understanding of the concept of “polylinguaging,” therefore, this shift from a focus on “languages” in real-life communication to a focus on “linguistic features” is of paramount importance since it is basically about use of linguistic features in real-life communication.

On the other hand, however, even though sociolinguistic codeswitching ‘must work at the level of “linguistic features” rather than the level of “languages” (Jorgensen et al. 2012: 23); the idea of a language and languages may still ‘be important as a social construct (Ibid. 2012: 28)’. This is because there is still ‘[a] view of human language which allows categorization of “different languages” [and] considers language as a range of phenomena which can be separated and counted’ (Jorgensen et al. 2012: 28)’. It is from such a view that, ‘[w]ithout much consideration words such as “monolingual,” “bilingual,” and “multilingual” are used to characterize individuals with respect to their relationship to “languages” (Ibid., 2012: 28)’; and this implies normative expectations which refer to the notion of language “purity.” As Jorgensen et al. (2012: 32) define it,

“Purity” is a notion that may involve both an idea of language use which only includes features associated with one and the same language and an idea of language use which avoids certain features which are considered “impure” or “improper” or “incorrect” in and by themselves’.

Through this notion of purity, norms representing socially constructed ideal language uses are defined, and mechanisms for enforcing them are established. In this regard, Jorgensen et al. (2012: 33) remark that

‘language behavioral norms which are firmly enforced by school systems, media gatekeepers, and other powerful forces emphasize linguistic purity, or so-called “monolingual” behavior at all times: Individuals may be so-called “multilinguals,” but their behavior at any given time should be “monolingual.”’

Depending on the languages that speakers are oriented to, therefore; whether so-called “monolingual,” “bilingual,” or “multilingual”; speakers are guided respectively by the monolingualism and the bi-multilingualism norms. On the other hand, however, in the context of “polylingual” real-life language use, they are guided by the polylingualism norm. As Jorgensen et al. (2012: 33) define these norms,

‘The (double or multiple) monolingualism norm states that “[p]ersons who command two (or more) languages should at any given time use one and only one language, and they should use each of their languages in a way that does not in principle differ from the way in which monolinguals use that same language.”’

The (double or multiple) monolingualism norm, Jorgensen et al. (2012: 33) still remark, is the ‘strong norm of bilingual behavior which is often found in schools’. It draws on the ‘ideologically constructed view of “a language” as a unique separate set of features’. It is noteworthy that bilingual people often follow a completely different bilingual norm whereby ‘[s]peakers use features belonging to the different languages they “know” [...] without paying attention to any of the monolingualism norms (even though they may at other times carefully follow a monolingualism norm)’ (Ibid., 2012: 33).

On the other hand, *‘[t]he bilingualism (or multilingualism) norm stipulates that “[p]ersons who command two (or more) languages will employ their full linguistic competence at any given time adjusted to the needs and the possibilities of the conversation, including the linguistic skills of the interlocutors.”* (Jorgensen et al. 2012: 34). In this understanding ‘[b]ilingualism is more than the sum of competence in one language plus competence in one more language. It also involves competence in switching between the languages. Multilingualism is similarly considered integrated when speakers in their linguistic behavior use the codes which they somehow “know” (Ibid., 2012: 34).

And finally, according to *the polylingualism norm*,

“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; this entails that the language users may know - and use - the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together. (Jorgensen et al. 2012: 34).”

The polylingualism norm is thus different from *the bilingualism (or multilingualism) norm*. Whereas ‘[t]he multilingualism norm takes it for granted that the speakers have a minimum of command of the involved languages (Jorgensen et al. 2012: 34)’, *the polylingualism norm* doesn’t imply knowledge of the involved languages. Thus, whereas ‘[t]he term multilingual covers the (more or less “full”) command of several languages, [...] the term **polylinguaging** also allows for the combination with features ascribed to other languages which are not necessarily known by the speaker.

Overall then, the ‘behavior in which language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims, is governed by the *polylingualism norm* (Jørgensen et al., 2011). The *polylingualism norm* is thus different from the integrated *bilingualism (or multilingualism) norm* in accounting for people’s use of features associated with “languages” of which they know very little; and **linguaging** in these conditions is what is referred to as **polylinguaging**. As explained below, Otsuji & Pennycook (2010) observed the same phenomenon whereby speakers use features of languages they know very little of at another level of analysis, and suggested the term *metrolinguaging* for it (Ag & Jorgensen 2012: 4)’ instead of *polylinguaging*.

2.1.3.3 Metrolinguaging and Metrolingualism

In exploring the concept of “metrolinguaging” as a process, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) firstly present “metrolingualism” as a set of language practices. Indeed, as these scholars define it, “metrolingualism” refers to ‘creative linguistic practices across borders of culture, history and political codeswitching (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 240)’. It is ‘a product of modern and often urban interaction, describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language (Ibid. 2010: 240)’. As such, “metrolingualism” can

‘be conceived of as a manifestation of linguistic performances (cf. Bell & Gibson, 2011) in which self-consciously deployed linguistic forms index recurrent situations of use or specific social categories such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, region, etc. (Jaworski 2014: 138)’.

Metrolingualism is thus about linguistic practices and negotiation of identities by people of mixed backgrounds; and “**metrolanguaging**” can be considered as a process through which “metrolingualism” is manifested.

Concerning the genesis of the concept, a number of underpinning ideas have been at work. Firstly, as Otsuji & Pennycook (2010: 241) recount, observation of how participants naturally use language led them ‘to question not only a one-to-one association among language, ethnicity, nation and territory, but also the authenticity and ownership of language which is based on conventional language ideology’. Indeed, these participants seemed to use all the languages at their disposal irrespective of their putatively ascribed countries of origin.

Another influence is the ‘range of recent work that has come to question the connections assumed between language and forms of belonging (Auer, 2005, 2007; Auer & Wei, 2007; Bailey, 2007; Heller, 2007a, 2007b; Jørgensen, 2008; Otsuji, 2008; Quist & Jørgensen, 2007)’. Such a work aroused interest in exploring how participants’ use of language ‘can be understood differently (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 241)’ from people’s a-priori ascriptions to different languages.

Still another factor is the shift in multilingualism literature ‘away from a focus on how distinct codes are switched or mixed, in favor of an interest in how boundaries and distinctions are the results of particular language ideologies and how language users manipulate the multilingual resources they have available to them (Ibid. 2010: 241)’. This shift in the literature resonates with Makoni & Pennycook’s (2007) idea that languages were “invented” and that they need to be “disinvented” and “reinvented”; based ‘on the local knowledge of what [language] means to people in the local context (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 241)’.

In view of all these ideas, the starting point for the formulation of the concept of “metrolingualism” has been ‘to look at how participants use their multilingual resources and how they themselves understand language use (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 241)’. From an analysis of

how the participants use language and how they perceive it, therefore, it firstly appears that rather than interpreting language use in terms of first, second, etc. language mixing, it makes more sense to interpret it in terms of a new concept, namely “*metrolingualism*.” Furthermore, even though participants report being aware of the mixture resulting from their talk, they are not aware of using ‘one or the other language (Ibid. 2012: 242)’. What this seems to suggest, therefore, is related to the fact that language is “invented,” that it needs to be “disinvented” and “re-constituted” (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 242).

From Multilingualism to Metrolingualism: In proposing to interpret real-life language use in terms of the new concept of “*metrolingualism*,” concerns about traditional thinking about multilingualism are firstly expressed. As Otsuji & Pennycook (2010: 243) note, ‘[c]urrent cultural, social, geopolitical and linguistic thinking is predominated by a celebration of multiplicity, hybridity and diversity’. In this thinking, the traditional concepts of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and cosmopolitanism are the norm in such domains as ‘academia, policy-making, and education (Ibid. 2012: 243)’. Yet, in view of ‘multiple/cultural linguistic practices (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 243)’, these constructs appear to be a cause for concern in two ways.

Firstly, these constructs are ideologically associated with the view that ‘people and associated practices are composed of multiple discrete languages and cultural practices’. In this regard, there are still difficulties ‘in fully escaping and dissociating from old statist language ideologies (Ibid. 2012: 243)’; and this is so in spite of the fact that there is an increasing number of studies which advocate the shift.

On the other hand, however, another concern is that, even though ‘the celebration of *multiple* allows for difference and dynamism providing new possibilities to society and people (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 243)’,

‘its antagonistic view towards pre-given fixed ascriptions of cultural identities – chastised for being essentialist - often fails to acknowledge the contribution that such pre-given identities have in becoming different. That is, one of the driving forces to be different and multiple and dynamic is the interaction between fixed and fluid cultural identities’ (Ibid. 2012: 243).

Thus for example, speakers may use features from different languages without being aware of treating these languages differently, but they still have ‘a set of ideal and orderly linguistic practices’ they refer to (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 243). In other words, there is a need to account for this in the context of *metrolingualism*, and to ‘include the local perspectives of language users who appear to incorporate within their own hybrid practices both fluidity and fixity (Ibid. 2012: 243)’. Indeed, as Otsuji & Pennycook (2010: 243-4) explain,

‘What often seems to be overlooked in discussions of local, global and hybrid relations is the way in which the local may involve not only the take up of the global, or a localised form of cosmopolitanism, but also may equally be about the take up of local forms of static and monolithic identity and culture. We cannot therefore leap into an examination (or celebration) of hybridity as if fixed ascriptions of identity and their common mobilisation in daily interaction have ceased to exist’.

Moreover, another aspect of the problem is that, while it is necessary ‘to focus on a multiple, hybrid and complex world, [it is also necessary] both to avoid turning hybridity into a fixed category of pluralisation, and to find ways to acknowledge that fixed categories are also mobilised as an aspect of hybridity (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 244)’. In *metrolingualism*, therefore, the aim is also to ‘address the ways in which any struggle around new language, culture and identity inevitably confronts the fixed traditions of place and being (Ibid. 2012: 244)’.

From metroethnicity to metrolingualism: Another aspect of *metrolingualism* draws on the notion of *metroethnicity*. As Maher (2005) explains, *metroethnicity* is ‘a reconstruction of ethnicity: a hybridised “street” ethnicity deployed by a crosssection of people with ethnic or mainstream backgrounds who are oriented towards cultural hybridity, cultural/ethnic tolerance and a multicultural lifestyle in friendships, music, the arts, eating and dress’ (Maher, 2005: 83 in Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 245). Drawing on this notion of *metroethnicity*, therefore, *metrolingualism*

‘is a product typically of modern, urban interaction. The notion of *metrolingualism* also invokes the *metrosexual*, that term for the new man (*metrosexuality* most often seems to be a gender-specific term, soccer player David Beckham, or swimmer Ian Thorpe, often

being cited as the archetypes) who takes pride in his appearance, enjoys clothes, shopping, skin products, jewellery and good food, and engages in practices that distinguish him from the retrosexual (the old-fashioned male) (Coad, 2008 in Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 245)’.

While metrolingualism doesn’t associate with all the traits of metroethnicity; in the same way that ‘the metrosexual challenges hetero/homosexual and masculine/feminine dichotomies, [so too does] the metrolingual undermine[.] retrolingual mono/multilingual dichotomies (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 245)’. Furthermore, taking after the ‘metrosexual connections to the city’, metrolingualism is also ‘a product typically of modern, urban interaction’ (Ibid. 2010: 245)’.

That said, however, it is noteworthy that the notion of metrolingualism is not just limited to the city. Rather, it wants to ‘avoid an idealisation of urban metrolingual landscapes set against the assumed narrowness of rural living [and this implies that not only] metrolingualism as a practice is not confined to the city;’ [but also] it is intended as a broad, descriptive category for data analysis rather than a term of cosmopolitan idealism (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 245)’.

Moreover, apart from being typically found in the contemporary city, metrolingualism can also be found in contexts of ‘movement, migration, and mixing’ – such as for example in Africa (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 245-6). Also in view of the traditional multilingualism and hybridity of the times before colonization (Canagarajah 2007a: 237 in Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 246), the notion of metrolingualism might be broadened ‘as an analytic category across both rural and precolonial linguistic landscapes (Ibid. 2012: 246)’.

There is thus a caution to be expressed here. Though ‘the focus of metrolingualism, [...] may include forms of chic, privileged playfulness in elite bilingualism [it is not limited to it] it includes a much broader view of contexts of translingual activity (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 246)’ including the everyday. Indeed, metrolingualism

‘by no means exclusively refers to the lite aesthetic options that are portable based on practices of here and now (Maher, 2010). [Metrolingualism is] interested in the queering of ortholinguistic practices across time and space that may include urban and rural contexts, elite or minority communities, local or global implications. (Ibid. 2010: 246)’.

Apart from the broad scope to the notion, metrolingualism also bears an emancipatory dimension since it is ‘both a rejection of ortholinguistic practices and a production of new possibilities (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247)’. The *metro*, therefore, as understood in “*metrolanguaging*”

‘is the productive space provided by, though not limited to, the contemporary city to produce new language identities. Such an interpretation is intended to avoid the pluralisation of languages and cultures, and to accommodate the complex ways in which fluid and fixed, as well as global and local, practices reconstitute language and identities (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247)’.

Other studies such as Jorgensen’s (2008) and Moller’s (2008) *polylingualism* and Maher’s (2010) *metrolanguages* have attempted to ‘account for late modern, urban language use’. Still, metrolingualism offers more flexibility; it is not merely a locus of ludic diversity; and it is simultaneously about fluid possibilities and struggles in the face of fixed [...] local ortholinguistic practices. It is ‘centrally concerned with language ideologies, practices, resources and repertoires (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247)’.

2.1.3.4 Codemeshing, Crossing, Multilanguaging, and Hybrid Language Practices

Apart from heteroglossia, polylinguaging, and metrolanguaging; Codemeshing, Crossing, Multilanguaging, and Hybrid Language Practices are other concepts related to Translanguaging. “**Codemeshing**” refers, as Canagarajah (2011: 403) explains, to studies discussing ways in which multilinguals mix ‘their vernaculars with standard written English’. Such studies are not in the domain of Codeswitching which ‘treats language alternation as involving bilingual competence and switches between two different systems’. Rather, they employ the process of “codemeshing” which ‘treats the languages as part of a single integrated system (Ibid. 2011: 403)’. Moreover, ‘unlike Translanguaging, codemeshing also accommodates the possibility of mixing communicative modes and diverse symbol systems (other than language) Canagarajah (2011: 403).’

Concerning “**crossing**” (also referred to as “code crossing” or “language crossing”), the concept is, as Rampton (1995) explains, a process of language use which relates to the construction of what Hall (1988 in Rampton 1995: 4) calls “new ethnicities.” These “new ethnicities” (also called “ethnicities of the margin”) emerge (1) as individuals adopt other people’s ethnicities or

get together with them to create new ones; or (2) as they join an ingroup without enculturation but rather liking and living with social and ethnic difference. Crossing as a language practice, therefore,

‘[...] involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using (Codeswitching into varieties that are not generally thought to belong to them). This kind of switching involves a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries and it raises issues of legitimacy which, in one way or another, participants need to negotiate in the course of their encounter’.

Other multilingual practices such as “**multilingualing**” (Nguyen 2012) and “**hybrid language practices**” (Gutierrez, Banquedano-Lopez, & Tejeda 1999) have been documented; and they also stem from the realization that language use is not a static passive activity, that rather; it is a creative and dynamic activity in which multilinguals use their languages as one integrated system to which they access holistically for communication.

Concerning Lewis’ et al. (2012: 656) rhetorical question whether the competing concepts ‘refer to the same concept, or [whether there are] subtle variations and differences’ between them, therefore, I see more similarities than differences. On the one hand, the slight difference is that these constructs can be grouped in three different categories: Whereas “heteroglossia” is *a general philosophy of language and meaning*; “dynamic bilingualism,” “polylingualism” and “metrolingualism” are *multilingual practices*; and “Translanguaging,” “polylinguaging,” “metrolanguaging,” “crossing,” and “codemeshing” are *processes involved in these practices*. On the other hand, as illustrated in the Figure below, these constructs can be understood as all stemming from the same principle that using language is “**linguaging**” since all ‘speakers are *linguagers* and what they do [when they speak] is *linguaging* (Jorgensen 2010 in Ag Jorgensen 2012: 2)’; that what they do is engaging in an active dynamic process of meaning making.

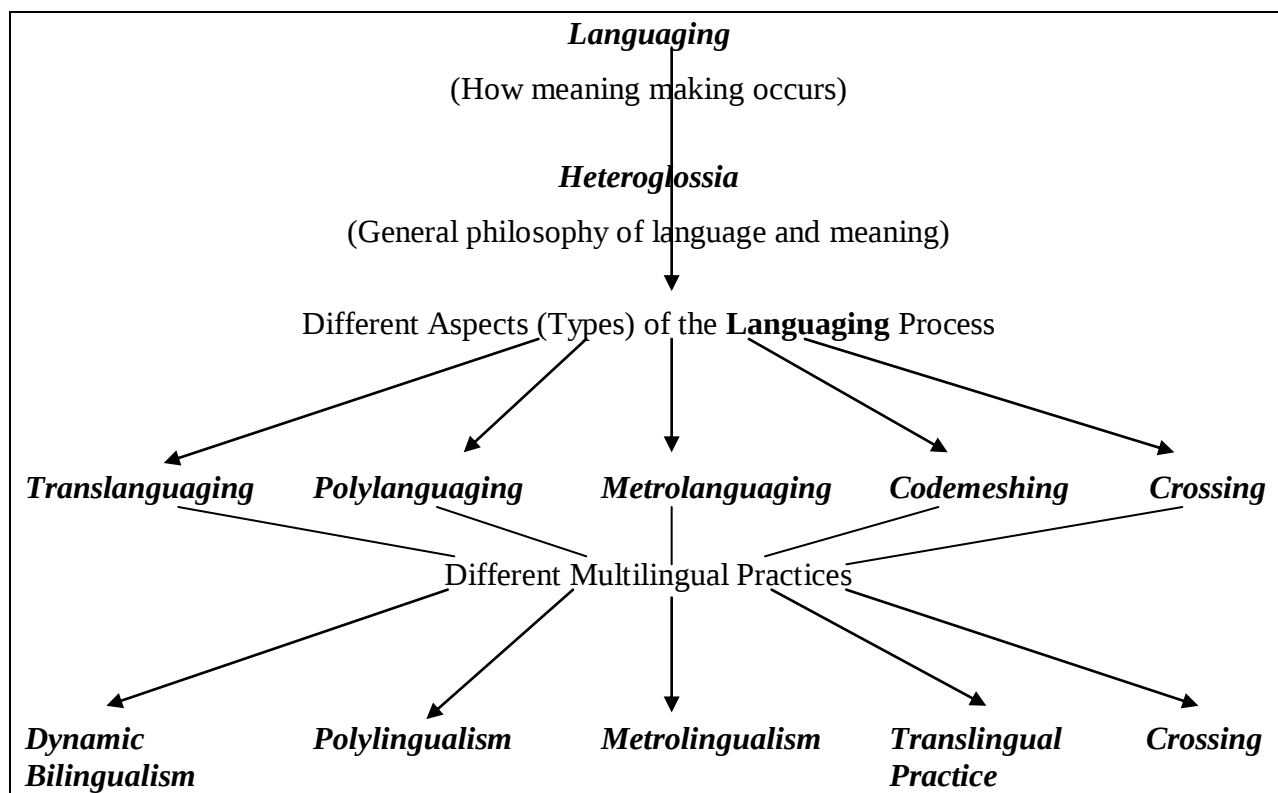


Figure 1: Schematic Representation of Multilingual Processes and Practices

As can be seen in this Figure, central to an understanding of language use is “[l]anguaging” which is ‘the process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one’s thought, and to communicate using language (Li 2011: 1223 in Nguyen 2012: 68). How languaging occurs is explained through the concept of “heteroglossia” (Bakhtin 1981), as a general philosophy of language and meaning. Then, depending on the different scholars and the different levels and contexts of analysis; different aspects of the languaging process are presented. Thus, “Translanguaging” is analyzed in the context, and from the point of view of education (Williams 1994, 1996; Garcia 2009a); “polylinguaging” is studied at the level of linguistic features rather than languages (Jorgens et al. 2011; Moller 2008); “metrolanguaging” is viewed as a process that transcends borders of cultures, history and politics (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010); “crossing” is studied from a cross ethnicities perspective (Rampton 1995); and “codemeshing” (Canagarajah 2011) is viewed from the point of view of language hybridity in writing.

Overall then, all these constructs can be symbiotically harnessed to describe the different aspects of multilingual contexts. Thus, the present study not only is anchored in “heteroglossia” as a philosophy of language and meaning; but also it draws on the different multilingual practices and languaging processes described in the current multilingual scholarly work. With reference to “multilingualism and multilingual practices” in the context of the present study, therefore, the way in which these concepts concretely constitute an appropriate conceptual framework for the study is discussed next.

2.1.4 Multilingual Practices in Rwandan Classrooms: Conceptual Framework

2.1.4.1 Multilingualism in Rwanda

In order to describe the multilingual context of the classroom in Rwanda, it is firstly necessary to locate it in the wider multilingual context of the country. And in so doing, it is important to begin by justifying the currently reprovved ‘enumerative strategy of counting languages (Makoni and Pennycook 2007 in Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247)’. Indeed, even

‘[i]f languages are invented, and languages and identities are socially constructed’, [...] ‘we nevertheless need to account for the fact that at least some language users, at least some of the time, hold passionate beliefs about the importance and significance of a particular language to their sense of “identity” (Blackledge and Creese 2008: 535 in Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 249)’.

Furthermore, as Pennycook (2010) remarks, it is true that we need to move away from the above mentioned enumerative strategy of counting languages but, at the same time, we also need to ‘to move [...] towards an understanding of local language practices (Pennycook 2010 in Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 251)’.

In the case of Rwanda, therefore, the local language practices concern four main languages¹¹, used officially in the country. As earlier elaborated (see Chapter 1), however, even though all of these languages are official, none of them is individually assigned to any particular territory¹²,

¹¹ Kiswahili was declared an official language in October 2016

¹² The implication of the fact that languages are not assigned to any particular territory is that they all concern the whole country.

and thus; to differing degrees; they all concern the whole country. Furthermore, ‘the Constitution does not give any details how they should actually be used on the ground (Gafaranga et al. 2013; 318), and more particularly; save for education in the case of English; it does not specify the domains of use for each language.

In a snapshot, what this entails for language practices can be apprehended from considering the following schema:

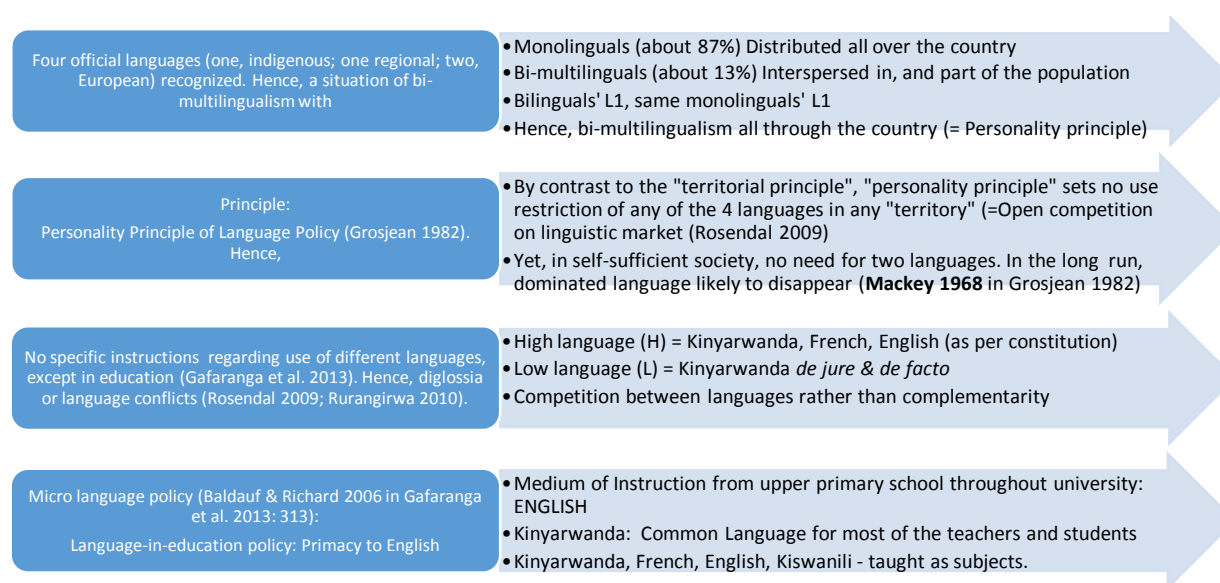


Chart 1: Graphic Representation of Bilingualism in Rwanda

From reading this schema, it appears that Kinyarwanda is used by virtually the whole population; that all multilinguals (13%) use so-called foreign languages in addition to Kinyarwanda; that multilingualism, for that reason, is spread out through the whole country; and that this represents, in terms of language policy, an application of the “personality principle” (Grosjean 1982). Such a situation, therefore, entails no restriction of language use throughout the country, and it results, as Rosendal (2009) has noted, in an open competition between the languages, on the linguistic market. Therefore, competition rather than complementarity prevails in the context of Rwanda.

On the other hand, however, a number of factors in this regard can be observed. Firstly, as Mackey (1968 in Grosjean 1982) observes, in a self-sufficient society, there is no need for two languages, and when there are, the dominated one is, in the long run, likely to disappear; and the question is to know what would determine the “dominated language” in the context of Rwanda.

In the constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, the macro language policy doesn't indicate how different languages must be used; but the micro language policy (Baldauf & Richard 2006 in Gafaranga et al. 2013) regarding education entrenches English as medium of instruction; whereas French and Kiswahili are taught as subjects. In other words English is granted primacy to the other languages; even though, as Gafaranga et al. (2013) remark, the default language of constitutional implementation in other domains is Kinyarwanda.

Broadly, that is the source of both the dynamism but, at the same time, the imbroglio of multilingualism in Rwanda: Whereas Kinyarwanda is overwhelmingly dominant as a language of everyday communication and a national language (Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda); the language is simultaneously engaged in a tough competition with three co-official languages of which two (viz. English and French) are influential internationally; and one (viz. Kiswahili) is influential regionally.

How these languages fare in this situation and how they participate in multilingual practices in schools is captured by examining what scholars think of knowledge and use of languages in Rwanda; an evaluation which is, in turn, indicative of the normative expectations in society at large, and in schools more particularly.

2.1.4.2 Knowledge and Use of Languages in Rwanda

Even though language learning is (and has always been) a major objective in education in Rwanda, scholars and educators have oftentimes expressed concerns about knowledge and use of languages in Rwanda. Concerning what is often referred to as “foreign languages”¹³ (i.e.: French, English, and Kiswahili), for example, Ntakirutimana (2010: 22) speaking about French in Rwanda between 1961 and 1979 notes that ‘considering the learning conditions, the objectives, and the human and material resources available; it was impossible for the [Secondary school] laureates to practice the French language easily’ (Translation mine). And yet, the language had always been favored in education; and apparently, the way it was to be practiced in Rwanda was rather through Codeswitching (Ibid. 2010: 21).

¹³ Gafaranga et al. (2013) attract attention on the contradiction consisting of referring to these languages as “foreign languages” even though they are official in the country.

English, on the other hand, for a different reason, has not fared better: Until 1994, this language was not emphasized in education (Maniraho 2013). It is only after 1994 that efforts to develop competence in English were multiplied. But, as Rudacogora (2013: 48 referring to MINEDUC Strategic Plan 2010-15) notes, one of the problems is the teachers' competence in that language. From the point of view of English and French, therefore, problems of competence are reported. Paradoxically, however, even Kinyarwanda, is not spared.

According to Nsanzabiga (2012) for example, Kinyarwanda is a "trapped language," now "hybridized" to the extent that teachers sometimes wonder which Kinyarwanda to teach. Moreover, even though Nsanzabiga (2012) concedes that one has to be open and tolerant about language hybridity; he wonders how teachers and educators could prevent total disintegration of a language in conditions of rapid hybridization. In other words, even in a "basically" monolingual context like Rwanda, a possible "disintegration" of the national language is foreseen, and thus the desired bilingualism is not likely to be attained.

The same issue of "hybridization" is discussed by Niyomugabo (2012) from another angle. For Niyomugabo (2012), the intellectual context of the University College where he conducted research has seen the "birth" of a new language, "Kinyafranglais." That language, he explains, was begotten by a combination of three official languages of the country, namely: Kinyarwanda, French, and English. As he assessed the attitudes towards Kinyafranglais of lecturers and students in that institution, he found that '[l]ecturers perceive it as facilitating smooth transmission of subject content and knowledge while students perceive it as helping them understand their courses (p. 27-28)'. Niyomugabo (2012: 28) thus concludes that the "new language" should not be stigmatized, but at the same time 'acknowledge[s] that "Kinyafranglais" can have a negative effect on the promotion of English and French as languages of instruction if it is valued to the detriment of these two languages': And certainly, he also concurs with Nsanzabiga (2012) that, if the "new language" can have a negative effect on French and English, it can have it on Kinyarwanda as well; and that *ipso facto*, "Kinyafranglais" is potentially a hindrance to the desired development of multilingualism in Rwanda since multilingualism doesn't mean development of a new language and elimination of the existing ones.

Other scholars have earlier warned indirectly against potential hindrances to the development of multilingualism in Rwanda. Rosendal (2009) for example, notes that Codeswitching is used profusely in Rwanda, even in institutions like the Parliament; and Ntakirutimana (2010) thinks (as mentioned above) that learning French in Rwanda only resulted in using it in Codeswitching. And yet, scholars affirm that excessive use of Codeswitching signals language shift in unstable diglossic contexts (Grosjean 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993).

Added to the fact that knowledge of Kinyarwanda is reported to be decreasing (e.g.: Nsanzabiga 2012); that it is more and more absent in the country's micro language policies (e.g.: Rudacogora 2013: 49) to the extent that elimination of the department of Kinyarwanda at the university was once attempted (Rurangirwa 2012); it could be said that the apparently comfortable situation of Kinyarwanda in the "basically monolingual" context of Rwanda doesn't seem to help its long term maintenance and development; and that the position of the two other official languages (French and English) doesn't seem to guarantee them adequate penetration in the Rwandan society, and that rather; what they appear to be succeeding in doing rapidly is, to fuel linguistic material for language mixing with Kinyarwanda.

In conclusion, what all this seems to suggest is that efforts to develop multilingualism in Rwanda and to use languages to mediate Subject Content Learning need to be supplemented. As suggested in this thesis, therefore, **Translanguaging pedagogy** might be the appropriate strategies to do so. For an understanding of how Translanguaging might be enhanced in the context of Rwandan Secondary schools, therefore; a comparison between the multilingual context of Rwanda and the other multilingual contexts where Translanguaging can be applied is necessary.

2.1.4.3 Multilingualism in Rwanda and Multilingual Practices: A Comparative Perspective

As has appeared from the above discussion, one of the most important features of the linguistic situation of Rwanda is the position of the official languages of the country vis-à-vis each other. Such a situation has been reported elsewhere in ex-colonial countries and thus, the particularity of Rwanda can be understood through the metaphor of "linguistic pyramid." Through this metaphor, a comparison between the complex linguistic situation in Africa (Diki-Kidiri, 2001 in

Rurangirwa 2014: 167) and the particular linguistic situation in Rwanda can be represented as in the following pairs of Figures.

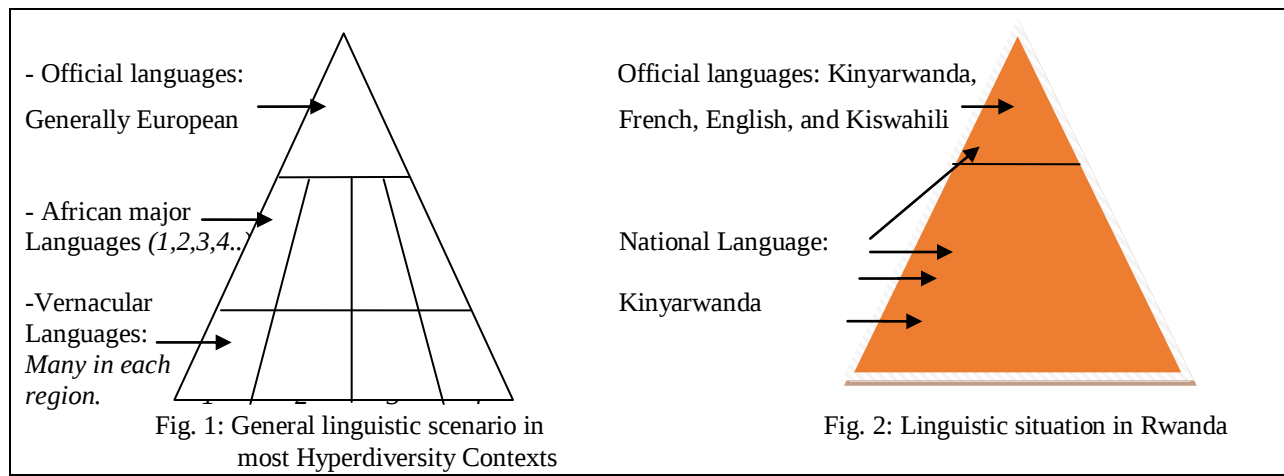


Figure 2: Graphic Representation of Multilingualism in Rwanda as compared to Multilingualism in other postcolonial contexts

Figure 1 represents the general linguistic scenario in Africa and other post colonial contexts. At the top, there is (are) the official language(s) (often European language(s)). In the middle, there are the major languages of the country. At the bottom, there are the local vernacular languages spoken by the local communities (Didi-Kidiri 2001 in Rurangirwa 2014). Both the middle and the bottom of the pyramid are likely to be comprised of societies such as the ones in India and Sri Lanka that Canagarajah & Liyanage (2012: 52) describe as

‘multilingualistic societies [whose] memberships overlapped and interlocked in amicable and productive ways to create fluid and hybrid identities. [In such societies the people’s] ‘linguistic codes [...] grew amicably and in ways complementing each other; [and] the complementarity was such that there is a strong and mutually identifiable lexico-grammatical affinity among these languages. (Ibid. 2012: 52).

The context of the middle and the bottom of the “linguistic pyramid” (Figure 1), therefore, can be seen as comparable, for example, to the one in South Africa where ‘the scope for Translanguaging [...] is sufficiently wide to include blending of several languages and multilingual spaces that cross within and between language clusters (Makalela 2015: 215)’. Indeed, in such contexts as represented in the middle and bottom of the linguistic pyramid, ‘complex and multilayered language mixing [occurs] as a social practice (Ibid. 2015: 2015)’.

Furthermore, such contexts entail ‘a wide spectrum of speakers of indigenous African languages (Makalela, 2015: 215)’ and ‘vernaculars that leak into one another (Makoni and Mashiri 2007 in Makalela 2014: 670)’. Such contexts are thus conducive to ‘more fluid interactions through linguistic resources that can no longer be bound as separate entities (Makalela 2013, 2014; Madiba 2014 in Makalela 2014: 669)’, and to ‘future possibilities for merging African [, Asian, and American] languages (Ibid. 2013: 111)’.

On the other hand, contrary to situations like the one described above, the “basically” monolingual context of Rwanda (see Figure 2); in **a rather limited sense**, is likely to offer opportunities for ‘Translanguaging as indexical of the plural sense of being (Makalela 2015: 215)’ and to lead to ‘future possibilities for merging African [, Asian, and American] languages (Ibid. 2013: 111)’. Indeed, not only the speakers of other languages (African and non-African) in the context of Rwanda primarily speak Kinyarwanda and identify with it; but also, that language (Kinyarwanda) is simultaneously the major language, the vernacular language, and one of the official languages. Nonetheless, all that this triple status can do for Kinyarwanda is to put it in competition with French [and English] which remain the languages of the elite [...] (Diki-Kidiri 2001 in Rurangirwa 2014: 168)’.

Concerning these languages more particularly, whereas ‘[t]ranslanguaging [...] posits that languages are not hermetically sealed units with distinguishable boundaries (Garcia 2009, 2011; Hornberger and Link 2012; Makoni 2023; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Mignolo 2000; Wei 2011; Shohamy 2006 in Makalela 2015: 202)’; these ex-colonial languages appear, to a certain extent, to be sealed in the “ivory tower” of their status as languages of administration, media of instruction, and other high domains of social life. And even more, they appear, in the books they are written in, to be impermeable to the influence of other languages; to the extent that ‘overlap[ping] (Makalela 2015: 202)’ between the languages in the Rwandan society is likely to be only unidirectional. In other words, since these languages are carefully maintained and developed through writing (*verba volant, scripta manent*), they are not likely to be influenced; but they influence the indigenous languages.

In addition, whereas Kinyarwanda is the language spoken by nearly all Secondary school teachers and students; English as the language-in-education policy designated Medium of

Instruction from upper primary school throughout university is mainly acquired at school; and (like French and Kiswahili) it is hardly used in everyday conversation. In other words, English, French, and Kiswahili are used for the most part in the academic context (see CALP, Cummins 1999), whereas Kinyarwanda monopolizes the social conversational aspect of teachers and students' life (see BICS, Ibid. 1999). For that reason, the tendency is likely to be that both Kinyarwanda will not develop academically, and that English will not develop in terms of social communication.

And yet, as long as these languages are part of the teachers' and students' repertoire, they can't remain strictly demarcated: They are necessarily in contact; and thus, they 'can no longer be bound as separate entities (Makalela 2013, 2014; Madiba 2014 in Makalela 2014: 669)'. But, in view of the particular setting for bilingualism in Rwanda and the school bilingual context particularly; these languages, are unlikely to behave like 'vernaculars that leak into one another (Makoni and Mashiri 2007 in Makalela 2014: 670)', but rather like two neighbors with unequal power, tending to develop in a rather diglossic fashion, and to the detriment of all of them.

This, however, need not be the case and, thanks to "Translanguaging pedagogy," a harmonious development of all the languages is possible; but the hitherto conceptualized construct and related concepts have to be adapted in view of the profile of the context of Rwanda described above. What the characteristics of Translanguaging and other related concepts are pertinent to the context of Rwanda, therefore, are presented next.

2.1.4.4 Conceptual Framing of the Study

In this Section, a philosophy of language and meaning (heteroglossia); major multilingual practices (dynamic bilingualism, polylingualism, metrolingualism); and multilingual processes (Translanguaging, polylinguaging, metrolanguaging, codemeshing, multilinguaging, hybrid language practices) have been examined. All of them represent a move away from a view of language as a static system of signs and meanings, to a view of language as a dynamic product of interaction; a move away from a view of speakers as passive users of codes, to a view of people as "languagers" with agency to participate (consciously or unconsciously) in meaning making; and a move away from a view of speaking as a passive action, to a view of languaging as a dynamic activity.

In the present thesis which focuses on multilingual practices in two Secondary schools in Rwanda, therefore, the study of the Translanguaging process and its role in enhancing learning espouses the view of language as a dynamic activity of communication in the classroom. Also, taking after Pietikainen et al. (2008), the study sees a close relation between the process of “languaging” and Bakhtin’s (198) philosophy of language and meaning (viz. “heteroglossia”). The study is thus premised on an understanding of language as ‘a collection of coexisting “ways of speaking” bearing witness to different past and present socioideological contradictions’; and it views variation as ‘an inherent characteristic of language (Pietikainen et al. 2008: 81)’.

Further, the study also recognizes “dynamic bilingualism,” “polylingualism,” “metrolingualism,” and other multilingual practices such as “crossing” and “codemeshing” as useful tools for explicating instances of multiple language practices in the classroom. Not all aspects of the constructs, however, apply wholly to the context of Rwanda. Indeed, since they are conceptualized with reference to contexts utterly different; they will have to be adapted to the particular context of Rwanda (1) where relatively new languages (English, French, Kiswahili) and a traditional common language (Kinyarwanda) are in a competition for space on the linguistic market (Rosendal 2009); (2) where monolingual, multilingual, and “polylingual” norms (Jorgensen et al. 2011) coexist; (3) where flexibility and ‘fluid possibilities’ are offered without removing the extant ‘ortholinguistic practices (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247)’; and (4) where language groups are not a salient feature of society and thus, where the “coexisting ways of speaking” rather operate within the same multilingual group and within rather singularly comparable individuals making up that same language group.

In this way, the above constructs constitute an anchor for the present study provided that they are adapted to the unique situation of Rwanda generally, and to the situation of Secondary schools in Rwanda particularly. Within this understanding, therefore, the Section below presents a **Theoretical framework** that resonates with this particular **conceptual framing**.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this Section, I present a combination of concepts and theories deemed apt to help in the analysis of the data collected for the present study. These theories and concepts are: (1)

Translanguaging as a theory of multilingual practice (Williams 1994, 1996; Baker 2011; Garcia 2009a; Creese & Hornberger 2012; Lewis et al. 2012) and other concepts inherent to it; (2) Language Proficiency (BICS, CALP) (Cummins 1989) as a theory of language competence in academic contexts; (3) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning and Assessing (Anderson & Krathwohl, eds. 2001) as a theory of Knowledge; and Multicompetence (Cook 1995; Hall et al. 2006; Alptekin 2010; Franceschini 2011) as a theory of Language Competence in multilingual contexts. This selection is justifiable on many accounts as elaborated below.

2.2.1 Rationale for the Composition of the Theoretical Framework

(1) Firstly, Question 1 is about the **nature** of teachers' and students' “**translanguage**” in the classroom. I submit that, whereas the Rwandan population is generally monolingual, teachers and students are multilingual by virtue of the language-in-education policy which entrenched English as the MoI, and instructed that French and Kiswahili be taught as subjects on the curriculum. The corollary to this situation is that teachers and students are multilinguals with at least four languages in their repertoire; and therefore, their use of languages in the classroom is naturally a “translanguage.” For that reason, the first question of the study is addressed through the lens of Translanguaging as a construct; and Language Proficiency CALP/BICS (Cummins 1979, 1999) as a theory of language in the classroom.

(2) Secondly Question 2 is about the way in which teachers' and students' “Translanguaging” enhances Subject Content Learning. To address this question, there is first a need to define what Subject Content Learning means. I propose Language Proficiency CALP/BICS (Cummins 1979, 1999) as a theory of language in the classroom, and Anderson & Krathwohl's, eds. (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing as a reference for analyzing the mechanism whereby teachers' and students' Translanguaging is an enhancement to Subject Content Knowledge learning. More specifically, evidence that the language related to different levels of “knowledge dimensions” (viz. Factual; Conceptual; Procedural; and Metacognitive) in the classroom Translanguaging (or lack thereof) is indicative of the workings of the said mechanism of enhancement to Subject Content Knowledge.

(3) Finally Question 3 is about the way in which teachers' and students' “Translanguaging” enhances Language Competence Development. As is the case with Question 2, there is also a

need for a clear definition of what is meant by “Language Competence Development” in the context of the present study. To explain what “Language Competence” entails in the particular “basically monolingual context” of Rwanda, I capitalize on the fact that a language of internal communication can be considered as given since Kinyarwanda is used by virtually 100% of the population, and that language to be used “mainly” for regional and global integration are needed. “Language Competence Development,” therefore, means that both the language of internal communication and the language(s) for regional and global communication must be developed.

I propose to refer to “multicompetence” (viz. characteristic of ‘an individual with knowledge of an extended and integrated linguistic repertoire who is able to use the appropriate linguistic variety for the appropriate occasion’ (Franceschini 2011:351))” as a target to be attained by any activity in the classroom including multilingual practice; and to describe the mechanism of Language Competence enhancement by Translanguaging with that target in mind.

In addition, BICS and CALP theories (Cummins 1999) are also a target to attain for a general knowledge of languages and, more particularly, from the point of view of language use in schools. To address Question 3 of this study, therefore, the mechanism whereby teachers’ and students’ Translanguaging enhances Language Competence Development must be described with reference to these targets.

On the whole, in view of the requirements for the investigation of the **nature** of teachers’ and students’ **Translanguaging** and the **mechanism** of its enhancement to Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development; the overarching framework of analysis of the data is the **construct of Translanguaging** itself and the **theories/concepts** related to it, namely: “Codeswitching,” “Translation,” and “Developmental Use” (see, Conceptual Aspect of Translanguaging); and “Input and Output Variations”; “Subject-determined”; “Varied Classroom Contexts”; “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use” (see Pedagogic Aspect of Translanguaging).

Furthermore, as a subsidiary, the theories of Language Proficiency (CALP/BICS) (Cummins, 1999) as well as the Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching and Assessing (Anderson & Krathwohl, eds. 2001) and “Multicompetence” (Cook 1995; Hall et al. 2011; Franceschini 2011), serve as reference for the definitions of Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development.

The following Chart shows the relatedness of these theories in the construction of the whole Theoretical Framework.

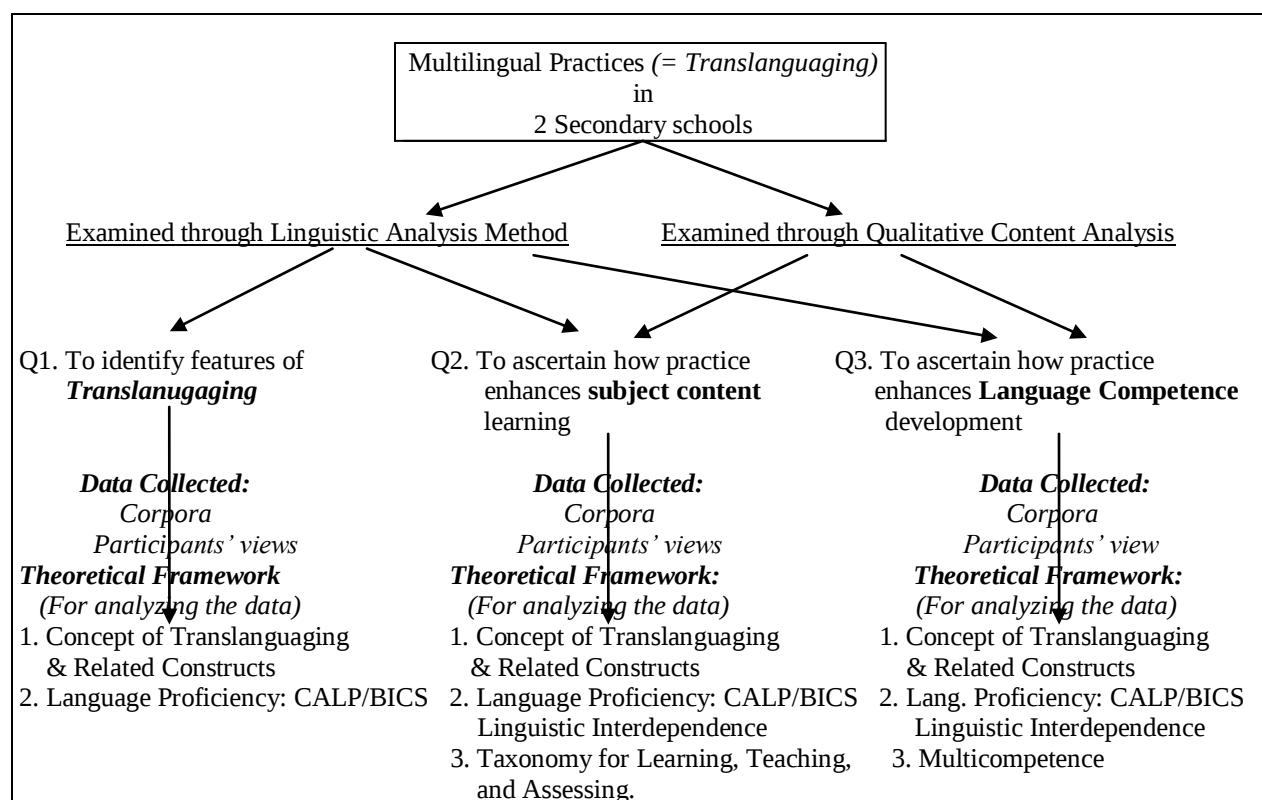


Figure 3: Graphic Representation of the Theoretical Framework

As can be seen in this Chart, Question 1 (about the **nature** of multilingual practices obtaining in the particular context of Rwandan Secondary schools) is examined through the lens of **Translanguaging** (Lewis et al. 2012) and Language Competence (CALP/BICS) (Cummins 1999).

Question 2 (about the way in which multilingual practices in the particular context of Rwanda enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development) on the other hand, is examined conjointly through the lenses of **Translanguaging** (Lewis et al. 2012), Language Competence (CALP/BICS) (Cummins 1999), and the Taxonomy of Teaching, Learning, and Assessing (Anderson & Krathwohl eds. 2001). Thus, whereas this Taxonomy represents targets of cognitive processes to be achieved in school; Language Competence (CALP/BICS) and Translanguaging represent respectively language interaction strategies and practice features likely to enable the attainment of those targets.

Finally, Question 3 (about the way in which multilingual practices in the particular context of Rwanda enhances to Language Competence Development) is examined conjointly through the lenses of **Translanguaging** (Lewis et al. 2012), Language Competence (CALP/BICS) (Cummins 1999), and Multicompetence (Gook 1995, Franceschini 2011). Like in the case of Q2, there are Language Competence and Subject Content Knowledge targets represented respectively by Language Competence (CALP/BICS) and Multicompetence which must be attained in school; and the practice of **Translanguaging** represents the language practices likely to help students attain these linguistic targets.

That is generally the justification of the composition of the Theoretical Framework for this study. In what follows, I discuss in more details the operational character of the different constructs it encompasses in relation to the particular context of Rwanda.

2.2.2 Operationalization of the Theoretical Framework

Translanguaging

As earlier analyzed, **Translanguaging** as a construct, relates conceptually to the concepts of “Dynamic Bilingualism,” “Codeswitching,” “Translation,” “Co-languaging,” and “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” (Lewis et al. 2012). However, since the context of Rwanda is basically monolingual, the concepts of “Dynamic Bilingualism”; “Co-languaging”; and “Varied Classroom Contexts” are not directly relevant for the study of multilingual practices in Rwandan secondary schools, and thus; they are not included in the framework since they typically apply to bi-multilingual contexts like the bilingual schools in Wales studied by Lewis et al. (2012); the Complementary Community Schools in UK analyzed in Creese and Blackledge’s (2011) studies; and the INPS (International Network for Public Schools), ‘a group of schools that serve newcomer adolescent immigrants in the United States’ documented by Garcia & Sylvan (2011). Furthermore, “Deaf and Special Education” is not included either as this specialized kind of education is likely to be marginally found in the general education system. The concepts thus selected for the study are represented in the following Table:

	Aspects of Translanguaging	Concepts Related to Translanguaging
1	<i>Conceptual Aspect Related Constructs</i>	<i>Dynamic Bilingualism;</i> (Not included) Codeswitching; Translation; <i>Co-languaging;</i> (Not included) Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding

2	<i>Pedagogic Aspect Related Constructs</i>	Developmental Use; Input and Output Variations; Subject-determined; <i>Varied Classroom Contexts; (Not included)</i> Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use; <i>Deaf and Special Education (Not included)</i>
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Table 3: Selection of Concepts for investigating how, in this context, Translanguaging is practiced

As can be seen in this Table, only the concepts of Codeswitching, Translation, and Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding (Lewis et al. 2012) identified as concepts related to the “*conceptual aspect of Translanguaging*” as well as Developmental Use, Input and Output Variations, Subject-determined, and Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use related to the “*pedagogic aspect of Translanguaging*” have been taken into account as defining Translanguaging for the purpose of the present study.

It is suggested that, owing to the specifics of the Rwandan bilingual context which is basically monolingual; these are the constructs deemed likely to help in presenting an accurate account of the characteristics of multilingual practices (viz. *Translanguaging*) in Rwandan secondary school classrooms.

Language Proficiency

In his theory of Language Proficiency, Cummins (1979; 1999) distinguishes between two interrelated constructs concerning language proficiency. These are: CALP and BICS, referring respectively to “Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency” and “Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills.” As Cummins (1999) explains, even though these constructs are interrelated, they are distinct: Whereas CALP is the kind of language proficiency that is necessary for dealing with academic subjects; BICS concerns the kind of language skills that are necessary for ordinary conversation in social life. In other words, CALP and BICS are different concepts; but both conversational (BICS) and academic (CALP) proficiency are necessary for effective dialogic learning since students “construct” knowledge through dialogues with their teachers and peers (Mitchell & Myles, 2004).

Cummin’s (1979; 1999) language proficiency framework thus contributes two important ideas to be used for the orientation of the present study: Firstly, the distinction between BICS and CALP indicates that analysis of the *practice of Translanguaging* for subject content teaching and

learning will pay attention to the extent to which the language used in these lessons simultaneously features ‘basic conversational language’ and “cognitive academic language.” Secondly, analysis of ‘multilingual practices’ in the present study will also pay attention to the extent to which *Translanguaging* is likely to enhance simultaneous development of BICS and CALP in English and Kinyarwanda.

Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing

Generally, gaining knowledge in a subject means gaining ‘information and understanding about a subject (Collins Dictionary)’. In the particular context of the classroom, however, what “information and understanding about a subject” entails can be captured by considering the tenets of Bloom’s (1948) Taxonomy of Educational Goals and Objectives. As Bloom developed it, this Taxonomy is a system of classification of thinking behaviors which is important for understanding the process of learning. It covers three important domains: The cognitive, the affective, and the psychomotor (Anderson and Kathwohl, eds. 2001). In the context of my study, I only consider the cognitive domain to attempt an understanding of what it takes to develop ‘Subject Content Knowledge’.

As revised by Anderson & Krathwohl (2001), the ‘Cognitive Domain’ comprises two dimensions (the “Cognitive Process” Dimension and the “Knowledge” Dimension) with 6 and 4 levels respectively. Thus, the levels of action that are comprised in the ‘cognitive process dimension’ of learning are (1) remembering; (2) understanding; (3) applying; (4) analyzing; (5) evaluating; and (6) creating. On the other hand, the levels of knowledge to be acquired are (1) factual; (2) conceptual; (3) procedural; and (4) meta-cognitive. Both these dimensions of the cognitive domain of learning can be represented in the following table:

Table 4: Cognitive Process and Knowledge Dimensions of the Learning Process Knowledge Domain

		<i>The Cognitive Process Dimension</i>					
		Remember	Understand	Apply	Analyze	Evaluate	Create
<i>The Knowledge Dimension</i>	Factual						
	Conceptual						
	Procedural						
	Metacognitive						

Briefly stated, the ‘factual’ level of knowledge concerns facts (e.g. definition of concepts) about a subject of study; the ‘conceptual’ level is about theories developed in the subject; the ‘procedural’ level is about knowledge of how to do things; and the ‘meta-cognitive’ level concerns descriptions, discussions, and explanations about the subject (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). It is assumed that; to the extent that ‘multilingual practices’ (i.e.: *Translanguaging encompassing such concepts as Codeswitching, Translation, and Developmental use*) cater for the above levels of knowledge; Subject Content Learning will be enhanced. Therefore, whether students’ multilingual practices allow them to go through “factual,” “conceptual,” “procedural” and “metacognitive” levels of the cognitive process is an important question examined in the analysis of the data collected for this study.

Multicompetence

According to Cook (1995: 94), whereas knowledge of one language is “Linguistic Competence,” knowledge of a second language is “interlanguage”; and thus, first Language Competence combined with “second language interlanguage” is “multi-competence.” Also, still according to Cook (1995: 96), there are, as attested to by empirical research, considerable qualitative advantages of this state of *multilingual competence* as compared to *monolingual competence*. These advantages are for example metalinguistic awareness and cognitive processing capabilities, and; because of these advantages; it seems that multilinguals are likely to ‘function better than monolinguals’.

Not all scholars, however, agree with this definition and the alleged advantages of multi-competence. Hall et al. (2006) for example reject the view that multi-competence as ‘the compound state of mind with two grammars (Cook 1991: 112 in Hall et al. 2006: 221)’ should be considered as a ‘language supersystem’ (Cook 2003a: 2) that differs in distinct ways from the language knowledge of monolinguals.’ In the same vein, still Hall et al. (2006: 220) criticize (1) the underlying ‘view of L1 and L2 as distinct systems’; (2) the presumption of a qualitative distinction between *multi-competence* and *monocompetence*; and ‘the assumption of homogeneity of language knowledge across speakers and contexts’. Thus Hall et al. (2006) propose instead, a “usage-based” view of multi-competence; a view of ‘language knowledge as provisional, grounded in and emergent from language use in concrete social activity for specific purposes that are tied to specific communities of practice (Hall et al. 2006: 235)’.

Similarly, Alptekin (2010) also reiterates Hall's et al. (2006) critique of Cook's (1995) conceptualization of multicompetence, and agrees that a usage-based definition of multicompetence is necessary. However, with a focus on English as a lingua franca (ELF), he proposes that the concept of multi-competence should not only include perspectives of bilingualism but also perspectives of biculturalism in a way that is apt to account for 'ELL-based multiculturalism (Alptekin 2010: 103)'.

Finally, Franceschini (2011: 243) working in the context of the European research network LINEE (Language in a Network of European Excellence) combines the concept of multilingualism and the term multicompetence; and presents a definition of "multicompetence" adapted to 'a sociolinguistic point of view, mainly in the specific thematic area [of] "Multilingualism and Education (Ibid. 2011: 350)'. Her definition goes as follows:

'Multicompetence, i.e., the knowledge of more than one language in the mind, is part of the individual capacity of a person and develops in interaction with his or her social or educational environment. Multicompetent individuals make use of their linguistic knowledge when interacting within a range of linguistic settings, including both multilingual and monolingual situations. Multicompetence, or multilingual competence, is thus at the same time a tool and a state and relates to the complex, flexible, integrative, and adaptable behavior which multilingual individuals display. A multicompetent person is therefore an individual with knowledge of an extended and integrated linguistic repertoire who is able to use the appropriate linguistic variety for the appropriate occasion. (Franceschini 2011: 351)'

In my own study, this definition seems to be the most appropriate for an account of what multilingual competence is required in the context of Rwanda generally, and in the context of Rwandan schools more particularly. Following Franceschini's (2011) definition, therefore, "Language Competence Development" in the context under study refers to development of competence in such a way that students are not only enabled for an integrated use of the languages in their repertoire **with other multilinguals**; but also for efficient use of Kinyarwanda, English, French, and Kiswahili **with monolingual users** of these languages, depending on the different occasions that they might find themselves in.

Overall, it is assumed that “multilingual practices” in different classroom contexts exhibit, to differing degrees, all or some of the *Translanguaging* features hitherto reviewed in this Chapter. Earlier research has documented the crucial role of these practices in teaching/learning in various ways. In what follows, I review the relevant literature under the banner of both *Translanguaging* and *Related Concepts* such as Codeswitching and Translation to highlight this role, and to identify the gap where I fit the preset study.

2.3 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES IN THE CLASSROOM

In this Section, I complement the discussion of the key concepts (see Section 2.1) as well as the presentation of the Theoretical Framework (Section 2.2) of the present study by examining some of the research efforts that have established the crucial role of *Translanguaging* in the classroom. Throughout the review, the argument put forward is that, even though *Translanguaging* has been explicitly documented in a relatively limited number of contexts, it is generally a reality in all multilingual contexts; and more particularly, it is practiced in all kinds of multilingual classroom contexts: Only, it is practiced to differing degrees and it is rarely documented.

2.3.1 Translanguaging, a Success Story

As earlier indicated, Translanguaging refers to ‘planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson (Baker 2003, 2011; Williams 1994, 1996 in Lewis, Jones, and Baker 2012: 643)’. In Wales, the practice emerged as ‘a reaction against the historic separation of two monolingualisms (Welsh and English) with a difference in prestige (Lewis et al. 2012: 642)’. In fact, when it initially emerged as a pedagogic strategy; ‘[e]xpressions such as “language struggle,” “fighting for survival,” and “treachery” suggested a language battleground (Ibid. 2012: 642)’ in Wales. However, with the practice of Translanguaging in Welsh education, it soon appeared that the Welsh language revitalization was succeeding; and this success ‘opened up the possibility of the two languages [Welsh and English] being seen as mutually advantageous in a bilingual school, person, and society (Ibid. 2012: 642)’. This new perspective proved to be a powerful boost to a wider adoption of the concept of Translanguaging worldwide. Thus, from its Welsh origin; the concept is currently being ‘adopted in other parts of the world as a key concept

in some bilingual classrooms and communities (Garcia 2009a, 2009b)', and research in different parts of the world is continually confirming the value of the practice.

On the European continent in Sweden for example, Muhonen (2012: 9) discusses how Translanguaging is used as a resource in multilingual language teaching pedagogy'. By analyzing a typical English class where bilingual pedagogy is used (Ibid: 2012: 9)', he found that Translanguaging strategies are not only used by students, but also by teachers. He claims that '[w]hen flexible Translanguaging is the norm, it is no longer only the teacher who possesses knowledge about several languages and cultures who gets the floor: Rather pupil's linguistic repertoire and knowledge are often both useful and relevant to the teaching and learning tasks where Translanguaging is made use of as a pedagogical resource (Muhonen, 2012: 12).' Further, he notes that 'while Translanguaging most certainly is a common everyday activity and a sociolinguistic reality to multilingual adolescents, the fact that the English subject teacher also translanguages in the classroom sends an important message, supporting heteroglossic flexible bilingualism, empowering also the heritages and heritage identities of the pupils (Muhonen, 2012: 12).'

Jonsson (2012) also analyzed and described language practices in an English language classroom 'where the MoI oscillates between Swedish and English'. She found that 'Translanguaging practices have a considerable potential if used as resources in education'. Indeed, she found, in the lessons she analyzed, that strategies include: 'Translanguaging for Translation', Translanguaging between users of different languages, Translanguaging to Swedish (for explanations and reprimands for example), and Translanguaging to English (to reaffirm focus on the English language and to mark the start of the lesson etc.)'. In addition, she also notes that the Translanguaging strategies were used both by teachers and students spontaneously, without them being explicitly asked to use it in the classroom. Jonsson (2012) thus claims that there could be many pedagogic gains if the implicit strategies of Translanguaging were made explicit. She also asserts that for the teacher to try to use different languages as pedagogic resources has great value, even when s/he does not master the languages s/he attempts to use.

Another study was conducted by Creese & Blackledge (2010) in Community Language Schools in UK. These schools are founded by immigrants' communities and they 'focus on language,

culture, and heritage teaching'. They support multilingualism and, in the classroom, the students' bilingualism is often English dominant whereas the teachers are 'often community language dominant' (Creese & Blackledge 2010: 103). During Saturday assemblies, parents who come to pick up their children attend, and their bilingualism is also community language dominant. What is interesting in these communities' Translanguaging then is the teachers' use of both English and the relevant community language; each language conveying a different message according to the different levels of the audience. Arguably the teacher's 'utterances are examples of Translanguaging in which [he/she uses] his/her languages in a pedagogic context to make meaning, transmit information, and perform identities (Creese & Blackledge 2010: 108).

Still in England; Takhi, Creese, and Blackledge (2012: 16) present the case study of a teacher in a Complementary School setting who uses 'a combination of Panjabi and English', a practice the researchers identify as 'flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010a)' and 'Translanguaging as pedagogy (Creese & Blackledge, 2010b)'. In this regard, Takhi, Creese, and Blackledge (2012: 16) explain that '[a]ccording to Garcia (2009) the role of educators is to notice learner needs rather than demarcate lines between particular languages' and this particular teacher perfectly perform this role. Also, more generally, as '[t]ranslanguaging or flexible bilingualism is a common practice for creating a multilingual ideological space which values student, teacher and community multilingualism (Takhi, Creese, and Blackledge 2012: 17)', this teacher's use of Translanguaging as a pedagogy succeeds in 'provid[ing] students with a clear message that their language learning has value beyond narrow definitions of single communities'; and in establishing the link between home and school knowledge (Ibid. 2012: 18).

On the American continent in the United States, another study of Translanguaging in the classroom is by Garcia & Sylvan (2011). These scholars give a vivid description of Translanguaging in public 'high schools for newcomer immigrant adolescents who are new to English with what is called 'the International approach (Sylvan & Romero, 2002 in Garcia & Sylvan 2011: 392)'. As Garcia & Sylvan (2011: 394-5) describe it, the pedagogy in those Internationals High Schools (IHSs) is placed in 'a dynamic plurilingual system of education' which empowers students 'as individuals to use their Home Language practices in singular agentive ways to make meaning of their learning of rigorous content and new language practices'. What happens concretely in those schools then is that, students working in groups and

using ‘different language practices, including those they bring from home (Ibid. 2012: 393)’, are provided with activity guides and resources in English. However, bilingual dictionaries, documents in various languages, and internet access in Home Languages are available for frequent consultation by students. Thus, many discussions in many languages are interspersed with breaks ‘for the teacher to explain a concept or practice a skill collectively (Ibid. 2012: 394)’; and the whole work results in shared ‘authentic experiences’ in which students gain knowledge through active learning. Garcia & Sylvan summarize the Translanguaging experience thus:

‘In short, teachers in IHS classrooms use dynamic plurilingual pedagogy and build on Translanguaging in the classroom. By allowing individual students to use their Home Language practices to make sense of the learning moment, these IHSs go beyond traditional second-language programs [...] or traditional bilingual education programs (Garcia & Sylvan 2011: 394).’ [And the result is that] the IHSs are more successful in graduating immigrant students who are learning English than many other high schools in the city [of New York] (Ibid. 2011: 393).’

Another instance of research on *Translanguaging* still in the United States is by Gutierrez et al. (1999) who studied the use of multiple languages in a ‘large elementary school located in the working-class sector of an economically and racially segregated section of an affluent, large West Coast city’. To differing degrees, the students in this school are proficient in Spanish and English. Some of them are native speakers of English and they are proficient in Spanish. Others are native speakers of Spanish and they are proficient in English. Their respective proficiency can mainly be explained by the relatively long time of enrolment in the school; and their language practices and learning activities are characterized by “hybridity”; ‘a useful lens, a Theoretical tool for understanding the inherent diversity and heterogeneity of activity systems and learning events, as well as a principle for organizing learning (Gutierrez et al. 1999: 288)’. It is amid this “hybridity” which ‘exists at multiple levels of learning environments (Ibid. 1999: 288)’ that the teacher and the students ‘consciously and strategically utilized their own linguistic repertoires and created new contexts of development; [and that] these hybrid language practices fostered language and literacy development (Gutierrez et al. 1999: 291)’.

Other research efforts on *Translanguaging* are also registered on the African continent. More precisely in South Africa, a “practice-based research project” focusing on African languages taught at the University of the Witwatersrand, was carried out. Makalela (2015: 204) reports on the second part of the study geared to investigating whether Translanguaging enhances different aspects of additional language learning such as “word recognition skills” and “vocabulary and oral reading proficiency.” The study, as Makalela (2015: 215) recounts, showed that ‘Translanguaging strategies are effective in increasing’ learners’ vocabulary; that ‘breaking boundaries between a range of linguistic resources in multilingual classrooms affords the students a positive schooling experience and affirms their multilingual identities’; and that ‘fluid use of languages can be harnessed as a methodology that is both linguistically and culturally transformative.’ Makalela (2015: 200) thus argues for the ‘development of a multilingual teaching pedagogy [...] premised on “ubuntu lens of viewing the world” to advance theory and practices of Translanguaging as a teachable strategy.’

Still in South Africa, Carstens (2016: 208) also studied the practice of *Translanguaging* from the point of view of ‘students’ perceptions with regard to the gains of the strategy in terms of learning and literacy’. The researcher wanted to know whether students found ‘Translanguaging [...] a meaning making strategy in academic literacy interventions (p 209)’; their attitudes towards the practice ‘as a pedagogical strategy’; their views on its efficacy in ‘facilitating L2 development (English)’ and ‘L1 development and terminologisation in particular’. Overall, the study established that students found the practice of Translanguaging a useful learning tool in multilingual contexts. More particularly, most of them found it helpful for understanding concepts; in terms of affective gains they felt it provided “a safe environment” for experimenting their L1; and in terms of language development they found it instrumental for “African languages terminologization.”

On the Asian continent too, Translanguaging studies have been conducted. One such a study is by Vaish & Subhan (2005) who report on an experimental study of Translanguaging pedagogy in a ‘school in which Malay and Chinese were used as scaffolds to teach English’. The experiment consisted in introducing *Translanguaging* pedagogy in the school in replacement of the monolingual approach (Vaish & Subhan (2005: 339). The “proof of concept” study aimed at exploring pedagogy and interaction resulting from this new approach. Analysis of the outcome of

the new Translanguaging approach showed a change in teacher-students patterns of interaction which became ‘longer and less teacher fronted (Ibid. 2005: 353)’. Firstly, ‘when the students were allowed to use their L1, their talktime increased (Vaish & Subhan, 2005: 345) which is indicative of increased participation and learning as appears from teacher-students dialogues to elicit vocabulary meaning, to aid text comprehension, and to boost students’ confidence.

So much for testimonies on the value of Translanguaging in the classroom: The examples presented, however, are only a sample; and more studies have been (and are being) conducted in other parts of the world. Thus for example, Orinaga (2001) in Australia described Japanese as a translanguage. Creese & Blackledge (2010) still in the UK has observed ‘flexible bilingual approach to language teaching and learning in Chinese and Gujarati in community language schools’. Creese et al. (2010) also studied ‘multilingual practices among’ Bengali, Cantonese, Gujarati, Mandarin and Turkish as young people learn them in Complementary schools in UK. In the United States, Gutierrez (2008) observed the emergence of ‘third space’ as students acquire sociocritical literacy. The ‘third space’ literacy is also observed by Birr Moje (2004) in a classroom Translanguaging experiences in Michigan. And through a ‘bilingual lens’, Hornberger & Link (2012: 245) describe cases of Translanguaging in a school in the US and in the University of Limpopo in South Africa, and show that Translanguaging practices ‘offer the possibility for teachers and learners to access academic content through the communicative repertoires they bring to the classroom while simultaneously acquiring new ones’.

As has become apparent in this discussion, most of the research on Translanguaging has been carried out in Europe and North America. This is not surprising since ‘[m]ost research on multilingual education has been carried out in’ these parts of the world (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015). On the other hand, however, this doesn’t mean that multilingual practices (hence, Translanguaging) do not occur in other contexts. As attested to by studies on **Codeswitching** and **Translation**; Translanguaging does occur in all multilingual contexts since these concepts are counted as aspects of Translanguaging. In what follows, therefore, I review some studies on Codeswitching and Translation, not only as instances of practices comprised in the process of Translanguaging itself (Garcia 2009a in Lewis et al. 2012), but also as evidence of a certain degree of the practice of “Translanguaging” in various contexts.

2.3.2 Codeswitching and Translation in the Classroom

Codeswitching

Just as studies of Translanguaging have mainly been registered in Europe and America, studies of Codeswitching in the classroom have also flourished in the same contexts. One such a study is by Moore (2002) conducted in Spain and Italy; and it concerns the role of Codeswitching in the classroom. To ascertain this role, Moore (2002) compared two contexts, one of which uses French as the MoI and where teachers ‘assume it safer to avoid’ the use of the students’ L1; and another where ‘institutional support has facilitated the development of a bilingual program in Italian and French’ (i.e. a monolingual view of multilingualism, and in the other, a bilingual one). She found that in both contexts code switches serve as attention focusing device; they are communication effective; they attract attention on content and form; they prepare learners for learning; they raise linguistic awareness; and they help in knowledge construction. She claims then that through Codeswitching, ‘all the communicative resources of a bilingual repertoire are available and profitable’ and recommends that code switches be taken as good examples of ‘strategies for teaching concepts across linguistic and cultural boundaries’ and ‘considered as part of an adaptation process’.

Still in Europe, another research that advocates the use of Codeswitching for the role it plays in the classroom is by Camilleri (1996) who studied Codeswitching in secondary school classrooms focusing on Teachers’ use of Maltese and English both as a device for communicating and building identity; and also looked at students’ use of languages to study through English monolingual texts, and to build relationships among themselves. On the one hand, he found that teachers code switch: To manage the classroom discourse, to promote explanations, to introduce new topics, and to mark a distinction between content talk, and social relations talk. He also found that English is used by both teachers and students for formal discourse, whereas Maltese is used for informal discourse. Furthermore, he found that older generation teachers prefer English as MoI, whereas the younger generations tend to use English-Maltese Codeswitching. He explains that one of the reasons for people to Codeswitch is their simultaneous awareness of the value the Maltese language, and the power of English. This leads them to avoid being considered as “Maltese purist” or “snobbish English speaker.” He argues for Codeswitching use since no institution in Malta is likely to use either purely English or purely Maltese.

Macaro (2001) also examined Codeswitching behavior of a group of teacher trainees and their beliefs about Codeswitching as well as their decision to use it. He found that the student teachers are less proficient in L1, and that their low use of the L1 doesn't affect so much the quality of learners' use of L1 and L2. Also he found that 'some aspects of Codeswitching appear to be a source of conflict for the student teachers while others do not'. He claims that 'future research needs to establish some principles for Codeswitching in FL classrooms by understanding its functions and consequences (Macaro, 2001: 545)'. He opines that '[as] a teaching community we need to provide, especially for less experienced teachers, a framework that identifies when reference to the L1 can be a valuable tool and when it is simply used as an easy option (Ibid. 2001: 545)'.

Yet another study is by Eldridge (1996) who examined Codeswitching in a Turkish Secondary school. Firstly, he found that all students tend to code switch, and this has no relationship between the level of students' achievement and the need to code switch. Also all the functions of Codeswitching as identified by Gumperz (1982) were observed. However, one particular observation he made is that most of the Codeswitching instances 'have as their source a linguistic deficit' of some kind. Nonetheless, he is in favor of Codeswitching since, as he claims, most of the Codeswitching used 'in the classroom is highly purposeful and related to pedagogical goals'. He also thinks that language alternation in the classroom is 'very important methodologically', and that 'it has enormous implications for practicing language teachers'.

Another study, this time in North America, is by Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2005). These researchers studied learner Codeswitching between L1 and L2 in a seminar for advanced learners of German at the University of Alberta in Western Canada. They found that students' Codeswitching patterns are very much like those found outside the classroom in bilingual settings; and that their code switches serve "other participant-related" and "discourse-related" functions. However, like in Eldridge's (1996) study, they also found that students code switch because 'their knowledge of L2 fails them'. Nonetheless, Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2005: 235) explain that teachers' and students' Codeswitching behavior is due to their conceptualization of the classroom as a bilingual space; that the members of the classroom studied act as a community of practice (Wenger, 1998) following rules and shared views; and that such attitudes are likely to help them develop from L2 learners to bilinguals. Furthermore,

another remark they make is that L2 learners can never become L2 monolinguals; that rather, they are likely to become L1 and L2 bilinguals. As Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2005: 245) thus conclude, allowing students to code switch 'gives them the opportunity to become more comfortable with the L2, [and] gives them free rein to experiment with using two languages, like the bilinguals they hope to be someday'.

In Africa and Asia too Codeswitching studies have been conducted. In Arthur & Martin's (2006) study of classroom Codeswitching in Botswana and Brunei Darusalam, for example, the researchers found that there is tension between the values embodied in policies (which require the sole use of a foreign language as MoI) and the reality of the classroom. As Arthur & Martin's (2006) study demonstrates, monolingually biased policies instruct implementers to abide by "English-only" practices in the classroom, but teachers and students realize lessons through Codeswitching and thus pragmatically achieve teaching goals through multiple language practices (against the will of policy makers).

Youkhana (2010) in Japan also focused on the role of Codeswitching in the classroom and hinted at the theme of students' **reasons** to code switch. He found that students code switch more when dealing with difficult tasks, and less when dealing with easy questions. He claims that Sert's (2005) categorization of naturally occurring Codeswitching is also real even in the classroom but it needs to be extended. Thus for him students' Codeswitching falls into six categories: Equivalence; reiteration; floor-holding; student-student Codeswitching; and comfort Codeswitching. He recommends that people should benefit from Codeswitching in the classroom because even if one tried to avoid using the L1 in L2 learning, it would come in the process anyway.

Many more studies (e.g.: Setati & Adler (2000) in South Africa, Malekela (2004) in Tanzania, Ayeomoni (2006) in Nigeria, Martinez (2010) in the USA, Tabaro (2013) in Rwanda, etc.) can be identified in different parts of the world; and all of them converge on affirming that Codeswitching is a reality in all multilingual classrooms; that it is a reality which cannot be superseded. And it is not the only evidence of multilingual practices in the classroom. As discussed below, another traditional concept that has retained researchers' attention, though to a lesser extent, is "Translation."

Translation

Following the demise of the “Grammar-Translation Method” of language teaching/learning, there were no methods that support the use of Translation as a language teaching method (Richards & Rodgers 1986, in Cunningham 2000). Arguments against the practice range from simple rejection of Translation as reminiscence of the Grammar-Translation Method and its connotations (Harbord 1992, in Cunningham 2000) to evoking problems likely to arise from its use. Thus for example, Gorusch (1998) observed problems in Japan where students tend to focus on the Japanese translated text and not to the English text, so that they end up just learning English structures rather than learning English. Harbord (1992 in Cunningham 2000) also argued that with Translation as a method, students tend to learn vocabulary in isolation and fail to gain insight into ‘multiple uses and meanings’.

Without denying the likelihood of such problems, however, many authors (e.g.: Atkinson 1987; Edge 1986; Hetai 1989; Tudor 1986) have suggested that well thought Translation activities can be ‘incorporated into communicatively based lessons to suit students’ learning goals (Cunningham 2000). Cunningham (2000) further gives examples of scholars who propose strategies for judicious use of Translation in the classroom. Hetai (1989) for example has proposed guidelines for use (when Translation is an end in itself; when English is a FL rather than a L2; in advanced levels; for adults who prefer conscious learning; and when teachers and students share the same MT). Atkinson (1987) on the other hand has suggested that use of Translation promotes guessing strategies; anchors previously learned vocabulary; and draws on students’ L1 strengths; especially that beginning students often rely on L1.

Still on a Theoretical point of view, Translation enhances “Language Transfer.” Indeed, in virtue of Chomsky’s Universal Grammar theory, all language basic fundamentals (plurality, objects etc.) which are shared across languages can be transferred through Translation (Cunningham, 2000). Also Contrastive Analysis along with Translation can be usefully harnessed to help students to see the differences between L1 and L2 (Titford 1981: 52 in Cunningham 2000).

In view of these arguments, other scholars have turned attention to the practical side of the problem, and have suggested procedures for the best use of Translation. One of them is Edge (1986) who has suggested procedures compatible with Task Based Learning (consisting of: prior

discussion of the topic; Translation in groups; exchange of drafts between groups; identification of errors either in L1 or L2; work to correct the Translation). Heltai (1989) also agrees with the same procedure proposed by Edge (1986) and suggests that they can also be done orally (Cunningham 2000).

Another possibility to use Translation is proposed by Weschler (1997). He departs from a consideration of the blame of FL learning failures on Grammar-Translation Method and claims that, rather than blaming the method for the failure of the Japanese to speak English, what is at fault is the focus on ‘referential meaning of phrases’ rather than its social meaning (Weschler, 1997: 86). Thus, he proposes “Functional-Translation” as an alternative method because it firstly tries to convey the meaning of ideas that are useful for the students. Weschler (1997) advises that it is only then that appropriate grammar to express these ideas can be presented. As Weschler (1997) further explains, the Functional-Grammar Method is a combination of the best of Grammar-Translation and Communicative approach. Indeed, it is “functional” rather than “grammar” based, and it is also a “Translation” method ‘because it makes unashamed use of the student’s first language in accomplishing that goal (Weschler, 1997: 98)’. It ‘allow[s] students to learn the useful English *they* want to learn as efficiently and enjoyably as possible. This entails taking advantage of the knowledge they already possess in their first language as well as their innate, higher-order cognitive skills (Ibid. 1997: 99)’.

This learning strategy has been tried in Japan as Machida Sayuki (2008) reports; firstly as an adaptation of approaches used in Translation courses. Then feedback was collected from students, and it shows “a definitely positive attitude towards developing the act of Translation as a major method’. According to Machida (2008), there are real strengths of the ‘act of Translation’ as a major method. Some of these are: ‘information networking development in the brain; learner self-assessment of L2 appropriation; encouragement to use and opportunities to focus on form.’ Therefore, Machida (2008) concludes, ‘Translation as a main teaching method is feasible, and appears to be potentially an effective method for teaching L2’.

These are only a few examples of studies which focused on Translation in the classroom. Together with studies on Codeswitching, they represent an early sign of recognition by researchers that multilingual practices are a reality in the classroom. Also, as part of the current conceptualization of *Translanguaging* (Garcia 2009a) they can’t be suppressed from an account

of multilingual practices in the classroom, especially that they all point to the invaluable role of all the languages in the teachers' and students' repertoire. And indeed, close examination of both *Codeswitching* and *Translation* studies in the classroom generally can be seen as following two trends; namely: Advocacy and proposals for implementation.

From the point of view of advocacy, scholars have highlighted the tension between the monolingual bias underpinning language-in-education policies and policy implementation in the classroom (e.g.: Arthur & Martin 2006); shown the compelling necessity to allow unimpeded use of all students' languages in the classroom (e.g.: Liebscher & Dailey O'Cairn 2005; Youkhana 2010); and explored the role of Codeswitching and Translation in the classroom (e.g.: Moore 2002; Camirelli 1996; Erldridge 1996). From the point of view of implementation proposals on the other hand; research on Codeswitching and Translation has mainly focused on showing the need for a framework for the best use of Codeswitching (Macaro 2001); and proposed strategies of making the best of Translation in the classroom (Edge 1986; Heltai 1989; Weschler 1997; Machida 2008).

That said, however, one caveat about Codeswitching and Translation is that, notwithstanding the good that research has said about them, these concepts are **objects of concern** in view of current scholarship in the field of multilingual practices. Indeed, Codeswitching and Translation are to be critiqued as monolingual in orientation, assuming that languages are clearly demarcated entities that can be switched on/off. As such, therefore, they sit at odds with *Translanguaging*; and, for all they merit, they are examined in the present study, not in their own right, but rather, within the wider framework of *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices). Thus, what the above overview on *Translanguaging* (Codeswitching and Translation included) seems to indicate generally is that all research findings concur to assert that **Translanguaging pedagogy** is valuable for many reasons.

Firstly, from the teacher's point of view, **Translanguaging** in the classroom supports heteroglossic bilingualism and empowers students' linguistic and cultural heritage (Muhonen 2012); it is valuable even when the teacher doesn't know all the languages in the students' repertoire (Jonsson 2012); and it is used for efficient meaning making, information transmission, and performing of identities (Creese & Blackledge 2010). Furthermore, for the students,

Translanguaging pedagogy communicates the message that students' languages have value and maintains the link home/school (Takhi, Creese, and Blackledge 2012); it results in authentic learning experiences and heightens academic success (Garcia & Sylvan 2011); it creates third space for learning (Gutierrez et al. 1999); it affords students a positive schooling experience, affirms multilingual identities and proves to be transformative methodologically and culturally (Makalela 2015); and indeed, without seeking to exhaust the list of the benefits hitherto identified by research, **Translanguaging pedagogy** appears to be invaluable as a new approach to teaching and learning, and at present; there doesn't seem to be anything to indicate the contrary.

That said, however, one question doesn't appear to have received due attention, though it is of paramount importance. That question stems from the fact that, until now, research studies have convincingly shown the benefits of **Translanguaging pedagogy**. However, it has not as yet been made clear whether these benefits are not only limited to the contexts of these studies. Indeed, it is noteworthy that research that has contributed to ascertaining the value of Translanguaging in the classroom has been mainly conducted in urban immigrant (e.g.: Creese & Blackledge 2012 in London; Garcia & Sylvan 2011 in New York) or multilingual and multiethnic (e.g.: Makalela 2015 in South Africa; Muhonen 2012 in Sweden) contexts. Such contexts are increasingly characterized by high linguistic diversity; and consequently, this would seem to indicate that Translanguaging is only a pedagogy for such superdiversity contexts. Still, as argued in the present study, there is no evidence that *Translanguaging* could not be a good teaching/learning strategy in relatively low linguistic diversity contexts like Rwanda. Quite to the contrary, as has been demonstrated through studies on Codeswitching (e.g.: Youkhana 2010 in Japan, Erdridge 1996 in Turkey) and Translation (e.g.: Mashida 2008 and Weschler 1997 in Japan) conducted in low linguistic diversity contexts; judicious use of the teachers' and students' L1 (or stronger language) cannot be superseded.

In this regard, there is need to draw an important distinction here: Whereas varied languages may serve to distinguish different groups of people (e.g.: English speakers and French speakers), the same varied languages may simply serve to characterize the same group of people (viz. English-French speakers); and the important point is that *Translanguaging* in the classroom may

occur in both cases (different language groups in the classroom, or the same language group characterized by knowledge of different languages).

In the case of my study, therefore, *Translanguaging* involves four languages used by the same group of students. Furthermore, two of these languages are European languages used internationally (English, French); one is an African language (Kiswahili) used regionally, and another is an African language used throughout the country as the first language of virtually all teachers and students. This describes a rather unique context, and the study of Translanguaging in this context is likely to yield new insight into the process of Translanguaging.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Overall, in Section 2.1 of this Chapter, a “conceptual framework” has been developed as ‘a system of concepts, assumptions, and beliefs that support and guide the research plan (Grant & Osanloo 2014: 17)’ of the present study. In this vein, the concept of *Translanguaging* and other competing constructs (viz. heteroglossia, dynamic bilingualism, polylingualism, metrolingualism etc.) were discussed, and generally; they all represent a move away from a view of language as a static system of signs and meanings, to a view of language as a dynamic product of different people’s social interaction. This new understanding guides the present study through an analysis and interpretation of multilingual practices in Rwandan secondary school classrooms, viewed as language phenomena emerging from teachers’ and students’ interactions which; if judiciously guided through the use of all the languages in their repertoire; are apt to foster deeper learning.

On the other hand, a combination of theories and concepts deemed apt to serve as a “Theoretical Framework” for the present study has been defined in Section 2.2. This Theoretical Framework ‘provides the structure to define how [the present study is approached] philosophically, methodologically, and analytically [...] as a whole (Grant & Osanloo 2014: 13)’, and serves as the “blueprint” of the study, and thus; with regard to the first objective to describe the features of Translanguaging as it occurs in Rwandan secondary school classrooms; reference is made to the concept of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012) itself and other related concepts and theories such as “Codeswitching,” “Translation,” and “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” from a **theoretical** point of view; and “Developmental Use,” “Input and Output Variations,” “Subject-

determined Translanguaging,” and “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use” from a **pedagogical** point of view.

Concerning the second objective to ascertain how multilingual practices (viz. Translanguaging) enhance Subject Content Learning; still the concept of Translanguaging and related concepts as well as theories of Language Competence (Cummins 1999) serve as reference, but this time they are supplemented by Anderson & Krathwohl, eds. (2001) taxonomy for teaching, learning, and assessing.

As for the third objective to ascertain how multilingual practices (viz. Translanguaging) enhance Language Competence Development; again the concept of Translanguaging and related concepts serve as reference to the study, but additionally, theories of Language Competence (Cummins 1999) and Multicompetence (Cook 1995; Hall et al. 2006; Alptekin 2010; Franceschini 2011) are called upon.

Finally, a body of empirical research on multilingual practices in the classroom has been reviewed in Section 2.3. Overall, the findings from all the empirical research appeared to concur to ascertaining the crucial role of multilingual practices (viz. Translanguaging) in enhancing learning. In spite of the increasing number of such research studies, however, most of the findings were found to focus on “hyperdiversity” contexts; apparently suggesting that multilingual practices (viz. Translanguaging) only occur in such contexts.

This, as has been argued in the above literature review, represents an unfilled gap, and the present study undertakes to fill it by documenting the way in which classroom multilingual practices even in a basically monolingual context like Rwanda where virtually the whole population share the same language constitute a powerful booster to learning. Pursuant to the identification of this gap in the literature, therefore, the following Chapter proposes a methodology to fill the gap through the study of multilingual practices (viz. Translanguaging) in the “basically monolingual” context of Rwandan secondary school classrooms.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY FOR THE RESEARCH

3.0 INTRODUCTION

As earlier elaborated (see Chapter 1), the purpose of the present study is to draw on Case Study methodology to determine the way in which *Translanguaging* (viz. multilingual practices) in the basically monolingual context of secondary schools in Rwanda enhances deeper Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development. This purpose involves three interrelated specific objectives (1) firstly to analyze the nature of *Translanguaging* as actually practiced in two selected secondary schools in Rwanda, (2) to ascertain the extent to which it enhances deeper Subject Content Learning, and (3) to ascertain the extent to which *Translanguaging* as practiced in this particular context actually enhances Language Competence Development. In methodological terms, these objectives entail both descriptive (what) and exploratory (how) questions addressed through observation of multilingual practices and analysis of the “conversations” occurring in the classroom as well as assessment of participants’ views.

In this Chapter, I give details of how these methodological approaches have been applied through Case Study research design. In so doing, I firstly focus on the tenets of Case Study to discuss its adequacy as an approach to the present study (Section 3.1). Next, I elaborate on the setting, the population, and the sample for data collection (Section 3.2). Then I present the data collection process (Section 3.3); explains how these data were processed and analyzed (Section

3.4); and finally, in Section 3.5, I deal with validity issues, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

To open the presentation of the design for the present study, I find it appropriate to start by a brief word about Qualitative Enquiry as the paradigm within which it is carried out. Firstly, contrary to Quantitative Research with its predilection for figures and statistics, Qualitative Research mainly works with “text information” from many sources such as field notes, interviews, recordings of natural talk etc. Concerning the focus of enquiry, Qualitative Research mainly focuses on naturally occurring phenomena analyzed, in as much as possible, in all their complexity (Leedy & Ormrod 2010). With regard to what is viewed as the “truth” and objectivity, Qualitative Research believes that there isn’t a single, ultimate truth, that rather ‘there may be multiple perspectives [...] having equal validity, or truth’ (Creswell, 1998, 2009; Guba & Lincoln, 1988 in Leedy & Ormrod 2010)’ and whose nature the researcher has to reveal (Leedy & Ormrod 2010).

In my own study, the phenomenon studied is the practice of Translanguaging in a basically monolingual context of Rwanda. In approaching the research, I strongly hold the belief that indeed, multiple perspectives are equally valid, and I think that methods such as in-depth interview are appropriate for my study, and thus, I plan to have conducted Qualitative Research, and more precisely have adopted the Case Study qualitative design as I elaborate next.

3.1.1 Case Study

Case Study has been chosen to serve as a methodological design for the present thesis, and to discuss its adequacy; I successively discuss the concept of Case Study itself (Definition); outline some of its principles and characteristics; and finally focus on the question of generalizability of Case Study findings.

3.1.1.1 The Concept of Case Study

According to Gerring (2009: 20), ‘[a] case study may be understood as the intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is – at least in part – to shed light on a larger class of

cases (a population).’ This distinguishes the case study approach ‘from all other methods’ because it relies ‘on evidence drawn from a single case and attempt[s], at the same time, to illuminate features of a broader set of cases (Ibid. 2009: 29)’.

In addition, two points are important to note: Firstly, whereas the concept of “case study” implies “one single case,” case studies need not always be “studies of single cases”: ‘Multiple case studies may also be conducted as incorporating several cases (Gerring, 2009: 68)’. Secondly, case study as an approach to research ‘should not be defined by a distinctive method of data collection but rather; by the goals of the research relative to the scope of the research terrain (Ibid. 2009: 68)’.

As will be elaborated later, both the above definition and related comments perfectly correspond to the requirements of the present thesis. Indeed, whereas the study is meant to be an intensive study of multilingual practices (viz. *Translanguaging*) in two Secondary schools in Rwanda, the ultimate goal is to illuminate the way in which Translanguaging is practiced in Rwandan secondary schools generally, and to ascertain **how** it enhances learning. This possibility of studying a wider class of cases through a single case (or indeed, a limited number of “multiple cases”) is particularly convenient in view of the big number of secondary schools in Rwanda. Moreover, the fact that Case Study doesn’t require the use of a particular method allows for the flexibility of methodological choice, depending on the situation on the field. Case Study thus appears to be the most suitable approach in this particular situation.

3.1.1.2 Case Study Principles and Characteristics

Usefulness

Apart from the definition of “Case Study” as an argument in favor of the approach, some of its principles and characteristics also speak for its use. The first of these principles and characteristics is the usefulness of the approach. As Patton (1987: 19) has indicated, ‘[c]ase studies become particularly useful where one needs to understand some particular problem or situation in great depth’. Secondly, with regard to the population of cases to be investigated: ‘Under circumstances of extreme case heterogeneity, the researcher may decide that she is better off focusing on a single case or a small number of relatively homogeneous cases (Gerring, 2009: 51).’ In addition, ‘[t]he choice between case study and cross-case style of analysis may be driven

[...] by the shape of the empirical universe that the researcher is attempting to understand (Gerring, 2009: 50)’ and the implication is that in those circumstances, case study research is well indicated where the researcher ‘can identify cases rich in information – rich in the sense that a great deal can be learned from a few exemplars of the phenomenon in question (Patton, 1987: 19)’.

Here again, the usefulness of Case Study research resonates with the requirements for the present thesis. Indeed, not only the study of how multilingual practices enhance learning requires in-depth understanding of the situation, but also the “shape of the empirical universe” (viz. the Secondary schools in general) is such that the only way to investigate the problem is by identifying cases rich in information as “exemplars of the phenomenon.”

Description of the Phenomenon under Study

Once the decision to do Case Study Research is made, then; and once the cases “rich in information” are identified; ‘[r]egardless of the unit of analysis’, the researcher tries to describe the “case rich in information” ‘in depth, in detail, in context, and holistically (Patton, 1987: 19)’. Thus, descriptions in most case studies are ‘complex, holistic, and involving a myriad of not isolated variables (Stake 1978: 7)’. Also the data ‘are likely to be gathered at least partly by personalistic observation; and [the] writing style [...] is informal, perhaps narrative, possibly with verbatim quotation, illustration, and even allusion to metaphor (Ibid. 1978: 7).’ Moreover, as Stake (1978: 7) still remarks, case studies are inherently comparisons to the wider class of cases; and even if themes and hypotheses are important, ‘the understanding of the case’ is even more important.

Focus

Concerning the focus of Case Study research, Stake (1978: 7) points out that this approach to research distinguishes itself by the importance given to ‘what is and what is not “the case”’ – that the boundaries are kept in focus. Also as Stake (1978: 7) goes on to explain, unlike other kinds of studies where preexisting ‘hypotheses or issues’ (the etic) ‘usually determine the content of the study’, what is happening and considered important within those cases (the emic) is vital and usually determines the aim of the study. In other words, what is found on the field has precedence to preconceived theories, and discovery is an important aspect of the approach.

Methodological Affinity

Finally, a comment on Case Study relatedness to Qualitative methods is in order. Whereas the approach should not be confused with a particular method as it ‘may employ a great variety of techniques – both qualitative and quantitative – for gathering and analysis of evidence (Gerring, 2009: 33)’; it draws a great deal on Qualitative methods, principles, and characteristics. This warrants its ‘characteristic flexibility’, and at the same time, represents ‘an intriguing quality’ as there seems to be some kind of ‘elective affinity between the case study format and qualitative research (Gerring, 2009: 33)’.

3.1.1.3 Generalizability of Findings in Case Study Research

Before closing this note on Case Study Research, a word on how findings about one case or a few cases can be generalized is necessary. Firstly, as Gerring, (2009: 13) has pointed out, ‘there is no such thing as a case study, *tout court*’ [since] ‘[t]o conduct a case study implies that one has also conducted cross-case analysis, or at least thought about a broader set of cases’. Still in similar vein, he reiterates that ‘[i]t is impossible to pose questions of research design until one has at least a general idea of what one’s research question is (Ibid., 2009: 71)’. Also, case selection or analysis, Gerring (2009: 71) explains, are not done in the abstract; and ‘research design must have a purpose, and that purpose is defined by the inference that it is intended to demonstrate or prove’.

However, it is important to note that a case ‘as a constituent member of a target population’ poorly represents a whole population because it is a single member (Stake, 1978: 7). Therefore, ‘the case study is seen to be a poor basis for generalization (Ibid., 1978: 7)’. And yet, it is not surprising that case studies readily lead to useful generalizations about the larger population: This is because the situation is often that what is needed is generalization ‘about that particular case rather than generalization to a population of cases (Stake, 1978: 7)’. In such cases, ‘assurance that the target case is properly described’ is preferred. There is then possibility of generalizability as ‘readers recognize essential similarities to cases of interest to them, [in which case] they establish the basis for naturalistic generalization (Stake, 1978: 7)’. Finally, it is

noteworthy that a ‘case study promotes better understanding of a practice or issue and facilitates informed decision making’ (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2006: 332)’.

In my own study, this “understanding of a practice” is precisely what is sought after. As the overarching question to be examined is **how** Translanguaging (viz. multilingual practices) in Rwandan secondary schools is likely to enhance deeper learning, the “how” aspect needs to be tackled through an “in-depth” understanding of language use in the classroom rather than a general superficial survey of the process. Also in view of the wide “empirical universe” of about 1514 secondary schools throughout the country, this understanding is only possible through a focus on a limited number of secondary schools (or cases) carefully selected as “rich in information.” How the selection of the schools to be focused on was made is discussed next.

3.1.2 Case Study Sites Selection

As is the case with any choice, selection of the schools to be focused on in the present study involved a general comparison to the “wider class of cases” (Secondary schools in Rwanda) with reference to relevant characteristics, the two most important of which being: Status and location of the schools.

3.1.2.1 Status

One of the characteristics taken into account for “case site” selection for the present study is the **status** of the schools as it marks the biggest difference between different secondary schools. Indeed, of the 1514 secondary schools¹⁴ registered throughout the country, 850 are so called “basic-education” schools; 442 are “public or private-government subsidized” schools; and 222 are “private” schools. As can be seen from these figures, private schools are relatively few. They are privately funded (generally by parents’ associations), and they are governed by statuses specific to their founders and they are continuously created. On the other hand, public schools are government founded and funded, whereas private-government subsidized schools are founded by individuals or associations (generally religions) and financially supported by the government. Finally, “basic-education” schools (9 year-basic or 12-year basic) are community based and financially supported by the government. These schools are spread throughout the

¹⁴ Figure obtained from the Ministry of Education in July 2015 subject to change as new schools (especially 12 year-basic education) are founded.

country and they were (and are) still founded in the specific context of “education for all.” As shown by their big number, therefore, these schools are by far the most important in terms of access by the majority of the population. Furthermore, as they accommodate the biggest number of O’ level students, they can be regarded as the foundation of secondary school education since the O’ level laureates from these schools are candidates for A’ level studies in all the other schools. For all these reasons, these schools are the focus of the present study; and thus, the two secondary schools were chosen from this category.

3.1.2.2 Rural vs. Urban Location

Another characteristic taken into account for “Case Sites” selection in the present study is the school’s location in rural vs. urban areas. As is the case in many countries throughout the world, rural and urban environments are often different not only in terms of infrastructures but also in terms of language diversity (e.g.: Myers-Scotton 1993). More particularly in Rwanda, whereas rural schools environments are such that the surrounding populations are likely to be virtually 100% monolingual, urban environments are more likely to be bi/multilingual because foreign languages are more likely to be used in urban areas (2002 General Census, 2005). Therefore, even though multilingual practices necessarily occur in all secondary schools owing to the fact that three so called foreign languages (English, French, and Kiswahili) and one indigenous language are taught in all of them; urban schools are likely to offer more opportunities for multilingual practice outside the school than rural schools.

In the context of the present study, such a difference is important; and it has rendered necessary the choice of two cases rather than one; and the two cases are a selection of one school representative of rural schools, and another representative of urban schools. “Multiple cases study” in this research, therefore, is justified: The two schools were studied as two subunits of the same case study, and they were not viewed as statistically comparative (McMillan & Schumacher 2006), but rather, as representing two major aspects of multilingualism in Rwandan schools, viz. use of languages in a rather “rural” environment still maximally marked by monolingualism with Kinyarwanda, and a rather “urban” environment where so called “foreign” languages can be heard relatively more frequently. However, these two aspects are not the only ones to be represented. Other decisions pertain to the setting, the population, and the sampling process to which I turn next.

3.2 SETTING, POPULATION, AND SAMPLING

3.2.1 Setting

As explained in the preceding Sub-section, two schools, one representing rural schools and the other representing urban schools were necessary for the present study. Not only were these schools selected as rural or urban, as explained above; but also they were selected as “typical cases.”

3.2.1.1 Selection of Two Schools as “Typical Cases”

‘In order for a focused case study to provide insight into a broader phenomenon, it must be representative of a broader set of cases (Gerring, 2009: 86)’. A typical case (which is as broadly representative as possible) is thus necessary. This typical case is expected to exemplify ‘what is considered to be a typical set of values, given some general understanding of a phenomenon (Ibid. 2009: 91)’. Therefore, both “typical sampling” and “criterion sampling” (Patton, 1987) have been used for selecting two fairly representative schools of the average ordinary kind of secondary schools in Rwanda.

According to Patton (1987: 54), typical case sampling is useful for ‘describing a program or its participants to people not familiar with the program by providing a qualitative profile of one or more “typical” cases’; and the logic behind criterion sampling ‘is to review and study all cases that meet some premeditated criterion of importance (Ibid. 1987: 56)’, and decide which one is likely to be the most representative of the target population of cases.

In my own study, thinking about secondary schools in Rwanda led to a series of values to be taken into account for the selection of two cases respectively from an urban area and from a rural area. These values are: (1) the status of a public or a subsidized school in the category of “12-year basic education” as these appear to be the commonest and most accessible to the average citizen’s children; (2) the presence of at least three streams of study in the school, including sciences, social studies, and languages, as proof of dealing with a wide range of teaching programs and using the languages present in Rwanda in varied domains; and (3) basing on the

information obtained from Rwanda Education Board (REB)¹⁵, an average mark of 53 in O' level and 57 at A' level in official exams over the last two years as proof of ordinary performance that characterizes most of the schools.

Furthermore, with regard to the exact location of the two schools, another factor (viz. the financial aspect of conducting research) was taken into account. Indeed, whereas urban/rural dichotomy often implies the city/countryside divide; the choice of one school from the city and another from the countryside would have meant high travel cost and other living expenses. Fortunately, Kigali city differs from many other cities in the world in that it comprises both an urban area and a newly added rural area; and thus, in order to accommodate the limited means at my disposal, one of the two schools was selected in the Kigali city rural area, and the other; in the rural area of the city. Thus, along with the criteria described above, two schools labeled here Groupe Scolaire 1 in Kigali urban area and Groupe Scolaire 2 in Kigali rural area, were identified.

3.2.1.2 Location of the Schools

To describe the exact location of the two schools, it will be firstly noted that Kigali city is comprised of three districts, namely: Nyarugenge, Kicukiro, and Gasabo. These districts are in turn divided into administrative Sectors. The two schools were respectively selected from Nyarugenge district (rural area) and Kicukiro (urban area). Thus Groupe Scolaire 1 (labeled "Gr. Sc. 1" in short) is located in an urban area in Kicukiro District, Remera Sector. This area is one of the busiest and most popular areas of the city. It is particularly characterized by many ordinary standard shops selling a variety of goods accessible to ordinary income people. It is also characterized by heavy traffic as one of the largest streets of the city runs across the area. Most of the houses in the area are not high standard, meaning that they are inhabited by urban citizens with low and middle income.

It is a very densely populated area, and some people speaking different languages may be found there. As I was informed by the authorities of the school, virtually all the students in the school live in the area or in the surroundings and while some walk to the school, others travel a

¹⁵ REB (Rwanda Education Board) is an institution in the Ministry of education in charge of programmes, examinations, and qualifications.

relatively short distance by bus every morning, suggesting that when foreign languages are spoken at all, chances are that students are likely to hear them.

Groupe Scolaire 2 (labeled “Gr. Sc. 2” in short) on the other hand, is located in Nyarugenge District, Karama Sector (rural area). The situation of some areas of Kigali being located in rural areas can be understood by the fact that Kigali city is being widened so that it now include wide areas still to be urbanized; to extent that all the Districts comprise a number of rural Sectors, and Karama is one of these administrative Sectors. Thus, many people who live in those areas still work on small farms. Also, one of the significant characteristics of Kigali city in relation to these areas is that the “urban area” of the city is virtually “demarcated” from the “rural area” by the big mountains called Mount Kigali, Mount Rebero, and Mount Jari virtually forming a chain. While the urban area lies in the east side of these mountains, the rural areas are located at the other side of the mountains to the South and West. It is as though these mountains separate the rural and urban areas of the city and indeed, even though currently the rural areas are also developing little by little, they still have many characteristics of rural areas.

As I was informed by the authorities of Groupe Scolaire 2, around 80% of the students walk every morning from the surrounding rural areas to the school. Also, in an informal survey I conducted on the languages that students hear often in their neighborhoods, most of them indicated that they hear Kinyarwanda, but a small number mentioned Luganda which they hear on their way to school in a garage where some mechanics use it from time to time. It would be said, therefore, that even though the two schools are located in the same city of Kigali, and even though generally people in all corners of Rwanda are primarily exposed to everyday use of Kinyarwanda, students’ exposure to foreign languages is **slightly** different in the two schools.

3.2.2 Population

To describe the population of the two schools investigated, I will firstly note that secondary school in Rwanda comprises two levels, the O’ level which lasts 3 years (1st, 2nd, 3rd), and the A’ level which also lasts 3 years (4th, 5th, 6th). One particularity of “basic-education” schools, however, is that they are not only comprised of secondary school, but also of primary school though only the secondary school population was taken into account as illustrated in the following Tables.

Gr. Sc. 1

	<i>1st Y</i>	<i>2nd Y</i>	<i>3rd Y</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>4th Y</i>	<i>5th Y</i>	<i>6th Y</i>	<i>Total</i>
A	175	188	182	545	EFK	103	98	87	288
B					HEG				
C					MEG				
<i>Average</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>181</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>96</i>

Tables 5: The population in the first school investigated¹⁶**Gr. Sc. 2**

	<i>1st Y</i>	<i>2nd Y</i>	<i>3rd Y</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>4th Y</i>	<i>5th Y</i>	<i>6th Y</i>	<i>Total</i>
A	135	135	126	396	EFK	63	50	47	160
B					HEG				
C					MEG				
<i>Average</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>132</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>53</i>

Tables 6: The population in the second school investigated

As can be seen in this Table, the two secondary schools investigated are rather overcrowded at the O' level (even though more so in Gr. Sc. 1 than in Gr. Sc. 2), whereas the A' level is less populated. Thus, the average O' level classroom in Gr. Sc. 1 (located in an urban area) is 60 students and 32 at A' level, whereas in Gr. Sc. 2 (located in a rural area) the average class is 44 and 18 at O' level and A' level respectively.

Furthermore, there was approximately the same number for boys and girls. Also, generally secondary school age is between 13 and 19 but for various reasons (including government commitment to education for all, recovery of former drop outs etc.), some students are older. Finally in these kinds of schools, nearly 100% of all the students generally speak Kinyarwanda as their stronger language of communication.

Concerning teachers, whereas 29 teachers teach in Gr. Sc. 1, 23 teach in Gr. Sc. 2. Moreover, all of them speak Kinyarwanda as their mother tongue as well, but one in Gr. Sc. 1 speaks it even though not as his stronger language.

¹⁶ EFK, HEG, MEG refer to the following "A level combinations" respectively: (English, French, Kinyarwanda); (History, EconomiCodeswitching, Geography); (Mathematics, EconomiCodeswitching, Geography).

3.2.3 Sampling

To describe the samples for this study, I will firstly remind that two data collection methods were used within each of the two sites. These are lesson observation and interviews. These methods entailed different sampling techniques as explained below.

Lesson Observation¹⁷

The first sampling technique is “sampling by case type.” Indeed, selection of lessons for observation was based, not on participants, but on the type of lesson they teach/study. Thus, “sampling by case type” (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006) was used since what was required was a selection of two lessons in the group of “Mathematics & Science” subjects; two in “Social Science” subjects; and two in “Languages” subjects, with the aim of having lessons in all the subject areas observed.

Not all lessons were observed as planned, however. Indeed, owing to the situation on the field, some lessons were not available. Nonetheless, as the aim was to examine multilingual practices in different types of lessons, observation of the lessons which could be available still proved apt to enhance in-depth analysis of the phenomenon.

Interviews

With regard to interviews, it will be firstly noted that two kinds of interview were conducted. On the one hand, the plan was to have **informal short interviews** with the respective teachers after lesson observation. Sometimes however, either the teachers or the researcher were in a hurry for the following lesson, and the comments were often very short, so that they can be properly referred to as informal talks. Nonetheless, these conversations after lessons were direct and informative. They gave the researcher an overall “first hand” idea of what the teachers thought of their students’ and their own multilingual practices.

On the other hand, though, the plan was also to organize longer and more in-depth interviews with “purposefully” sampled teachers (see “Purposeful Sampling” (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006)). In virtue of this sampling, teachers specifically identified as “information-rich” in terms

¹⁷ Lesson observation: Not in the classical sense (with a checklist for example); rather, simply for recording the interactions to be transcribed to obtain corpora.

of multilingualism and language use were invited for a “semi-structured” in-depth interview. These teachers are mainly language teachers¹⁸ and most of them had shown a special interest in the theme of my research; so that as many as six of the thirteen participants in both schools had offered to give me their views even before I invited anybody for the interviews. Thus, 6 teachers in Gr. Sc. 1 and 7 in Gr. Sc 2 participated in the in-depth interviews. It is noteworthy that one of the themes that came back again and again in these interviews was teachers’ concerns about knowledge and use of languages in schools.

As for student participants, between four and six were selected simply as volunteers most interested for interviews to represent their class. An overview of these samples can be seen in the following Table.

<i>Research Protocol</i> <i>Participants</i>	<i>Level of Study</i>		<i>In-depth/Group Interview</i>	
			Gr. Sc 1	Gr. Sc. 2
Students	O’ Level	1 st Year	5 students	6 students
		2 nd Year	6 students	7 students
		3 rd Year	5 students	6 students
	A’ Level	4 th Year	6 students	5 students
		5 th Year	5 students	4 students
		6 th Year	4 students	6 students

Table 7: Numbers of respondents in different students’ groups

Definitely, as can be seen from these samples, different sources of the required information were tapped (teachers, students, different levels of study, different lessons) in virtue of the “data triangulation” principle. Also, in the whole process of data collection, “methodological triangulation” was applied by using different methods to collect the same data in different forms (e.g.: corpora captured live through lesson observation; multilingual practices as recounted and explained by participants). And finally, as will be explained later, the principle of ‘theory triangulation (Patton, 1978: 60)’ was also applied through data analysis procedures.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

As elaborated in this Section, two aspects of the data collection process in this study are to be distinguished. Firstly, there is the process of data collection in relation to the fact of working

¹⁸ Out of a total of 13 teachers interviewed, 7 were language teachers, 4 Humanities teachers, and 2 Math & Science teachers

with two cases rather than one; and secondly, there is the process of data collection within each of the two schools. These two aspects are considered in turn.

3.3.1 Inter-cases Data Collection Process

For an understanding of the sequence of data collection actions in the two schools, it will be reiterated that these cases were focused on as ‘contrasting groups [which] are likely to be informative about the research foci’, and [which] ‘are not viewed as statistically comparative or as mutually exclusive (McMillan & Schumacher 2006: 317)’. Rather, they were ‘selected to investigate the extent or diversity of the phenomenon (Ibid. 2006: 317)’. Therefore, parallel aspects of the two schools were firstly examined thoroughly in as much as possible. Thereafter the data from the two schools were examined ‘to contrast or to corroborate (Ibid. 2006) findings in the two schools, and this contributed to further enhance in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Also, it is noteworthy that the experience of data collection in parallel stages helped in enhancing the smooth running of the data collection procedure in the two schools.

Another note concerning data collection in the two schools refers to the issue of “credibility” of the data. Earlier in this chapter, it was remarked that one of the strategies for enhancing data credibility is “prolonged field work.” In view of limited time and means of a PhD thesis, however, this strategy proved to be untenable. Therefore, in order to offset the likely shortcomings of non compliance to the strategy, three additional themes (culture, essence, and norms) were included in all the methods of enquiry. The virtues of these themes are guaranteed by the fact that they are inspired respectively from three important perspectives in social sciences, namely: Ethnography (for “*Culture*”), Phenomenology (“*structure and essence of phenomena*”), and Ethnomethodology (for “*norms*”).

As Patton (1999: 67) explains, ‘ethnographic research focuses on the question: “What is the culture of this group of people?” Without overlooking the fact that ethnographers’ primary method is “participant observation” (Ibid. 1999) which was obviously impossible in the conditions of my study, I added the theme of “culture” to the study by simply asking the question to know whether Multilingual Practices is a culture (i.e.: whether it has become a habit) in the two sites of the study. With this information the impossibility of prolonged field work was at least partly compensated for.

Concerning the possibility of investigating the “structure and essence” of the phenomenon of Multilingual Practices in schools; again I proposed to include in the study a theme to that effect by paying particular attention to the “the basic characteristic” or “essence” of Multilingual Practices in the two schools. As Patton (1999: 69) elaborates, ‘phenomenological enquiry focuses on the question: “What is the structure and essence of experience of this phenomenon for these people?” The implication for the present study was an increased attention to ‘what people experience and how they experience the world (Ibid. 1999: 70)’. In this perspective, therefore, ‘without conducting a phenomenological study (Patton, 1999: 71)’ as such, I focused on descriptions by students and teachers, of what they ‘experience and how it is that they experience what they experience (Ibid. 1999: 71)’.

Finally, from an ethnomethodology perspective, there was an attempt to know whether there are norms for Multilingual Practices, or whether the fact of Multilingual Practices itself is the norm or not. Still as Patton (1999: 73) explains, ‘the phenomenologist asks the question: “How do people make sense of their everyday activities so as to behave in socially acceptable ways?” Some of the methods of ethnomethodology are depth interviews and participant observation. The latter was rather impossible in my study for reasons already explained; but through interviews, I could get a grasp of ‘the norms, understandings, and assumptions (Patton, 1999; 74)’ of teachers and students about Multilingual Practices.

It is through these three perspectives that I could get a sense of *the essence* of Multilingual Practices in the two cases under study, of the students’ and teachers’ *culture* with regard to these practices, and of *the norms* of Multilingual Practices; and thus, the fact of not being able to do prolonged field study is not likely to be detrimental to the credibility of the information data obtained synchronically.

3.3.2 Within-case Data Collection Process

As the main thrust of the present study in addition to the above broad strategies of enquiry adopted across the two research sites (viz. sequence in study of the two schools and ensuring data credibility); two data collection methods were used within each of the two sites. These are *lesson observation* and *in-depth interviews*. Data were collected from these methods as described below.

3.3.2.1 Access to Data Sources

The data sources are the two schools selected for the study. These schools were expected (1) to be “rich” in the information needed for the study and (2) to be the kind of “typical” school sharing with other schools characteristics pertaining to multilingual practices and (3) to be in conditions of producing the information required. The first thing I had to be sure of, therefore, was that (1) multilingual practices actually occur in these schools, that (2) they are not too different as compared to other schools, and that (3) they were going to give me the information I needed.

With regard to the first two points whether multilingual practices actually occur in the selected schools, and whether there were no schools which are too different from others, I pre-selected 8 basic-education schools in Kigali (4 in the rural area and 4 in the urban area) and devoted them one day each in early October 2015. The objective was to have a rough idea of how languages are used in secondary schools generally. Each time I would firstly contact the administration of the schools and explain the object of my visit. In all the 8 schools I was most welcome. The activities of the day were (1) to chat with teachers in the staff room and briefly tell them about my visit; (2) ask them permission to listen to parts of two or three lessons; and generally (3) to walk around and listen and chat with the people (school administrators, teachers, students) and, in short, have the feel of how languages are used. What came out of this preliminary exercise is that I was convinced that multilingual practices are fairly the same in all the schools¹⁹. Kinyarwanda is by far the dominant language but the presence of the other languages can also be felt, especially in the classroom; and the conclusion was that there was no more doubt about multilingual practices in the schools, and that all the “basic-education” schools are comparable with regard to multilingual practices, and thus any of the schools could be chosen as a typical secondary school for the purpose of my study.

Concerning the third point whether the schools would be willing to give me the information required; I knew that this really depended on how I approached the data collection process.

¹⁹ I was convinced of the similarity of “multilingual practices” in all the 8 schools (4 in the rural area and 4 in the urban area) visited in the piloting phase. Even more, after the whole study and the analysis of the data, I was convinced that there were no remarkable differences in terms of language use. Thus, even in schools located in areas where people are likely to use languages like Kiswahili, Luganda, Lingala... all students, irrespective of the location of the school seemed to be focused on Kinyarwanda and English; and rather rarely on French.

Consequently, I adopted a strategy of preparedness to approach the process. Thus, for example, rather than selecting two schools, I selected four of the eight pre-selected; and the objective was, to “pilot” (not in the sense of piloting the instruments but in the sense of gaining experience) the study in two schools and to implement it in the two others. This strategy proved to be useful because it afforded more insight into multilingual practices; guarded me from making mistakes in collecting the data; and thus, opened for me access to reliable data.

3.3.2.2 Administration of the Data Collection Process

Lesson Observation

For optimal implementation of lesson observation, two principles guided me. Firstly, I didn’t want the teachers and the students to feel that they had to do anything special to prepare for my presence in the lesson. That is, they had to feel that the lesson is not a special lesson because of my presence. Secondly, once I was in the lesson I felt I had to make sure I am not intrusive. In other words, neither the teacher nor the students had to significantly feel my presence in the classroom.

In order to avoid being the cause of extra preparedness or being intrusive once in the classroom, the strategy was firstly to openly speak about it. Indeed, in a meeting organized by the directors of studies in the two schools, I had an opportunity to explain my study; and one of the things we discussed is that my presence shouldn’t disturb the lesson in any way. Also, each time I went to a classroom for the first time, the directors of studies in the schools would introduce me to the students and give me an opportunity to explain to the students how they should view my presence in the lesson. Finally, another strategy adopted for the smooth running of lesson observation was to put the recorder in the middle of the class, leave it there until the end of the lesson, and sit in the back corner of the classroom and stay there until the end of the lesson. Whereas I had noticed a visible change in language behavior during the preparatory visits to the 8 pre-selected schools, these strategies remarkably resulted in teachers and students having their lessons in the most ordinary and natural way possible.

In-depth Interviews

The lesson visits mentioned above were made between 15th October 2015 and 15th November 2015 and as the second half of November was the time for revisions for exams, teachers and

students could be easily available for in-depth interviews. To conduct the interviews with teachers, I firstly waited for about three weeks of lesson observations and informal talks both in the staff room and outside until I knew some of the teachers who, to me, seemed to be interested in questions of languages and language use. Then one morning, as I had identified 4 teachers in Gr. Sc. 1 and 4 in Gr. Sc. 2; two more in Gr. Sc. 1 and three more in Gr. Sc. 2 were invited to join by their colleagues. In both schools the interviews were held in afternoons when there are normally less lessons; and in Gr. Sc. 1 the staff room was used for the purpose, while in Gr. Sc. 2, a quiet room in one of the teachers' house was availed for the interviews. Finally, it is noteworthy that the questions discussed were open and that the teachers discussed about multilingualism deeply and extensively drawing the contours of the problem both in the respective schools and in society generally.

Concerning the interviews with students, these were held in the respective classrooms. In each class from Senior 1 to Senior 6, five or six student volunteers were invited to the interviews for their perceived enthusiasm and interest. Thus, with these students, the discussions turned around three relevant themes for my study, namely: languages in the school, languages in the family, and languages in the neighborhood, rather than on rigid prepared questions; and the objective was to go deep in the discussion, guided by a few prepared general questions, and thus avoiding the limitations of a rigid protocol.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the language used in the interview (both with teachers and with students) was chosen by the participants themselves, and that language was Kinyarwanda, even though everybody was completely free to use any other language he/she would feel like using.²⁰

3.4 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

As can be seen from the inventory in the preceding Section, overall two types of data (corpora and qualitative data) were generated for this study, respectively from classroom observation and from interviews. Correspondingly, the methods used to analyze them are respectively, **conversation analysis and qualitative content analysis**. This Sub-section elaborates.

²⁰ The 1st question asked before all interview sessions was about which language the participants wanted to use; and the answer almost invariably was "Let's use Kinyarwanda. We feel more comfortable using it than using any other language".

3.4.1 Corpora from Lesson Observation and Conversation Analysis

As indicated above, corpora data were generated from lesson observation. More specifically, these data are teacher-students talk transcribed *verbatim* from selected lessons recorded from beginning to end. They are the authentic, “tangible” evidence of Multilingual Practices in the classroom. Conversation Analysis was used to analyze these data.

According to Firth (1996: 237), Conversation Analysis is a ‘methodology used to examine talk, and in a wider sense, social action’. One of the accomplishments of Conversation Analysis has been to ‘demonstrate[...] that ordinary, interactive talk [is] a locally and delicately accomplished achievement, and that “normal” and routine appearances of talk are the result of the participants’ ceaseless and contingent application of complex methodic practices (Ibid. 1996: 238)’. Also ‘Conversation Analysists have viewed as their major task the explication of those methodic practices and the detailed description of how talk is sequentially structured and interactively managed (Ibid. 1996: 238)’.

It is noteworthy that in all this work of explication, Conversation Analysis has utilized ‘naturally-occurring talk (Firth 1996: 238)’. However,

‘Over the last decade in particular, a good deal of CA-based research has begun to examine a wide range of non-conversational interactions, most of which are located within institutional or work settings and practices (e.g. classrooms, emergency services, doctors surgeries, journalistic interviews, and political speeches) (Ibid. 1996: 238)’.

In my own study, I am dealing with a similar situation. The kind of talk that constitute the source of my data is not “naturally-occurring,” but rather constrained by the special context of the classroom; the aim of language use (*viz.* not for conversation but for learning); and the rules pertaining to language-in-education policy. Moreover, whereas Conversation Analysis has traditionally worked ‘to analyze talk, and in a wider sense, social action (Firth 1996: 237)’; the method was utilized in my own study for a special purpose: **to analyze multilingual practices in the classroom and to ascertain how these practices are likely to enhance learning.**

3.4.2 Qualitative Data or Text Information and Qualitative Content Analysis

As earlier explained, **text information** on what teachers and students think of their multilingual practices (*Translanguaging*) in the classroom and how these practices enhance learning was also collected from in-depth group interviews. Referring to Taylor-Powel & Renner's (2003) notes on Analyzing Qualitative Data, this text information was analyzed bearing in mind the focus of the study (1) on the *nature* of multilingual practices in secondary schools; (2) on *whether* and *how* multilingual practices are likely to enhance Subject Content Learning; and (3) on *whether* and *how* multilingual practices are likely to enhance Language Competence Development; and thus, the following steps were followed.

Step 1: Reading and re-reading group interview transcripts and notes for familiarization with their content. Also, listening to the recordings as many times as necessary, and taking notes of salient points.

Step 2: Writing down a number of questions (or topics) as inspired from reading and listening to the qualitative data. Also, constantly referring back to the research questions to have a preliminary sense of how the topics inspired from the data resonate with the research questions.

Step 3: Categorizing information by identifying *themes* or *patterns*; and then, organizing them into *coherent categories*. This again involves reading and listening to the data as many times as necessary.

Step 4: Identifying patterns and connections within and between categories. This step involves descriptions within categories; creation of larger categories; evaluation of relative importance of the different categories; establishment of relationships between categories.

Step 5: Interpretation of the data, which consists of using the 'themes and connections to explain [the] findings', and leads to 'attaching meaning and significance to the analysis (Taylor-Powel & Renner's (2003: 5)'.

3.5 VALIDITY OF THE FINDINGS

In order to meaningfully speak about the question of "validity" (or "truthworthiness) in the context of the present Thesis, it is useful to firstly note that as a "Case Study," my research is

mainly conducted within the paradigm of “naturalistic enquiry” (as opposed or compared to rationalistic enquiry) (Guba 1981). Thus, within the rationalistic paradigm of enquiry, **validity** (or strength of findings) is evaluated (1) in terms of “internal validity” for truth value, (2) in terms of “external validity” or “generalizability” for applicability of findings, (3) in terms of “reliability” for consistency of findings, and (4) in terms of “objectivity” for researcher neutrality assured by the methods utilized (Guba 1981).

On the other hand, within the naturalistic paradigm of enquiry **truthworthiness** (interpretation of validity) is assessed (1) in terms of “credibility” for truth value, (2) in terms of “transferability” for applicability of findings, (3) in terms of “dependability” for consistency of findings, and (4) in terms of “confirmability” for neutrality which ‘shifts from the investigator to the data (Guba 1981).

As Guba (1981) explains, therefore, whereas internal validity is assured by controlling conditions of enquiry in rationalistic paradigm; credibility of findings in naturalistic paradigm is tested through “member checks.” Also, whereas generalizability of findings is assumed to be possible in any context within rationalistic paradigm; transferability (rather than generalizability) in naturalistic paradigm is made possible by ‘thick descriptions (Geertz 1973) of transferring and receiving contexts (Guba 1981: 81)’. Still, whereas reliability in rationalistic enquiry depends on well tested instruments to ensure consistency; consistency is interpreted as dependability within naturalistic enquiry. Finally, whereas objectivity is assured by methods in rationalistic enquiry; confirmability of data serves to ensure neutrality in naturalistic enquiry. Further, as Guba (1981) notes, whereas all the above questions are all necessary to ensure full trustworthiness,

‘[i]t is likely that triangulation and member checks (for credibility), thick descriptions (for transferability), leaving an audit trail (for dependability), and triangulation and practicing reflexivity (for confirmability) are the minimums that should be required of naturalistic investigators (Guba 1981: 88)’.

In my own study, therefore, data were collected through lesson observation, interviews, and researcher notes, thus applying method triangulation. Also, all the processes of data collection and interpretation were recorded and well kept in a safe place for at least five years to ensure the possibility of any possible check. Furthermore, thick descriptions were made of all the data as

well as their contexts of collection. And finally, full commitment to ensure that the findings of the present study are trustworthy was generally my prime motive throughout the whole research.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In compliance with the University of the Witwatersrand Policy on Research Ethics, I filled a form addressed to the University Ethics Committee, and permission to conduct research on the topic of “Code Alternation in Rwandan Classrooms: Case of Multiple Language Practices in Two Secondary schools”²¹ was granted me promptly (see Protocol No 2014ECE023D). Also, before any action on the field, I sought permission from the Ministry of Education in Rwanda. This permission entailed prior “Affiliation” and “Recommendation” Letters from the University of Rwanda, College of Education. All these permissions and letters of Affiliation and Recommendation were also granted promptly (see Permission to carry out research in Rwanda No: MINEDUC/S&T/319/2015). These permissions were thus presented to the authorities of the schools concerned, and I was most welcome in all the schools I visited for my research. Finally and most importantly, I informed the participants on the object of my research, sought their consent for participation in the study, and guaranteed them confidentiality and anonymity (see related consent letters in appendix).

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, Case Study has been explained in details as the methodological approach adopted for the present study; and among the many advantages of the design, in-depth description has been presented as useful for describing Translanguaging as actually practiced in secondary schools in Rwanda. Then, how the study was planned in terms of data collection, data processing, and data analysis was explained. Overall, it has been argued that everything has been done to ensure that the data collected are useful for a detailed account of the Multilingual Practices in the context of secondary schools in Rwanda. In the following Chapter, therefore, these data are presented in as much detail as possible.

²¹ In the course of my PhD study, the Title “Code Alternation in Rwandan Classrooms: Case of Multiple Language Practices in Two Secondary schools” was changed to read: “Translanguaging in Rwandan Classrooms: Case of Multiple Language Practices in Two Secondary schools”

CHAPTER 4:

THE NATURE OF TRANSLANGUAGING IN SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS IN RWANDA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter as a description of the **Nature of “Translanguaging”** in “secondary schools in Rwanda” is organized following a frame of analysis and presentation informed by four perspectives; namely: (1) The concept of Translanguaging (Williams 1994) itself; (2) the Theory of Language Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1999) in academic contexts; (3) the “Structure of secondary school education in Rwanda”; and (4) the “Competence-based Curriculum of secondary school in Rwanda.” These perspectives represent respectively, the double lenses through which the whole study is viewed (1) (2); the organization of secondary school education into levels and grades of study (3); and the academic programme showing the areas of study and subjects taught in secondary schools (4).

In Section 4.1 below, the “Frame of Analysis” of the data on the “Nature of Translanguaging” in the context under study is presented. Then Section 4.2 presents the Analysis of the Data. And finally, Section 4.3 summarizes the findings of the study, and organizes them into an informed description of the practice of *Translanguaging* in secondary schools in Rwanda.

4.1 FRAME OF ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

4.1.1 Translanguaging as a Guide into the Analysis and Presentation of the Data

The concept of *Translanguaging* was earlier described as a developing construct (see Chapter 2) presenting two aspects, namely: The conceptual and the pedagogic aspects. From the **conceptual**

aspect, the construct was shown to be closely related to the concepts of: “Co-langaging,” “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding,”²² “Codeswitching,” “Translation,” and “Dynamic Bilingualism” (Lewis et al. 2012); and from its **pedagogic aspect** point of view, it was presented as related to the concepts of: “Developmental use,” “Input/Output: Variations,” “Subject-Determined,” “Varied Classroom Contexts,” “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use,” and “Deaf and Special Education” (Ibid. 2012)²³. For a description of Translanguaging in the context of the present study, however, not all these concepts are pertinent: The following table gives the details.

Table 8: Concepts used in this study as related to Translanguaging and rationale²⁴

<i>Comment</i>	<i>Classification of Concepts:</i>	<i>Concepts</i>	<i>Rationale</i>
I. Concept not directly relevant in the “hypo-diversity” context of this study (They rather represent language practices in “hyper-diversity” context and/or special education.)	a) Special Multilingual practices Development for “hyperdiversity” contexts (1) (2) (3) and	(1) “dynamic bilingualism” (2) “co-langaging” (3) “varied classroom contexts”	(1) Applicable to typically multilingual and multicultural “hyperdiversity” contexts, and thus, rather at dissonance with declared purpose of language teaching in the basically monolingual context under study. (2) and (3) Not relevant in a context where practically all teachers and students share the same L1.
	b) Special education (4)	(4) “deaf and special education”	(4) Rather appropriate for “special education” contexts of education and thus, out of the scope of this study
II. Concepts directly relevant to the present study; and representing observable instances of <i>Translanguaging</i> .	a) <u>Integrated language use</u> (1)(2)	(1) “Codeswitching,” (2) “Translation,”	(1) and (2) Directly visible use of different languages in the lesson.
	b) <u>Centre Stage to Home Language</u> (3) & (4)	(3) “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and (4) “Developmental Use”	(3) and (4) Directly related to the “raison d’être” of <i>Translanguaging</i> in different levels of teaching/learning: they are about the role of the Home Language in the continuum between emergent bilingualism and fullyfledged Translanguaging.
	c) <u>Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring</u> (5) (6)	(5) “Input and Output: Variations,” (6) “Teacher-led/Pupil-led use,”	(5) Directly visible “input/output” use of different languages + impact on possible pedagogic action. (6) Directly visible use of different languages, either teacher or students taking the lead + impact on classroom dialogic process
	d) <u>Integrated language use Appraisal and Monitoring</u> (5)	(7) “Subject-determined”	(7) Directly visible and focusing on comparative observation of the practice of <i>Translanguaging</i> in different subject areas.

²² The concept of Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding has been classified as related to the “conceptual aspect” of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012). However, owing to its “scaffolding effect” on learning, it is viewed in the present study as relating to the pedagogical aspect as well, and preferably classified as such in the present study.

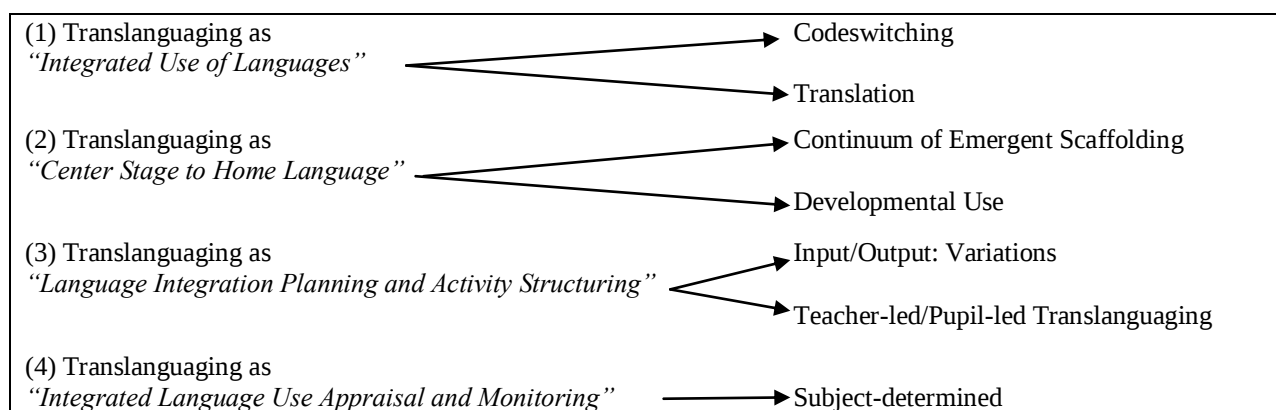
²³ Original order and classification of the concepts (see Lewis et al. 2012)

²⁴ Modified order and classification of concepts proposed in the present study for coherence.

As can be seen in this Table, the concepts of “dynamic bilingualism,” “co-langaging,” “varied classroom contexts,” and “deaf and special education (Lewis et al. 2012),” may not be relevant for the present study.

Conversely, “Codeswitching,” “Translation,” “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding,” “Developmental Use’, “Input and Output: Variations,” “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Use,” and “Subject-determined” (Ibid. 2012) are deemed applicable to any context, including “hypordiverse” contexts like Rwanda, and thus; they have been used in this Chapter, to describe the **Nature of Translanguaging in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda**. Furthermore, these selected concepts have been regrouped into 4 different but interrelated “**broader aspects**” of Translanguaging as shown in the Chart below.

Chart 2: “Broader Aspects of Translanguaging” as proposed for the study



As can be seen in this Chart, the 7 concepts deemed pertinent to the present study have been logically regrouped thus:

(1) *Integrated Use of Languages*: This “broader aspect” of Translanguaging subsumes **Codeswitching** and **Translation**; and the rationale is that they refer to the very **act of using** different languages in the same activity of language use. Indeed, whereas **Codeswitching** is defined as using elements from different languages in the classroom discourse, **Translation** concerns the act of rendering the same content in two different languages.

Description of the Nature of Translanguaging in this regard, therefore, attempts firstly an account of HOW the different languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire are **integrated** in the classroom academic discourse through Codeswitching and Translation.

(2) *Centre Stage to Home Language*: As another proposed “broader aspect” of Translanguaging shown in the above Chart, “Centre Stage to Home Language” is comprised of **Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding** and **Developmental Use of Translanguaging**; the rationale for putting these concepts together being that they both refer to the student’s **Home Language**. Indeed, whereas the former (Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding) concerns the recognized need for students as emergent bilinguals to be encouraged to frequently resort to their Home Language for learning (Lewis et al 2012; Garcia & Klefgen (2010); the latter (Developmental Use of Translanguaging) is about recognition of the fact that learners at early stages of bilingualism are likely to resort for learning to the skills developed in their **Home Language** (Garcia 2009c).

In order to describe the Nature of Translanguaging in this study, therefore, special attention has been paid to the way in which teachers encourage students to use their skills developed in **Kinyarwanda** their Home Language (Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding); and to the way in which these students effectively make use of the said skills in that language (Developmental Use of Translanguaging).

(3) *Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring*: This proposed “broader aspect of Translanguaging” is comprised of the concepts of “**Input/Output: Variations**” and “**Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging**.” These concepts logically appear to belong together because they are both about **planning** language integration and structuring activities for effective use of integrated languages in the process of teaching/learning. Indeed, whereas the former concept refers to the practice of **deliberately switching** ‘the language mode of input and output in the classroom (Lewis et al. 2012: 663)’; the latter is about the existence of two models of Translanguaging, namely: Teacher-led Translanguaging which is a **consciously and deliberately planned and structured activity by the teacher**; and Pupil-led Translanguaging which is related to activities **independently undertaken by more competent bilingual students** (Lewis et al 2012).

Description of the Nature of Translanguaging in the context under study, therefore, attempts a detailed description of **deliberate language integration planning by the teacher**, and the **students’ independently undertaken Translanguaging activities** as observed in the whole process of teaching/learning.

(d) *Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring*: Appraisal and monitoring of integrated language use concerns only one concept: **Subject-determined Translanguaging**. “Subject-determined” in this concept refers to the observation that some subject content areas may lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than others.

In describing the Nature of Translanguaging in the present study, therefore, a comparative appraisal of the practice of Translanguaging as observed in different subject areas is used to identify those which lend themselves to Translanguaging (or which actually practice it), and those which don’t (or rather which do it less so).

Overall, it has been deemed convenient to present “the Nature of Translanguaging” in Rwandan secondary schools in this Chapter in terms of the above proposed 4 **descriptive “broader aspects”** of Translanguaging which, as will be elaborated later, are naturally interconnected and ideally interactive.

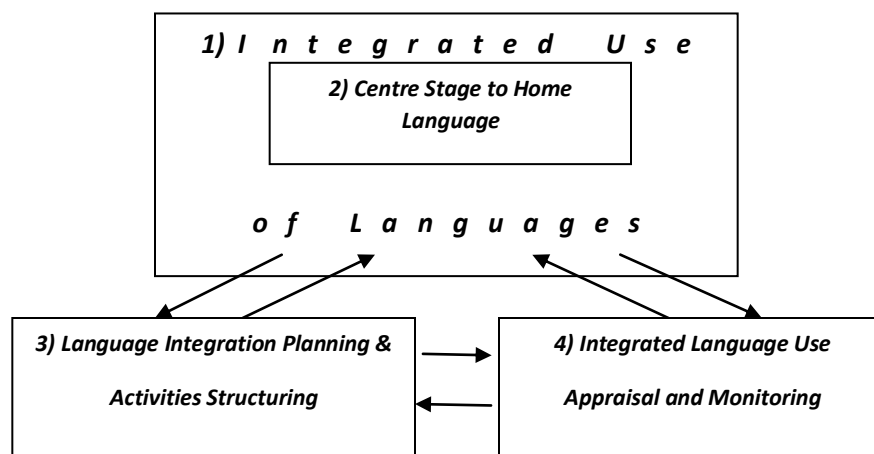


Chart 3: Representation of “Broader Aspects of Translanguaging” Interaction

4.1.2 The Structure of Secondary School Education as a Guide into the Analysis and Presentation of the Data

From the very fact of studying the practice of *Translanguaging* in two **Secondary Schools** in Rwanda, analysis and presentation of the data logically draw on the “Structure of Secondary school Education” in the context under study. In the Rwandan school system, Secondary school education is comprised of two levels of study (O’ Level or “Lower Secondary” and A’ Level or “Upper Secondary”); and each of these levels is covered in three academic grades, respectively

referred to as 1st Year (or Senior 1), 2nd Year (or Senior 2), 3rd Year (or Senior 3) for O' Level; and 4th Year (or Senior 4), 5th Year (or Senior 5), and 6th Year (or Senior 6) for A' Level.

With the assumption that different levels of study differ in terms of language proficiency; the data collected for a description of the Nature of Translanguaging in the two schools investigated in this study are analyzed and presented with reference to these levels and grades of study.

4.1.3 The “Competence-based Curriculum Framework” as a Guide into the Analysis and Presentation of the Data

The “*Competence-based Curriculum Framework*” is a document published in 2015 by the Rwandan Ministry of Education providing a list of subjects to be taught at all levels of study; indicating the number of lessons to be taught per week; and giving an indication of the relative importance of the different subjects. Whereas in Lower Secondary school (O' Level) this importance is evaluated in terms of **the number of hours per week** and referred to as “weight”; in Upper Secondary schools, this importance is apprehended **from the number of combinations** prescribed for in different subject areas. Thus, valuation of the data collected for the present study not only takes into account **the structure** of Secondary school Education framework, but also considers the **weight** given to different subject areas as laid out in the “Competence-based Curriculum Framework” (Mineduc 2015).

As shown in the following Table, both these dimensions (viz. the *structure* and the *curriculum*) of secondary school education in Rwanda yield a useful framework for presenting the data collected for the present study.

Table 9: Relative “Weight” of Different Subject Areas per Levels of Study

Area of Study	O' Level		A' Level
- Mathematics and Science	Mathematics	13	Mathematics-Physics-Geography
	Physics	9	Physics-Chemistry-Mathematics
	Chemistry	9	Physics-Chemistry-Biology
	Biology and Health Science	9	Biology-Chemistry-Geography
	ICT	4	Mathematics-EconomiCodeswitching-Geography
			Mathematics-Computer Science-economiCodeswitching
			Mathematics-Physics-Computer science
			Mathematics-Chemistry-Biology
Total weight		44%	8 “Science Combinations”
- Humanities	History & Citizenship	7	History-EconomiCodeswitching-Geography

	Geography & Environment Entrepreneurship Elective (e.g. Religion & Ethics)	7 4 4	History-Geography-Literature in English History-Economics-Codeswitching-Literature in English Literature in English-Economics-Codeswitching-Geography Religious Education-History-Literature in English Religious Education-History-Geography
Total weight		18%	6 “Humanities Combinations”
- Languages	English Kinyarwanda French Kiswahili Literature in English	11 7 4 4 2	Literature in English-French-Kinyarwanda Literature in English-Kiswahili-Kinyarwanda Literature in English-Kiswahili-French
Total weight		28%	3 “Languages Combinations”

As can be seen in this table, “Mathematics and Science” as an area of study is given the biggest weight (44%); “Languages” come next with 28% weight; and Humanities come last with 22% weight at O’ Level. At A’ Level on the other hand, “Mathematics and Science” still come first with 8 “*Science Combinations*”; this time “Humanities” come next with 6 “*Humanities combinations*”; and “Languages” come last with 3 “*Languages combinations*.” This gives the whole picture of the importance of the different subjects on the curriculum thus:

Considering both “weight” and “combinations”; the “Mathematics and Science” area of study comes first in importance with 44% weight in O’ Level timetable and 8 combinations in A’ Level; then “Humanities” comes next in importance with 22% weight in O’ Level timetable and 6 combinations in A’ Level; and “Languages” comes last in importance with 28% weight in O’ Level timetable and a significant decrease down to 3 combinations in A’ Level.

In presenting the **Nature of Translanguaging**, therefore, the study also pays attention to the differences between the different areas of study in terms of integrated use of languages, and in terms of the likely significance of these differences.

4.1.4 The Theory of Language Proficiency as a Guide into the Analysis and Presentation of the Data.

Owing to the fact that the focus of the present study is on the use of languages in the classroom, a theory serving as reference for understanding “**language proficiency**” in the academic context of the classroom is necessary; and Cummins’ (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency is appropriate for this purpose.

As proposed in this theory, adequate language proficiency in academic contexts comprises two important constructs, namely: “*Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency*” (CALP) and “*Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills*” (BICS) (Cummins 1979, 1999). Whereas the former is about the capacity of people (like students and teachers) to use the appropriate language of academic discourse; the latter concerns the capacity to use ordinary language of everyday social conversation.

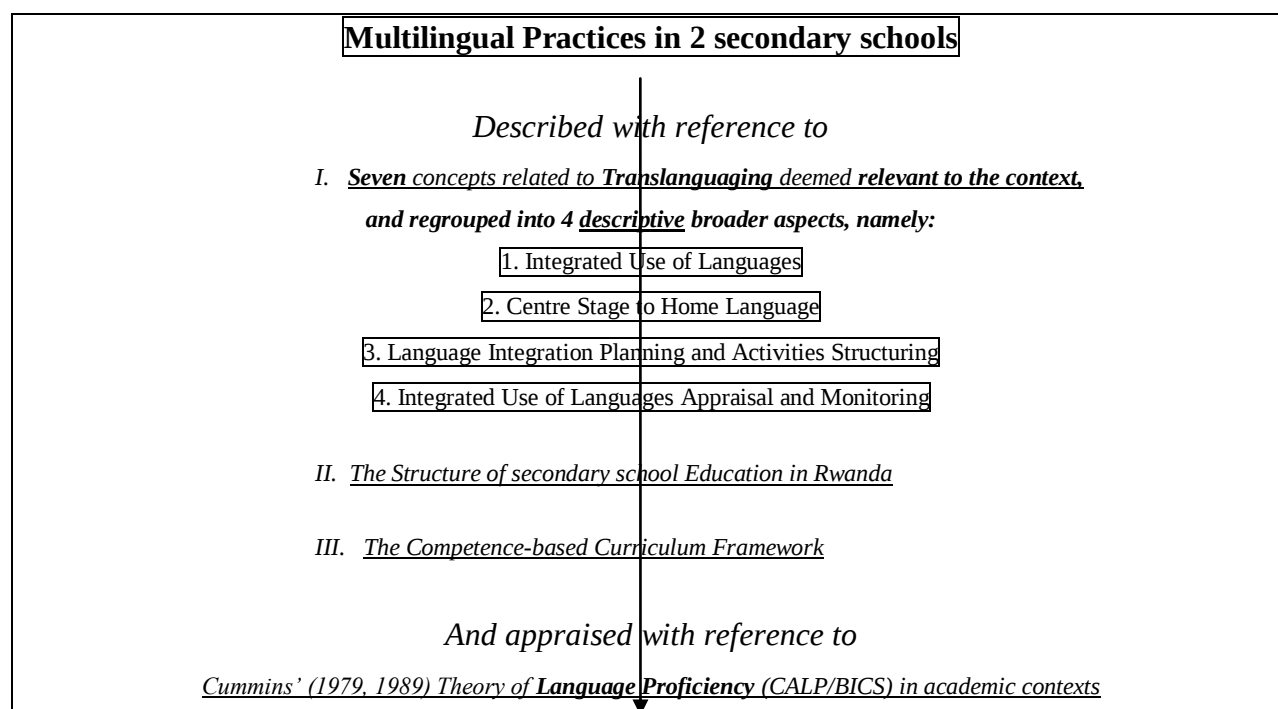
Understandably, these levels of language capacity are different, but they are interrelated, and thus; they are both necessary for efficient use of language in academic work. It is suggested in this study that, as long as language(s) is (are) used for academic purposes, these levels of language proficiency (CALP/BICS) are not only necessary for monolingual use of language; they are equally of paramount importance for multilingual use (viz. “integrated use of languages”).

In this Chapter, the aim is to make AN ACCOUNT of **Translanguaging** as a whole process of multilingual use of languages, and to supplement it with AN EVALUATION of language integration as a **product** of the process. Therefore, whereas the **Nature of Translanguaging** as a process is **described** in the present study in terms of the above proposed 4 “broader aspects” of Translanguaging; the **end product of the process** is also **appraised** in terms of the two most important features of language use for teaching/learning, namely: Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS). In this way, this Chapter presents the desired double quality of not being merely a description of **integrated use of languages**, but also a description of integrated use of languages **for teaching and learning**.

4.1.5 Frame of Analysis: Summary

For ease of reference, the frame of analysis proposed on the basis of the above described perspectives can be schematically represented as in the following Chart.

Chart 4: Perspectives used for describing the Nature of Translanguaging



As can be seen in this Chart, the Nature of Translanguaging as practiced in secondary school classrooms in Rwanda is described with reference (I) to the Concept of Translanguaging itself as readapted to the context under study; (II) to the Structure of secondary school Education, and (III) to the “Competence-based Curriculum Framework” followed in secondary school in Rwanda. Furthermore, in view of the ensuing description, the practice of Translanguaging in secondary schools in Rwanda is evaluated as a “language variety” appropriate for teaching/learning with reference (IV) to Cummins’ (1979, 1989) Theory of Language Proficiency.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON THE NATURE OF TRANSLANGUAGING IN SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS IN RWANDA

As explained in the “Frame of Analysis” proposed for this Chapter, **Translanguaging** as a construct serves as the first guide into the description of Multilingual Practices in the context under study. It orients to a four faceted description in terms of “**broader aspects** of Translanguaging,” namely: “Integrated Use of Languages,” “Centre Stage to Home Language,” “Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring,” and “Integrated Use of Languages

Appraisal and Monitoring.” Data pertaining to these aspects are explored as evidence of the Nature of Translanguaging in the context under study.

4.2.1 Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages”

As proposed above, “Integrated Use of Languages” subsumes the practice of *Codeswitching* and *Translation* as the most visible processes in classrooms where multiple languages are used to teach and learn. In the coming paragraphs, these multilingual processes are considered in turn.

4.2.1.1 “Codeswitching” in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

Codeswitching as “systematic use of two or more languages or varieties of the same language during oral or written discourse (Mahootian 2006: 511)’ may occur at the word level, the sentence level, and the discourse level. It is closely related to the concept of Translanguaging in the classroom (Chitera 2009, Kamwangamalu 2010 in Lewis et al. 2012: 657)’ and as such; its occurrence in the classroom is considered as one of the most visible manifestations of the practice.

In this Sub-section, how much of Codeswitching occurs in secondary school classrooms is analyzed firstly with reference to different levels of study (see “Structure of Secondary school Education”) and then, with reference to different subject areas inscribed in the curriculum (see “Competence-based Curriculum for Secondary school Education”).

(1) Codeswitching as Evidence of Translanguaging in Different Levels of Study

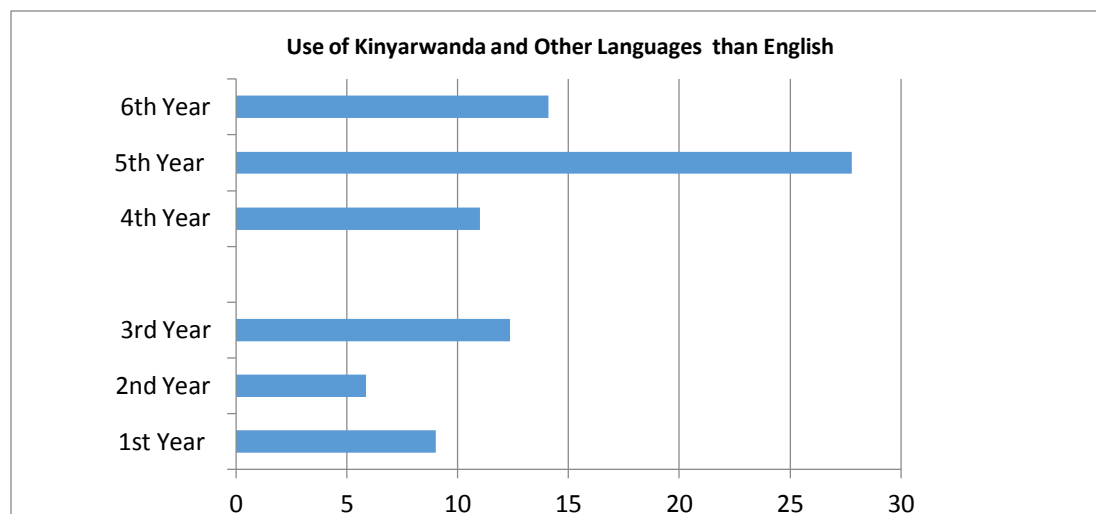
For the purpose of appraising Codeswitching as a characteristic of the practice of Translanguaging in secondary schools in Rwanda, word count (Myers-Scotton, 1993) has been used to ascertain whether Kinyarwanda and other languages than English are indeed used in the classroom, and whether they are used differentially along with English in different “Levels” of study (O’ Level and A’ Level) and different “Grades” (from 1st Year throughout 6th Year). The following Table gives the details.

Table 10: Instances of *Codeswitching* in Different Levels of Study as Evidence of Translanguaging

(1) Level of Study	(2) Year of Study	(3) Subject	(4) Nr- Words Total	(5) Words other than English	(6) %	(7) Comment
O' Level	1 st Y	Physics	1011	120	11.86%	Average 9.03%
		Mathematics	1511	264	17.47%	
		Entrepreneurship	1239	55	4.43%	
		History&Citizenship	1981	27	1.36%	
		History & Citizenship	2009	202	10.05%	
	2 nd Y	Mathematics	1860	146	7.8%	Average 5.86%
		Mathematics	558	75	13.44%	
		History & Citizenship	2339	22	0.94%	
		Kiswahili	1424	18	1.26%	
	3 rd Y	Mathematics	3769	1642	43.5%	Average 12.38%
		Mathematics	883	46	5.20%	
		Biology	3306	6 Fren&Kiny	0.18%	
		English	1823	12	0.65%	
		O' Level Total Average				9.09%
A' Level	4 th Y	Chemistry	1916	489	25.52%	Average 11.03%
		Geography	2012	64	3.1%	
		Literature in English	1495	67	4.48%	
	5 th Y	Microbiology	1816	512	28.19%	Average 27.78%
		Physics	1320	922	69.84%	
		Entrepreneurship	1101	120	10.8%	
		Geogr.&Environment	907	21	2.31%	
	6 th Y	Mathematics	1567	328	20.9%	Average 14.09%
		French	1737	126	7.25%	
		A' Level Total Average				17.63%

In this Table the values in column 6 represent the percentage of the count of “Other Words than English” which were uttered in different lessons. It was assumed that the more words other than English were used in the lesson, the more *Codeswitching* was practiced. In this sense, a lesson like Physics in Senior 5 which uses nearly 70% of words other than English practices Codeswitching more than a lesson like Biology in Senior 3 which uses only 0.18% of words other than English. On the other hand, figures in Column 7 are cumulative calculations of the percentages representing the lessons observed in the different grades; and the percentages representing different levels of study (O' Level and A Level). These figures are usefully represented in the following Chart:

Chart 5: Use of Codeswitching in Different Levels of Study



Even though it was impossible to observe the same number of lessons (or indeed to observe even lessons in the same subjects) in each class, these figures still give an indication of the range of Codeswitching occurring in the different classrooms and allow for a comparative evaluation.

As can be observed both in this Chart and the preceding Table, therefore, Codeswitching tends to be used more in higher than lower levels of study. Thus, whereas the 1st Year level classrooms used 9.03% of words other than English in the lessons observed; the 2nd Year level used 5.86%; the 3rd Year level, 12.38%; the 4th Year, 11.03%; the 5th Year reached a peak of 27.78%; and finally the 6th Year used 14.09%. Considered cumulatively by level of study then, O' Level used 9.09% of words other than English in the lessons observed whereas A' Level used almost twice as much, viz. 17.6%.

This, in sum, suggests that **Codeswitching** is used more in lessons taught in higher levels of study than it is used in lower levels of study. It would be appropriate to note from the outset, however, that many factors may have had a role to play in the use of Codeswitching in the different classrooms. Without denying their importance, these factors have not been taken into account in this study since the question is simply to show evidence that *Codeswitching* is practiced in the classroom, and that *Translanguaging* might be practiced as well. On this note, the following Sub-section turns to Codeswitching in different subjects of study.

(2) Codeswitching as Evidence of Translanguaging in Different Subject Areas

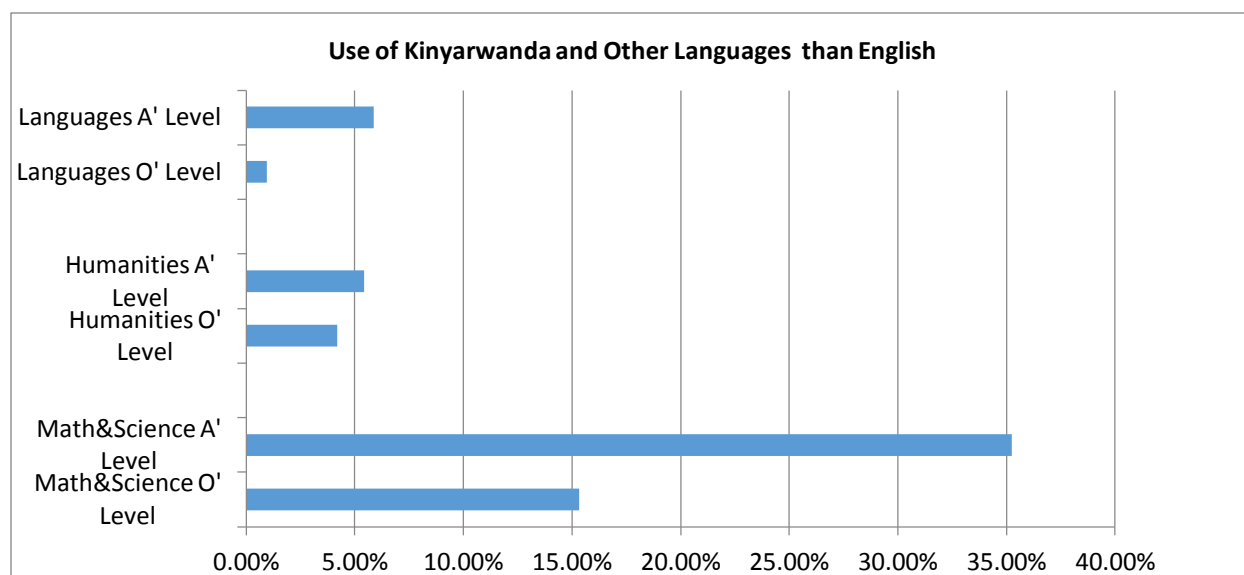
Whereas the preceding Table showed the range of Codeswitching occurring in the different levels of study, the following Table presents the same data from a different point of view: The **different subjects** taught in secondary school.

Table 11: Instances of Codeswitching in Different Subject Areas as Evidence of Translanguaging

<i>Area of Study</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Year of Study</i>	<i>Nr-Words Total</i>	<i>Words other than English</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Mathematics & Sciences	Physics	1 st Y	1011	120	11.86%	Average 15.33%
	Mathematics	“	1728	371	25.4%	
	Mathematics	2 nd Y	1860	146	7.8%	
	Mathematics	“	558	75	13.4%	
	Mathematics	3 rd Y	3769	1642	43.5%	
	Mathematics	“	883	46	5.20%	
	Biology	“	3306	6	0.18%	
A’ Level	Chemistry	4 th Y	1916	489	25.52%	Average 35.25%
	Microbiology	5 th Y	1816	512	28.19%	
	Physics	“	1320	922	69.84%	
	Mathematics	6 th Y	1511	264	17.47%	
Total Average for “Mathematics & Science” subjects					248.36/11	22.57%
Humanities	Entrepreneurship	1 st Y	1239	55	4.43%	Average 4.19%
	History&Citizenship	“	1981	27	1.36%	
	History& Citizenship	“	2009	202	10.05%	
	History& Citizenship	2 nd Y	2339	22	0.94%	
A’ Level	Geogr&Environment	4 th Y	2012	64	3.1%	Average 5.43%
	Entrepreneurship	5 th Y	1101	120	10.89%	
	Geogr&Environment	“	907	21	2.31%	
Total Average for “Humanities” subjects					33.08/7	4.72%
O’ Level	Kiswahili	2 nd Y	1424 1480	18	1.26%	Average 0.95%
	English	3 rd Y	1823 1984	12	0.65%	
A’ Level	Literature in English	4 th Y	1495 1658	67	4.48%	Average 5.86%
	French	6 th Y	1737 1710	126	7.25%	
Total Average for “Languages” subjects					13.64/4	3.41%

In this Table, the values representing different subjects are regrouped into three subject areas, namely: “Mathematics & Sciences”; “Humanities”; and “Languages” as these subject areas appear in the “Competence-based Curriculum for Secondary School Education” (Mineduc 2015), and the percentages are calculated cumulatively to represent these subject areas. The tendency in terms of Codeswitching with regard to different areas of study can further be represented in the following Chart.

Figure 4: The Use of Codeswitching in Different Subject Areas



As can be seen in both the above Table and Chart, the area of study where Codeswitching is used most is “Mathematics and Science” (15.33% in O’ Level and 35.25% in A’ Level), then comes the “Humanities” with a low rate of Codeswitching use of 4.19% in O’ Level and 5.43% in A’ Level, and “Languages” come last with only 0.95% in O’ Level and 5.86% in A’ Level of Codeswitching in the lessons observed.

It will be reminded that 11 lessons were observed in “Mathematics and Science” which represents the biggest number of all the lessons observed; then 7 in “Humanities”; and 4 in the “Languages” area of study, which represent the smallest number of all the lessons observed.

This disparity as earlier explained reflects the respective importance given to the three areas of study in the “Competence-based Curriculum for Secondary School Education” and thus; it is likely to represent the reality of what is actually occurring in terms of Codeswitching in the context under study. Following is thus a summary presenting an overall picture of ***Codeswitching*** in the schools investigated in the present study.

(3) Findings on the Use of Codeswitching in Two Secondary Schools in Rwanda

The use of Codeswitching in secondary school classrooms was examined with reference to **different levels of study** and **different subjects on the curriculum**. With regard to different

levels of study, an overview of the data suggests that the use of Codeswitching in secondary school classrooms is a reality since it is used in practically all lessons observed in all levels of study; and more particularly, it is noteworthy that Codeswitching is practiced more in higher than lower levels of study.

Concerning the different **areas of study**, what seems to come out of the data is that the ‘Mathematics and Science’ area of study registers the highest occurrence of Codeswitching use; then next comes the ‘Humanities’ area of study, whereas the area of ‘Languages’ registers the lowest level of Codeswitching in secondary school classrooms.

Overall, the core of the findings on the use of Codeswitching in secondary school classrooms in the context under study is that the practice, which is one of the most directly visible evidence of Translanguaging, appears to be used **to differing degrees** in all levels of secondary school and in all subjects. That said, however, Codeswitching is not the only evidence of the practice of Translanguaging. Another equally visible evidence of Translanguaging is Translation to which I turn next.

4.2.1.2 “Translation” in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

“Translation” can be broadly defined as ‘deliberate rendition of an utterance from one language into another language.’ Like “code-switches,” “Translations” in the present study are considered as **visible** evidence of the practice of *Translanguaging*. For an analysis of the use of Translation in secondary school Classrooms in Rwanda; following is a presentation of its use with reference to the “Structure of Secondary School Education” (viz. Focusing on the levels of study) and then, with reference to the “Competence-based Curriculum of Secondary School Education” (viz. Focusing on different subjects in the curriculum).

(1) Translations as Evidence of Translanguaging at Different Levels of Study

The information on the use of Translation in secondary school classrooms was obtained by carefully reading the transcription of 22 lessons observed in this study, and making an inventory of words, phrases, sentences, and groups of sentences translated either by the Teacher or by the Students in the course of teacher-students interaction in the classroom. The information obtained

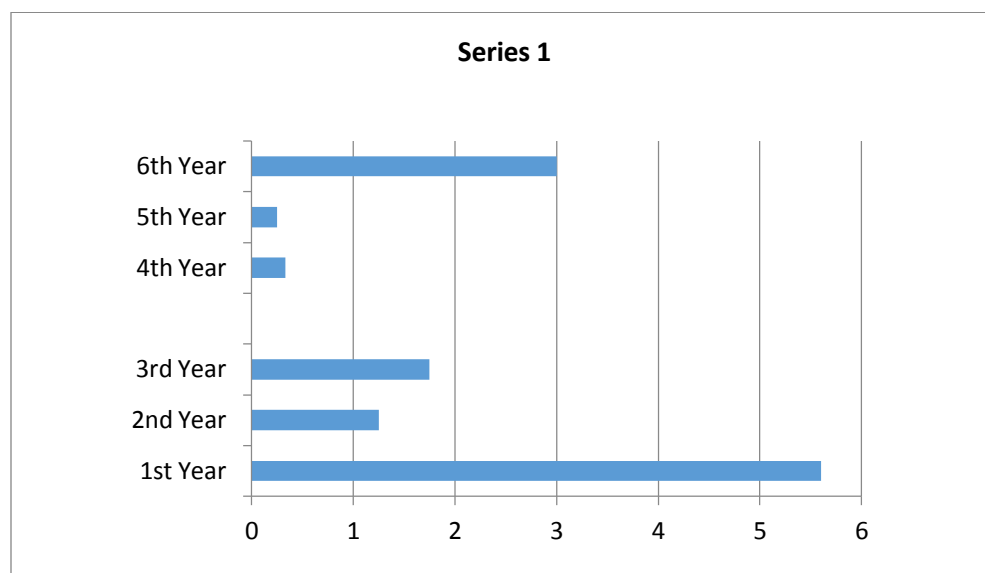
from this inventory is presented from the point of view of Different Levels of Study in the following Table.

Table 12: Instances of Translation in Different Levels of Study

(1) Level of Study	(2) Year of Study	(3) Subject	(4) Translat or	(5) Transla Tions	(4) Translat or	(5) Transla Tions	(6) Comment
O' Level	1 st Y	Physics	Teacher	-	Students	-	Average: 5.6 Translations per lesson
		Mathematics	Teacher	5	Students	3	
		Entrepreneurship	Teacher	7	Students	1	
		History&Citizenship	Teacher	8	Students	2	
		History&Citizenship	Teacher	-	Students	2	
		5 lessons		20		8 28	
	2 nd Y	Mathematics	Teacher	1	Students	-	Average: 1.25 Translations per lesson
		Mathematics	Teacher	1	Students	-	
		History&Citizenship	Teacher		Students		
		Kiswahili	Teacher	3	Students	0	
		4 lessons		5		0 5	
	3 rd Y	Mathematics	Teacher	2	Students	-	1.75 Translations per lesson
		Mathematics	Teacher	1	Students	-	
		Biology	Teacher	2	Students	1	
		English	Teacher	1	Students	-	
		4 lessons		6		1 7	
		Total Translations O' Level					40=3.07 transl/hour
A' Level	4 th Y	Chemistry	Teacher	-	Students	-	0.33 Translations per lesson
		Geography	Teacher	1	Students	-	
		Literature in English	Teacher		Students		
		3 lessons		1		0 1	
	5 th Y	Microbiology	Teacher		Students		0.25 Translations per lesson
		Physics	Teacher	1	Students	-	
		Entrepreneurship	Teacher		Students		
		Geogr&Environment	Teacher		Students		
		4 lessons		1		0 1	
	6 th Y	Mathematics	Teacher	2	Students	-	3 Translations per lesson
		French	Teacher	4	Students	-	
		2 lessons		6		0 6	
		Total Translations A' Level					8=0.88 transl/hour

As can be seen in this Table, the identified “Translations” were counted and the number recorded for each lesson; separating those done by the teacher and those done by the students. Then the total number of the Translations identified in each level was calculated and recorded in front of the respective **levels of study** (1st Y, 2nd Y, 3rd Y, 4th Y, 5th Y, and 6th Y). This has served to present a general picture of the differential use of Translation in these **levels of study** as shown in the following Chart.

Chart 6: Use of Translation in Different Levels of Study



Firstly, as can be seen in both the Chart and Table above, the 1st Y makes the most use of Translation (28 = an average of 5.6 Translations per lesson), then next comes the 6th Y (6 = an average of 3 Translations per lesson); next comes the 3rd Year (7 = an average of 1.75 Translations per lesson), then the 2nd Year (5 = an average of 1.25 Translations per lesson), and the 4th Year (1 = an average of 0.33 Translations per lesson), and finally the 5th years (1 = an average of 0.25 Translations per lesson). In terms of “levels of study” as a whole, O’ Level used more Translations (40 in all) than A’ Level (only 8); and visibly, the O’ Level of study, (and more particularly, the 1st Year) appeared to be more inclined to using Translations than A’ level.

(2) Translations as Evidence of Translanguaging in Different Areas of Study

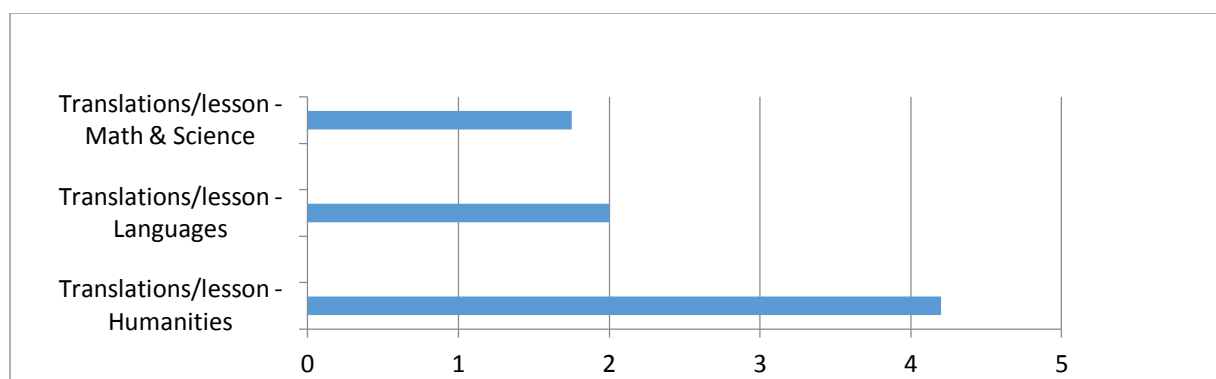
As was the case with different levels of study, the information about the use of Translation in secondary school was presented to highlight another aspect of its use (The use of Translation in different “Areas of Study” and different “Subjects”) as in the following Table.

Table 13: Evidence of Translation in Relation to Different Areas of Study

(1) Area of Study	(2) Subject	(4) Year of Study	(5) Translat or	(6) Transl ations	(7) Translat or	(8) Transl ations	(9) Comment
Math & Science	Mathematics	1 st Y	Teacher	5	Students	3	An average of 1.75 Translations per lesson
	Mathematics	2 nd Y	Teacher	1	Students	-	
	Mathematics	2 nd Y	Teacher	-	Students	-	
	Mathematics	3 rd Y	Teacher	1	Students	-	
	Mathematics	3 rd Y	Teacher	1	Students	-	
	Biology	3 rd Y	Teacher	2	Students	-	
	Chemistry	4 th Y	Teacher	-	Students	-	
	Physics	5 th Y	Teacher	1	Students	-	
Total- Mathematics & Science							14
Humani ties	Entrepreneurship	1 st Y	Teacher	7	Students	1	An average of 4.2 Translations per lesson
	History&Citizenship	1 st Y	Teacher	8	Students	2	
	History&Citizenship	1 st Y	Teacher	-	Students	2	
	History&Citizenship	2 nd Y	Teacher	-	Students	-	
	Geogr&Environment		Teacher	-	Students	1	
Total- Humanities							21
Langua ges	Kiswahili	2 nd Y	Teacher	3	Students	-	An average of 2 Translations per lesson
	English	3 rd Y	Teacher	1	Students	-	
	Literature in English	4 th Y	Teacher	-	Students	-	
	French	6 th Y	Teacher	4	-	-	
Total- Languages							8

In this Table, the total number of the Translations identified in each lesson was calculated and recorded. Then an average of Translations per **area of study** was calculated by dividing the total number of Translations by the number of lessons in each “area of study.” Following is a Chart that helps showing clearly the significance of these figures.

Chart 7: Use of Translation in Different Subject Areas



The figures presented in the above Table and Chart show that Translations were observed mainly in “Humanities Lessons” (21= 4.2 per lesson); that the “languages” lessons used the smallest number (8= 2 per lesson); and that “Mathematics and Sciences” used Translations moderately (14= 1.75 per lesson). This gives a general idea of how much secondary school classrooms resort to Translation in different subject areas as summarized below.

(3) Findings on Translation as Evidence of Translanguaging in Secondary School Classrooms

The use of Translation in Secondary Schools in Rwanda was examined with reference to different levels of study and in different subjects. With regard to different levels of study, it appears from the figures presented in the above Table and Chart that Translation is used **in many lessons** observed and **in all the levels of study**, but significantly more so in O’ Level (and more particularly the 1st Year) than A’ Level. Concerning the different “Areas of Study,” the same data suggest that Translation is used more in the “Humanities” Area of Study than in “Languages” and “Mathematics and Sciences”, and in turn; more in “Languages” than in “Mathematics and Sciences.” On this note, it would be useful to comment that; as compared to Codeswitching and with reference to the figures in the above Table and Chart; Translation in the Schools investigated is practiced **rather minimally**. Nonetheless, along with Codeswitching it contributes to the “broader concept” of **Integrated Use of Languages** defined in this study, and *ipso facto* adds to the testimony of the likelihood that Translanguaging is practiced in the context under study.

4.2.2 Data on Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language”

“Centre Stage to Home Language” as has earlier been proposed refers to the concepts of *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* and *Developmental Use of Translanguaging*. The investigation of the Nature of Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” is presented in this sub-section with reference to these concepts in turn.

4.2.2.1 “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” in Secondary school Classrooms in Rwanda

The concept of “**Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding**” refers to Lewis et al.’s (2012) remark that Translanguaging as a teaching/learning strategy may not be efficient when students don’t possess enough knowledge of language; and that they need support to participate in Translanguaging activities. In this regard, one such kind of support is **encouragement of students’ use of the skills** developed in their Home Language. In fact, as Garcia & Kleifgen (2010) note, the natural way in which emergent bilinguals learn is to develop skills in the new language they are learning (English in this case) through the skills already developed in their Home Language; and educators need to encourage this learning strategy.

In the present study, “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” as evidence of Translanguaging in secondary schools in Rwanda is examined by identifying **emergent scaffolding actions** which encourage students’ use of the skills they developed in Kinyarwanda. In order to identify these actions;” the transcripts of 22 lessons observed in the context of the present study were analyzed from (1) the point of view of the actual talk between teachers and students in the classroom; and from (2) the point of view of the kind of work done in different lessons which gives students an opportunity to speak. In the following paragraphs, I consider these aspects in turn.

(1) “Emergent Scaffolding” Actions through Teacher-Students Talk in the Classroom

Following are two examples to show how “emergent scaffolding actions” in Teacher-Students talk are recognizable.

Example 1: The first example is drawn from a lesson in Entrepreneurship Senior 5. A student had started an exercise on the blackboard speaking in a very low voice, almost to himself (apparently out of difficulties to say what he is doing in English); and after a short while, he had stopped talking altogether though he had continued with the exercise. The teacher then had taken

up the talk, commenting now and then in English on the exercise as the student continued working silently (but correctly) on the blackboard. Here is the extract of the actual talk.

- (1) T: Yes, OK! Now we are going to calculate the cash out-flow. ... cash outflow ... for the month of June, July, and August.

(Student works silently on the blackboard. The teacher and students look on. After a while, the teacher supports the student by providing the necessary talk for the exercise thus:) ...

T: “Interest on loan: Write this ...”

S: Sorry?! (In a tone that suggests that he had a different idea)

T: Yea! (At this juncture, another student comes in spontaneously with a question in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching)

- (2) S2: Interest on loan *ntabwo ijyaho?* (= Shouldn’t interest on loan be included?)

T: *Ku kwezi gukurikiraho: Ukwezi kwa karindwi. Biratangirana n’ukwezi kwa karindwi bishyira ukwezi kwa munani. Ni ukuvuga ngo turacyari mu kwezi kwa gatandatu; turi kureba amafaranga yinjira* for the month of June, and cash outflow for the month of... June. OK.

(= In the following month: the month of July. It starts with the month of July going into August. You see; we are still in the month of June, we are considering the cash inflow for the month of June. OK.)

As can be seen in this extract, student (S2) in turn (2) spontaneously asked a question in English-Kinyarwanda without even asking to speak:

“Interest on loan *ntabwo ijyaho?*” (=“Shouldn’t interest on loan be included?”).

This question in English-Kinyarwanda created a new context which “shaped” (Heritage, 1998:104) the teacher’s reply into a multilingual answer. Indeed, up to that moment, the teacher and the students had generally been using English; and the question came almost as a request to ‘renew’ the context of the talk (Ibid.: 105), and oriented it to a change from English to English-Kinyarwanda. On her part, the teacher understood the student’s action (which came as a reminder that students needed Kinyarwanda to understand the lesson) and; as if to recognize that her students needed to use their speaking and listening skills in Kinyarwanda to fully participate in the lesson, she replied in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching. In fact, even though the

students who took turns to do the exercises on the blackboard didn't seem to be ready to speak out and explain what they were doing; the teacher kept encouraging them to use English-Kinyarwanda by using it herself to explain what was going on in the exercises.

Following is another extract in which she uses English-Kinyarwanda when she sees that the student working on the blackboard seems to need further explanations on the exercise he is doing.

Example 2: This example of how teachers support students' understanding through their Home Language is also taken from **Entrepreneurship Senior 5**

T: No!... For ... the cash inflow! ... OK. Cash... Who can finish the balance of the month of July? ...Sales per month: *Ni iyi ... five million ... per month! Ni ukuvuga ngo amafaranga buri kwezi ... afite; angana na miliyoni eshanu. Ni yo mpamvu dukomeza kwandika ahangaha miliyoni eshanu. Ni ukuvuga (...?...) na bwo itanga miliyoni eshanu. Si byo?*

(= This means that the money he ... has every month; is five million. That is why we keep writing here five million. This means (...?...) even here it is five million. Right?)

As can be seen in this extract, the teacher has started using Kinyarwanda to **support** students' understanding; or rather more precisely, she has started to navigate between Kinyarwanda and English depending on the needs of the students. Indeed, even though this lesson is taught in 5th Year (a grade where students are supposed to possess advanced knowledge in English); it contains many actions like this, which can well be inscribed on a "Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding."

Example 3: Another example is from **Mathematics 3rd Year**. Like in the lesson mentioned above, the teacher started with a reminder of the principles and theorems about "Similar Triangles" using English; and this took quite a time (about ten minutes). Then when the exercises started, he freely used the medium of English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching up to the end of the lesson, even though the students doing the exercises on the blackboard seemed to want to keep speaking English only as best as they could. And yet, as illustrated in the following extract, they

needed scaffolding which the teacher persistently provided through the medium of English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching.

- (1) T: Any reaction? Try to speak. (The student still doesn't speak and the teacher goes on)
(...) Among the theorems and a postulate that we have, which one can be used there? *Tugendeye kuri postulate dufite na teworeme dufite, ni iki kiri bukoreshwe hariya?* First of all, before solving the question, you have to know *ndakoresha iki? Mu byo namaze, ... mu byo twize ni iki ndi bukoresha? Kandi* it is in what we have just studied.

(= If we consider the postulate and theorems we have, what shall we use there? First of all you have to know what to use. From all the things we learned what am I going to use?)

(At this juncture, the student still can't continue with the exercise and the teacher called another student)

Ubibona ni nde ngo amufashe? Wajya kumufasha?

(= Who can see what to do? Can you go and help him?)

S: [... ...]

The new student works on the exercise correctly, but doesn't explain either; and the teacher scaffolds the communication through English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching.²⁵ In this way, exercises go on, the Teacher helping students with the talk through English-Kinyarwanda medium while students work without speaking, probably because they try to stick to English only. In the second half of the lesson however, towards the end, the teacher had persevered with English-Kinyarwanda; and little by little, the exercises were becoming lively with many students wanting to speak. Thus for example, while a student is doing an exercise on the blackboard, another spontaneously starts: (**Example 4:** also from **Mathematics 3rd Year**)

S1: *Hariya yabicuritse!*

(=There! he has done the opposite (of what should be done))

T: *Niba yabicuritse, hariya hagombaga sixty ... magana abiri na mirongo inani n'umunani* over thirty three. OK *umunani ni byo? Cumi na rimwe n'ibice? Birashoboka!*

²⁵ Teacher has designated another student to go to the blackboard. The student continues the exercise, but speaks in an inaudible voice.

(=If he has done the opposite, then we should have sixty there ... two hundred and eighty eight over thirty three. OK eight; right? Eleven point something? It's possible!!).

S2: *Dukoresheje buriya buryo bwa mbere?* (=What if we used that first method?)

T: *Bwa hypotenuse? Teworeme za za... Pythagoras theorem? Na byo birashoboka! Igisubizo wabona...*

(=The hypotenuse method? The theorems of...of... Pythagoras theorem? That is also possible! The answer you would get...

S3: *Dukoresheje ziriya mpande zose uko zingana?*
(=What if we used all these sides)

T: *Izihe ukuba? ugafata AD ... Iyo teworeme nzi ko ntayo... ntayo nzi!*
(=Which ones? You would take AD ... What I know is that that theorem doesn't exist... I don't know it!)

S: *Turayifite; turayikoresha!*
(=We have it and we use it!)

T: *Ivuga ngo iki?*
(=What does it say?)

S: *Ugafata AE, ugakuba CD;*
(=You take AE, you multiply by CD)

By now, it looked as though all the students were eager to contribute to the discussion. Indeed, what appears clearly is that the beginning of the lesson was dominated by the teachers' talk. Students were doing the exercises, but as they tried to explain in English, they had difficulties and, like in the preceding example, the teacher scaffolded the talk using English and Kinyarwanda: This seems to have encouraged the students to use English and Kinyarwanda medium as well (and indeed more and more Kinyarwanda), to the extent that the end of the lesson had become a free and genuine discussion of the content. This development of the lesson as results from the teacher's use of the students Home Language along with the official medium of instruction testifies to the effect of his Emergent Scaffolding action drawing on students' skills in Kinyarwanda.

Many more such actions were, to differing degrees, observed in other lessons as well. Following is a brief account of these actions as evidence of Translanguaging as a "Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding" in secondary school classrooms in Rwanda.

(2) Summary of “Emergent Scaffolding Actions” Observed in the 22 Lessons Observed

Emergent Scaffolding Actions were observed in practically all lessons both in O’ Level and A’ Level; and in all grades from 1st Year to 6th Year. Without having to go into details of every single action, the following inventory, though not exhaustive, indicates some of the main scaffolding actions observed.

Table 14: Summary of Observed Scaffolding Actions

<i>Level of Study</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Scaffolding Action Observed</i>
1 st Year	- Physics	- Teacher willingly responds in Kinyarwanda each time students ask questions in Kinyarwanda. This encourages them to ask for explanations whenever needed
	- Mathematics	- Teacher systematically uses English and Kinyarwanda on certain points deemed difficult to grasp. This seems to support students’ understanding considerably.
	- Entrepreneurship	- Students in groups discuss the advantages of saving money in the bank, and present the result of their discussions. During presentations, they systematically translate their answers from English to Kinyarwanda. In this lesson, organization of discussions in groups gave students an opportunity to use their home language to discuss the content of the lesson. Arguably, this organization of work can be considered as scaffold (support) to students’ understanding of the lesson content.
	- Hist&Citizenship	- Students were requested to systematically translate key vocabulary from English to Kinyarwanda throughout the lesson. These Translations into Kinyarwanda appeared to enhance their understanding of the content of the lesson
	- Hist&Citizenship	- No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda ²⁶
2 nd Year	- Kiswahili	- Key grammar points explained in Kinyarwanda toward the end of the lesson
	- Mathematics	- Systematic use of Kinyarwanda on certain points deemed difficult to grasp
	- Hist&Citizensh	- No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda ²⁷
	- Mathematics	- Exercises done on the blackboard. Teacher explains in Kinyarwanda mainly when he notices that the student working on the blackboard doesn’t do the exercise successfully
3 rd Year	- English	- Organisation of “group presentations” gave students an opportunity to use group presentationse their llistening/speaking skills to prepare the presentations
	- Mathematics	- Use of English-Kinyarwanda medium throughout the lesson. This proved to be an efficient way to scaffold students’ participation in the lesson and engagement with the content.
	- Mathematics	- A few explanations in English-Kinyarwanda appealing to students’ knowledge of Kinyarwanda
	- Biology	- No apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda (Virtually English only)

²⁶ In these lessons, students in groups presented topics prepared before coming to class. In the process of preparing these presentations, they use Kinyarwanda for communication and English for technical terms.

²⁷ Same note as above.

4 th Year	- Geogr&Environment - Lit. in English - Chemistry	- Teacher prompts the use of Kinyarwanda to explain fishing methods when she realizes that the students will not be able to explain in English - No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda²⁸ - Use of English-Kinyarwanda medium throughout the lesson for explanations scaffolding students' engagement with the tough content of the lesson
5 th Year	- Geogr&Environment - Microbiology - Physics	- No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda²⁹ - Use of English-Kinyarwanda medium throughout the lesson for explanations scaffolding students' engagement with the tough content of the lesson - Use of English-Kinyarwanda medium throughout the lesson for explanations proved to be a strong scaffold for the students' engagement with the tough content of the lesson
6 th Year	- French - Math	- Key grammar point explained in Kinyarwanda toward the end of the lesson - Use of English-Kinyarwanda medium throughout the lesson for explanations scaffolding students' engagement with the tough content of the lesson

As appears from this inventory, 5 lessons out of the 22 observed for the present study didn't explicitly show signs of the students' encouragement to use their skills developed in Kinyarwanda: These lessons mainly consisted of exposes of the topics of the day and the teachers were using English while students' participation in the lesson mainly consisted of short responses to the teachers' questions in English. Otherwise, encouragement of the use of listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda for "emergent scaffolding" occurred in practically all teacher-student talk in the classroom in virtually all the other lessons (viz. 11 lessons in "Mathematics & Science"; 7 in "Humanities"; and 4 in "Languages"). Even more, some of the lessons presented additional "emergent scaffolding opportunities" as elaborated next.

(3) "Emerging Scaffolding Actions" through Work Likely to Offer Opportunities for Home Language Skills Use

Apart from direct teacher-student talk in the lessons listed above, throughout the analysis of the 22 lessons observed for the present study, some activities (e.g.: group work and group presentations) were noticed in 4 lessons. These activities appeared to offer good opportunities for the students to use skills developed in Kinyarwanda, and hence; to support learning. In the following paragraphs, I consider these activities in turn.

Group Work:

²⁸ Same note

²⁹ Same note

Group work was observed in the following four lessons: Physics 1st Year (*Exercise on the application of Archimedes principle: Upthrust calculation*), Entrepreneurship 1st Year (*Exercise consisting in listing the advantages of saving money in a bank*), and History & Citizenship 2nd Year (*Topic of lesson: The Century of Enlightenment – A Period of Philosophers and Thinkers*)

In these lessons, the respective teachers gave their students an exercise to do in groups. Generally when students discussed in groups, they mainly used Kinyarwanda to exchange ideas and English to refer to technical terms as attested to by the following extract from an Entrepreneurship lesson in 1st Year about the advantages of saving money in a bank:

- T: OK. Good! In your group, you write the importance...
- S: Me teacher!
- S2: *Oya!* (= No!) (Note: The student who was asking to speak had not heard that the exercise is to be done in groups).
- T: In your group.
(Note: Students soon started lively discussions in groups. Those I could overhear in groups around me were speaking in Kinyarwanda. The teacher went from group to group. Near a group, he answers a question saying ...) *Eshatu!*

“*Eshatu*” means “three.” Most likely the teacher was answering in Kinyarwanda a student’s question posed in Kinyarwanda about the number of reasons they had to find for the importance of saving money in a bank. And in fact, in all lessons where work in groups was organized; teachers would go from group to group, to attend to one or the other question in the different groups; and they encouraged the students to use Kinyarwanda by using it themselves. And yet, when it came the time to report their work, the students were requested to speak in English as can be seen in the following extract.

- S: (Student writes the answer on the blackboard without speaking)
- T: (Reads the answer for him) Puts money in security. “Security of money. ... Why?”
- S: (Starts answering in Kinyarwanda) “*Iyo ubikije amafaranga yawe muri banki...*” (= When you put your money in a bank ...)
- T: You try in English. You try. ... If you put your money... ..
- S: If you put your money in security against fire and mismanagement (sic). *Iyo ubikije amafaranga yawe, ...* (= When you save your money...)

The lesson thus continues, students from different groups going in front of the class to speak about the importance of saving money in the bank in English and to translate in Kinyarwanda.

This kind of activity which allows for in-group discussion in Kinyarwanda and final report in English in the respective lessons can well be considered as an instance of “Emergent Scaffolding” action, because the students had an opportunity to use their listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda to reflect on the content of the lessons. In addition, the activity also proved to be a good opportunity for students to develop their skills in English as they reported their discussions in that language.

Group presentations:

Another activity which is fairly similar to the one above is “Group presentations.” It consists of assigning students different topics to research and present in class. These presentations were observed in English 3rd Year (*Different topics: among which “Achievements of the Government of Unity and Reconciliation” and “Dreams of Students in Adolescence”*); Literature in English 4th Year (*Presentation on authors such as Robert Bolt, an English playwright*); and History and Citizenship 1st Year (*Topics: International Humanitarian Rules; Human Rights*).

Prior to these lessons, students had prepared their presentations in their study period at home or at school as they found convenient to them. To research their topic, they had to read whatever they could find or tap any other source like asking more knowledgeable people. Then they had to discuss their findings among the members of their groups; and finally, to write a report on the topic. This report was used for presentation in the classroom.

Like in the previous kind of activity, students in these exercises often used Kinyarwanda to prepare their report and English to write it and present it. Again, planning for this kind of activity can be considered as a good example of “emergent scaffolding” action.

(4) Findings on Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding as Evidence of Translanguaging in the Context under Study

“Continuum of emergent scaffolding” was examined by identifying and commenting on teachers’ “scaffolding actions” in 22 lessons observed in this study. “Emergent Scaffolding Actions” were observed in virtually all levels of study and in at least 17 lessons; and some of them were realized through direct teacher-students talk, whereas others consisted in the general organization of some lessons.

With regard to direct teacher-student talk, teachers in practically all levels continually detected areas of difficulties in the course of their respective lessons and resorted to English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching to scaffold students' understanding of the subject content. And in this regard, it should be emphasized that “emergent scaffolding actions” were observed more in upper than lower levels of study; and also “Mathematics & Science” subject area of study seemed to resort to listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda more than other subject areas.

Concerning the general organization of some lessons on the other hand; also “group work” and “group presentations” appeared to be contributing to the “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” in the sense that in these kinds of activities, the students had an opportunity to draw on their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda to develop ideas on the content of the lessons, and to report on their discussions in English. In that sense, teachers scaffolded students' use of language to learn by organizing their lessons in a way to allow for the use of listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda for the purpose of learning.

4.2.2.2 Data on “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

The concept of “Developmental Use” stems from Williams' (2000, 2002) original idea that *Translanguaging* as a classroom practice may not be suitable in lower classes when the language level of the students is too low for input and output in the two languages. For Garcia (2009c), however, the idea that Translanguaging is not suitable for lower classes stems from a view that languages are learnt separately. As she asserts, ‘emergent bilinguals’ actually become bilingual in a dynamic process that involves different levels of proficiency in the two languages’ (Ibid. 2009c). Thus more concretely, the idea of “Developmental Use” is that *Translanguaging* is not only for students who have sufficient knowledge of the languages of input and output: It is also for those who are still developing knowledge in a new language; and one Translanguaging strategy employed by emergent bilinguals is to use the skills developed in their Home Language.

In the data collected for the present study, it appears clearly that *Translanguaging* is practiced in all levels of study and in all subject areas. (1) How “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging has been recognized in the data and (2) where it was recognized is discussed below.

(1) Recognizing Students' Developmental Use of Translanguaging

To investigate “Developmental Use” of *Translanguaging* in this Sub-section, some instances of students’ integrated use of the languages in their repertoire to make sense of the content of their lessons are identified; and the way in which they use the skills developed in their Home Language is documented with reference to different levels of study and different subjects respectively. The following extracts give an idea of how students use the skills developed in their Home Language for learning.

Extract 1: (From Physics 1st Year): In this lesson, one of the students has been following attentively the procedure to resolve a question about “the density of a metal cube in a liquid.” However, the answer to the problem intrigues him because of the “many zeros” in the answer. Without hesitation, he asks a question in Kinyarwanda and thus uses his speaking skills acquired in that language thus:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|--|---|
| (1) | S: | Teacher, <i>ayo mazeru abili?</i> | (= Teacher, those two zeros?) |
| | T: | What? | |
| (2) | S: | <i>Ayo mazeru ariho?</i> | (=Are those zeros part of the answer?) |
| | T: | <i>Aya mazeru? Aya ariho!</i> | (= These zeros? They are part of it!) |
| (3) | SS: | <i>Ariho! Ntayariho! Ariho! Ntayariho!</i> | (=They are part of it! They are not! They are! They are not!) |
| | T: | <i>Ariho.</i> | (= They are there.) |

As can be seen in this extract, the student’s question is in English-Kinyarwanda and it triggers a discussion involving the teacher, other students, and himself. Indeed, the whole class spontaneously use their speaking skills in Kinyarwanda to discuss the question; and the teacher ends the discussion by giving the answer in Kinyarwanda. In allowing the discussion to go on in Kinyarwanda until agreement on the issue raised is reached, he encourages the students to use their listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda; which they willingly do until the teacher puts an end to doubts about the answer which had triggered the discussion.

Extract 2: (From Physics 1st Year): In the following extract, another student asks another question in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, and the teacher answers in Kinyarwanda-English.

- S: *Hariya buriya centimeter tuyikoresheje, hari ikibazo?*

(= I wonder there, would it be a problem if we used the “centimeter” there?)

- T: *Ngo hari ikibazo? Haaaa ! Ikibazo se kidahari? Nonese international system unit tuzi... ya length tuzi ko ari nyinshi. Wowe ugumisha muri centimeter byagenze gute ubwo? Ibyo simpora mbibabwira?*
(= You are asking whether it could be a problem? How couldn't it be a problem? Tell me, the international units system of length, we know they are many. How come you keep the same unit? Don't I tell you this all the time?)

Here, as this extract shows, the student gets an answer to his question in English-Kinyarwanda. If he hadn't asked his question freely the way he did, he probably would not have gotten an answer to his question since many, as will be seen later, rather prefer to keep silent and abandon the idea of asking a question. In other words, this student (and his classmates) appears to gain much from his use of Kinyarwanda in terms of learning. Hence, this episode can be considered as an instance of “developmental use” of listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda.

Another example is from **Mathematics 3rd Year** as represented in the extract below

- T: That one we have, we have 12. OK, zero, five, three ... that one, we have 135. In that you have 45. So *kiraza hano kuba iki?* (= So here what will the answer be?)
S: *Magana abiri na makumyabiri na karindwi.* (= Two hundred twenty seven)
T: *Turebe ibyo akora ...* (= Let's see what he is doing ...)
Mister, AE *wabonye ko ingana n'icumi?* (=Mister, you found that AE equals ten?)
S: *Cumi na gatandatu.* (= sixteen)
T: *Niba tuvuze ngo AE, wabonye ko ingana n'icumi? ... Niba tuvuze ngo AE, hano hari icumi? Ubu hano hari cumi na gatandatu. Icumi guteranyaho cumi na gatandatu ni kangahe ?*
(= If we say that AE, you found that it is equal to ten?... if we say that AE, here we have ten? This means there is sixteen here. Ten plus sixteen equals ...?...

In this lesson, the class is doing exercises on “similar triangles”; and generally, the medium of communication is Kinyarwanda-English. As a result, the whole class is involved in doing the exercises; and the teacher and his students are freely using Kinyarwanda and English, to the extent that whole stretches of explanations in Kinyarwanda like the one in the above extract are frequent. In the end, what seems to result from this is that, with all the participants in the class freely using their listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda, the lesson becomes lively and intense with teacher-students and students-students communication of the lesson content in the classroom talk. From the fact that exchange on the content of the lesson intensifies with the students' use of Kinyarwanda and English, it would be right to speculate that the lesson

is a case of educational development with regard to subject content; and that the teacher has created a context of students' "Developmental use" of their skills developed in Kinyarwanda, (their Home Language) for learning.

These examples as hitherto discussed were from O' Level and they are not exhaustive. Other similar ones are found in A' Level and, like in O' Level; they show that listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda are widely used for Subject Content Knowledge Development.

Extract 3: Following is an example from **Physics 5th Year**.

T: *Ni yo mpamvu rero nababwiye nti Grook's law ibaho iyo stress izaba ari proportional n'iki?... na strain. icyo gihe bikatugeza ku kintu bita constant of proportionality; bikatugeza ku kintu bita elastic modulus.*

(=So that is why I told you that Grook's law applies when stress is proportional to what?... to strain. In that case this will lead us to something called "constant of proportionality"; which will take us to something called "elastic modulus."

S: *Ikintu bita iki? (= Something called what?)*

T: Elastic modulus. *Icyo gihe Grook's law yubahirizwa he? Ahangaha! Kimwe no kuri ya spring nababwiraga. Ugafata elastic ukayikurura; igihe izaba ikigaruka igafata ino size, icyo gihe Grook's law izaba igize gute? Yubahirijwe. Igihe uzakurura ugasanga hiyongereyeho... n'iyi haba hiyongereyeho one millimeter; icyo gihe Grook's law ntabwo izaba yubahirijwe. Kuko icyo gihe applied force izaba atari proportional to the...*

(= Elastic modulus. In that case Grook's law is observed where? Here! The same thing with that spring I told you about. You take some elastic thing and you pull it. As long as it will come back to this size, then Grook's law will have been what? ... Observed! When you pull it and see that something has added to it... even one millimeter; in that case Grook's law will not have been observed. Because in that case applied force will not be proportional to the...)

S: The strain.

In this extract, the lesson is about complex notions in the "Theory of Matter" and more specifically the teacher is explaining the notions of "elasticity," "Grook's Law," and "elastic modulus." As appears clearly, these are not easy notions to explain (and to understand), but the fact of resorting to the students' listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda seems to help the students to understand them. In fact, as long as the class is using their skills developed in Kinyarwanda, the lesson seems to go smoothly despite the tough nature of the topic of the lesson.

Other examples from **Chemistry 4th Year, Microbiology 5th Year, Mathematics 6th Year** in which teachers and students use their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda can be cited as facilitating Subject Content Knowledge Development. However, it is to be recognized that as soon as the teacher abandons the use of these listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda, communication becomes difficult as in the following extract.

- T: Elastic modulus, ... *Mwafashe bike zanyu?* (Have you taken your pens?) All deformations of a body, whether stretched, ...
- SSS: lllll??? (Student asking the teacher to repeat)
- T: Whether stretched, compressed, bent,
- SSS ...bent? (Some students: “be...?” showing that they can’t hear and write the word because they don’t understand).
- T: *Nonese ibingibi mushyire muri* past participle (So what, put this in past participle); ... bent, or twisted, (Again students repeat: “twis...” “twi...”)
- T: *Nonese iyo ishati yawe uba wayifuze iyo uri kuyikamura ntuyitwistinga? Muzafura amashati yanyu; muzabibona mugiyeye kuyakamura... Donc, si byo? ... Si byo?* Deformations *zose* (: *wagikurura, wagicompresinga, wakibendinga, cyangwa se usa n’ushaka kukivuna; wagitwistinga*; ...) can be regarded as ... (So what, when you wash your shirt, and squeeze out the water from them, don’t you twist them?)
- S: can be ...?
- T: regarded as consisting of one or more of these basic strains ...
- SS: Inh? *Ntabwo twabi...! Konsistingi?* ... (Inh? We haven’t ... ! consisting?)
- T: ... for many materials, experiments show that; provided that elastic limit is not exceeded.
- S: provided that...?
- T: provided that elastic limit is not exceeded.

In this extract, the teacher is trying to have the students write down a sentence about “elastic modulus” in their notebook after having explained the notions of “elasticity,” “Hooke’s Law,” and “elastic modulus.” However, it proves very difficult for the students to write down the dictation, or even to understand what the teacher is dictating in English in spite of the fact that the dictation is about the things they had been discussing in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching a few minutes before.

In other words, as long as the lesson is being conducted in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching, everything seems to be clear. However, when communication about the lesson content in English is attempted, problems arise. This might be signaling some kind of imbalance between Subject

Content Knowledge Development and Language Competence Development, and suggesting that students still need much of their skills developed in Kinyarwanda; that in fact they still need much help from their teachers in line with the principles of “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging.

In the following sub-section, this point is illustrated further through a summary overview of some instances of “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging in the lessons observed in the present study.

(2) Locating Developmental Use of Translanguaging in the Data

“Developmental Use of Translanguaging” was observed in practically all lessons both in O’ Level and A’ Level; and in all grades from 1st Year to 6th Year. The following inventory gives an idea of different instances of Developmental Use.

Table 15: Instances of Developmental Use in Lessons Observed

<i>Level of Study</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Developmental Use of Translanguaging Observed</i>
1 st Year	- Physics	-At least four times in this lesson, students use Kinyarwanda to ask questions and obtain explanations in that language. They are thus using their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda to develop their Subject Content Knowledge.
	- Mathematics	- Students using listening skills when the teacher uses Kinyarwanda on certain points deemed difficult to grasp.
	- Entrepreneurship	- Students work in groups using Kinyarwanda to discuss content to be presented in English and thereafter translated in Kinyarwanda. They are thus using listening and speaking skills developed in that language to learn subject content in English.
	- Hist&Citizenship (1)	- Students translate key vocabulary orally from English to Kinyarwanda and thus they use their listening and speaking skills to learn subject content
	- Hist&Citizenship (2)	- No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda ³⁰
2 nd Year	- Mathematics	- Listening skills developed in Kinyarwanda are used when the Teacher explains in Kinyarwanda some points deemed difficult to grasp
	- Mathematics	- Listening skills used when Teacher comments in Kinyarwanda to help the students on the blackboard to do the exercises
	- Hist&Citizensh	- No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda ³¹
	- Kiswahili	- Listening skills developed in Kinyarwanda used toward the end of lesson when the teacher uses Kinyarwanda to explain some grammar points
3 rd Year	- Mathematics	- Students using listening skills developed in Kinyarwanda because the class uses English-Kinyarwanda codeswitching throughout the whole lesson.

³⁰ In these lessons, students in groups presented topics prepared before coming to class. In the process of preparing these presentations, they use Kinyarwanda for communication and English for technical terms.

³¹ Same note

	- Mathematics - Biology - English	- Limited use of listening skills developed in Kinyarwanda as the teacher uses it on only two key points toward the end of the lesson - No apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda (Virtually English only) - Students using Kinyarwanda to discuss content in groups while preparing for presentations, thus using listening and speaking skills developed in that language to learn subject content.
4 th Year	- Chemistry - Geogr&Environment - Lit. in English	- Use of speaking and listening skills throughout the lesson as English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching is used as the medium from beginning of lesson to the end - Speaking and listening skills developed in Kinyarwanda used toward the end of the lesson to explain how “handline fishing method” works. - No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda³²
5 th Year	- Microbiology - Physics - Geogr&Environment	- Use of listening and speaking skills as English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching is the medium of communication used throughout the lesson - Use of listening and speaking skills as English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching is the medium of communication used throughout the lesson - No directly apparent use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda³³
6 th Year	- French - Math	- Listening skills developed in Kinyarwanda used toward the end of the lesson when the Teacher uses Kinyarwanda to explain some grammar points - Use of listening and speaking skills as English-Kinyarwanda is the medium of communication used throughout the lesson

This inventory has been made by observing both teachers’ and students’ actions such as explanations, discussions, questions, etc. which appeal to the students’ skills developed in Kinyarwanda. They testify to the fact that students make use of these skills quite often and that through these actions, they might be practicing Translanguaging.

It is noteworthy that the lessons in which these actions were identified mainly are from “Mathematics & Science” area of study; which confirms that this area of study resorts to the practice of Translanguaging more than both the “Humanities” and the “Languages” area of study.

(3) “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging as Observed in Particular Classroom Activities

Entrepreneurship in the 1st Year: This lesson used the method of “work in groups.” In these groups, the activity consisted in reflecting on the importance of saving money in a bank; writing a small report in English; reading the report to the class; and eventually, answering one or two questions from the teacher. The identified “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging consists in

³² Same note

³³ Same note

the resulting lively discussions which involved listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda.

Potentially, the use of these skills allowed for an understanding of the subject being studied. Furthermore, since students reported back to the class in English and systematically translated the same content in Kinyarwanda; this exercise is likely to develop not only Subject Content Knowledge, but also listening and speaking skills in English and Kinyarwanda.

History and Citizenship lesson in 2nd Year: The same can be said about “group work” in this lesson, though to a lesser degree because this exercise doesn’t involve presentation in front of the class. Like in the preceding case, however, lively talks in Kinyarwanda interspersed with some words in English related to the “Century of Enlightenment” were held in these groups. Then, throughout the teacher’s expose of his lesson on the above subject, he would ask students from the different groups to answer questions in English, on the basis of what they had been discussing in their groups. In this way, the students had an opportunity to use their listening and speaking skill in Kinyarwanda to learn the content of the lesson and to develop listening and speaking skills in English.

Mathematics 3rd Year: “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” in this lesson occurred through exercises done on the blackboard on “Similar Triangles.” These exercises were done on the blackboard by designated students in turn while the teacher accompanied them with guidance and explanations in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. Meanwhile, the rest of the class followed the exercises on the blackboard and the intense explanations by the teacher.

What appears to constitute “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” in this conduct of the lesson is that, as the teacher’s consistently used of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching which involved listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda, he *ipso facto* put the students in a situation which allows them to take advantage of their listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda, their Home Language. Furthermore, the teacher’s simultaneous use of English and Kinyarwanda enabled the students to do and/or follow the exercises successfully, and to participate in the lively discussions of issues arising from these exercises, using their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda through the Kinyarwanda-English medium.

Chemistry 4th Year: This lesson which focused on the topic of “Complex Ions” was realized through explanations and answers to students’ questions from the beginning to the end of the lesson. It features “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” in the sense that the teacher consistently used Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching to explain content and answer students’ questions; and thus, students had an opportunity to use their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda to make sense of the content of the lesson. Indeed, what shows that these skills developed in Kinyarwanda benefitted the students is that, whereas they seemed to be uncomfortable with the tough content of the topic of “Complex Ions” at the beginning of the lesson; the students appeared to be more relaxed and involved toward the end of the lesson using Kinyarwanda-English medium, following the example of the teacher who had been using it herself all through the lesson.

Geography and Environment 5th Year: This lesson is the kind of lesson in which the students take the center stage to present different topics in groups (“group presentations.”). In the present case, the students had prepared different topics; and two of these, namely: “Causes of Famine in Africa” and “Gender Equality” were presented in groups. It is noteworthy that students had organized themselves as they felt convenient to them for the preparation of these topics before class; and, like in the case of “group work” they normally conduct discussions in Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching and write the report in English. Opportunity for “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” thus consisted in using listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda to develop content to be delivered in class in English.

(4) “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging: Evidence by Default

Physics 1st Year: In this lesson, the teacher calls for students to answer a question. A student ardently raises his hand, and when appointed to answer, he goes to the blackboard and silently writes a figure and goes back to sit.

In **Mathematics Senior 2** too, the teacher asks a student to do an exercise on “Translations of an Image” and once designated to answer, the student simply goes to the blackboard, starts the calculations silently, and very quickly finishes the exercise; correctly but without uttering a word.

Mathematics 6th Year: This lesson consisted in doing exercises to “Compare Corresponding Coefficients.” What makes this lesson interesting in terms of “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” is that students who were sent to the blackboard to do the exercises in front of classmates and the teacher were required to demonstrate understanding of the Mathematics problem to be solved and to explain it. However, as they tried to do the exercises and explain in English, they seemed not to find words as they tried to explain what they were doing in English only, though many were working correctly on the exercise. This is the phenomenon shown in the following extract:

- T: The next thing we are going to do... we are going to work out brackets.
(Teacher sends a student to the blackboard; the latter goes to the blackboard and works silently)
- T: *Ko ucecetse se?* (=Why are you silent?). You have to express yourself. *Jya uvuga ndakora iki ndakora iki. Ukora ucecetse se twamenya ukora iki?*

What the teacher is expressing in Kinyarwanda is an encouragement to the student to explain while doing the exercise on the blackboard, but apparently he can't do it and the teacher admonishes: “*Jya uvuga ndakora iki ndakora iki. Ukora ucecetse se twamenya ukora iki?* (=You need to say “I am doing this, I am doing this. If you keep silent while working, how can we know what you are doing?). However, as the student seems to be persistently trying to do it in English only, he only mumbles the explanations in English in a low and inaudible voice until the teacher resolves to let him work and accompany him with her own explanations.

Other occasions where students didn't speak while they were expected to express themselves have been noticed mostly in lessons where they were required to do exercises on the blackboard; and these lessons are mainly in “Mathematics and science” area of study. Quite to the contrary, this problem doesn't seem to be a big issue in the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study lessons. Indeed, the problem the students encounter in such lessons is not so much to be unable to say something, but rather, to give a wrong answer. In other words, whereas “Mathematics and Science” students in the present study might understand the question to solve an exercise; they are often short of words in English to explain what they are doing. On the contrary, in these areas of study, the students might be giving the wrong answer, but still find words to express it even if

they might make mistakes in English. It seems, therefore, as though the big problem in “Mathematics and Science” lessons is that of “metacognitive” use of language.

(5) Findings on “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

“Developmental Use of Translanguaging” was examined by identifying and commenting on instances of students’ use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda, their home language. Generally, such instances abound in all levels of study and in all subject areas; but “Mathematics and Science” area of study seems to use skills developed in Kinyarwanda more than the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study; and when there is failure to use these skills, most likely difficulties of expression arise, especially when it comes the time to use metalanguage for explaining the process of doing exercises in subjects such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, etc. Furthermore, even though “developmental Use” of language was observed in all levels of study from 1st year to 6th year; higher levels students seem to resort to it more than lower levels students.

4.2.3 Data on Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring

As proposed in this study, “Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring” comprises two concepts related to Translanguaging, namely: *“Input and Output: Variations”* and *“Teacher-le/Pupil-led Translanguaging”*. In the data collected for this study, “Language Integration Planning” and “Activities Structuring” were found to be applied minimally as elaborated below.

4.2.3.1 “Input and Output: Variations” as Evidence of Translanguaging in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

In the context of Wales where the concept originated from, *Translanguaging* referred to the process of learning in which input would be in one language (e.g. English) and output in another language (e.g. Welsh) (Lewis et al. 2012). However, depending on teachers’ and students’ creativity, variations of this pattern may be imagined. Among such variations as Garcia & Kleifgen (2012) observed, there are, for example; simultaneous presentation of a text in the

students' Home Language and in English and teacher-students discussions in Home Language, but writing in both Home Language and English and final copy in English.

In the data collected for the present study similarly, there seem to be, a considerable number of Translanguaging actions defining different input/output patterns, changing depending on the different lessons, and even within the same lesson. In this sub-section, the focus is on identifying these “Input and Output Patterns” as discerned in the 22 lessons observed for the present study; and determining who initiates the changes of the language of input/output when it occurs.

(1) Input and Output Patterns Observed in the Data

For the purpose of this analysis, “input” is identified in the lessons observed by considering the language in which teachers deliver the content of their lessons; pose questions to the students and give feedback to the students' answers or other participation in the lessons; give instructions for the organization of work in the lessons; or rebuke or reprimand the students who don't abide by the conduct of the lesson. “Input” in this sense is defined in terms of anything which is said by the teacher to the students in the classroom.

On the other hand, “output” refers to the language in which students react to the content of the lesson (e.g.: Asking questions of clarification); answer teachers' questions; or respond to the teachers' instructions for the organization of the work, to their feedback, or to their reprimands. “Output” in this sense is manifested in anything that is said by the students in the context of participating in the lesson. Following are some examples to show the “language(s)” of “input” and “output” in different **subject areas** and in different **levels of study**.

(a) INPUT and OUTPUT in “Mathematics and Science” Subjects in O' Level: The first observation which comes out of an analysis of the corpora collected in “Mathematics and Science” lessons is that in most cases teachers start their lessons by informing on the general orientation of the lesson; and this is often done **in English**. This appears for example in **Physics S1**. Even though the teacher takes a very short time for the introduction, he briefly reminds the students about the Archimedes Principle, briefs them on the exercise to be done **in English**; and

then directly after; he uses **English-Kinyarwanda** to urge the students to start work. This results in the teacher's talk like the following:

T: OK? Means that the density is the upthrust over volume times acceleration. Quickly! (Students start working). Quickly! Quickly! Quickly! '*Mugire vuba vuba dukore n'ibindi* (=Work quickly so as for us to do other things too)! *Mugire vuba vuba tugende! Byarangiye?* (= Work quickly so that we can go! Finished?)

(Students do the exercise in small groups. I can overhear some around me, all speaking in Kinyarwanda)

Submit! ... Quickly! '*Rangiza iya mbere yonyine* (=Finish only the first one).

It is noteworthy that as the students work, they discuss in **Kinyarwanda**. The INPUT/OUTPUT pattern here therefore is defined by the fact that students receive input from the teacher in **English** and **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching while they mainly participate to the lesson in **Kinyarwanda**. So the pattern observed here is *English and English-Kinyarwanda (Input) and Kinyarwanda (Output)*.

In **Mathematics S1** too, the teacher uses a combination of two languages (English and Kinyarwanda) as in the following extract:

T: OK, let me hope that the homework that I gave you ...; before we start ... you did it?

SSS: Yes.

T: Let us try to check. (Silence while Teacher looks at some of the students' books)! OK! We are checking this. (After a while, the teacher expresses satisfaction)

You tried! *Mwaragerageje, mwarakoze!* (= You tried, I thank you)

SSS: (Speaking at the same time) Yes!

T: Number 1, *mwabonye iki?* (= Number 1, what did you find?)

SS: (A few students speaking at the same time) c ... b

T: Number 1. Arrange the integer setting of number ... in ascending order. In ascending order; *bishatse gusobanura iki?* (=What does it mean?) OK! You can try that. (Teacher sends one student to the blackboard).

Here the teacher uses two languages in the first few minutes: **English** to remind about the homework and to announce the coming activity (to check whether the homework was done); and **Kinyarwanda** to give feedback after checking the work (*Mwaragerageje, mwarakoze* = You

tried, I thank you!). Then, as if to achieve two aims simultaneously (i.e.: To enter into the direct business of the lesson and to call for students' involvement); he uses **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching to start the lesson (Number 1 *mwabonye iki?* = Number 1, what answer did you find?) and to explain a key term: “ascending order” (*Bishatse gusobanura iki?* = what does it mean?). In this regard, the teacher's input is multilingual as he navigates between **English**, **Kinyarwanda**, and **English-Kinyarwanda**.

As for the student's participation or OUTPUT, it seems to come out mainly through **Kinyarwanda** or **Kinyarwanda-English** or still in a limited way, through chorus repetition of phrases in **English** as in the following example:

- T: Number 2. Illustrate each of the following sets of numbers?
(Teacher suspends the sentence for the students to complete)
- SSS: On the number line!!!
- T: Eh! ... Number ... number line. *Bishatse gusobanura iki? Bishatse gusobanura iki? Reka mbyoroshye! Mbwira mu Kinyarwanda!* (= What does it mean? What does it mean? Let me make it simple! Tell me in Kinyarwanda) Illustrate... illustrate each of the following sets of numbers on the number line!
- S: *Shyira imibare iri hasi ... ku m....* (Student translates literally and his rendition of the sentence becomes: “Put the numbers which are down ... on ...)
- T: Inh?
- S': *Shyira imibare ku rutonde.* (= Put the numbers on a list)
- S: *Shyira imibare iri hasi ku murongo.* (= Put the numbers below on a line)

Here, the students are prompted to repeat “On the number line” and then asked to say what the question is all about in Kinyarwanda. It appears then that whereas the input is mediated through **English**, **Kinyarwanda**, and **English-Kinyarwanda**, the students' output or participation is mainly in **Kinyarwanda**.

A slightly different pattern consisting of using **English** only to introduce the content of the lesson and **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching to conduct the whole lesson obtains in Mathematics Senior 3. In this lesson, the teacher elaborates on the theorem and principles about “Similar Triangles” in **English**, and after a period of about 10 minutes invites the students to do

the exercise in **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching and uses this composite medium throughout the whole lesson as in the following extract:

T: We have a postulate and two theorems. Among the theorems and a postulate that we have, which one can be used there? *Tugendeye kuri postulate dufite na teworeme dufite, ni iki kiri bukoreshwe hariya?* First of all, before solving the question, you have to know *ndakoresha iki? mu byo namaze,... mu byo twize ni iki ndi bukoresha? Kandi* it is in what we have just studied.

(=..... ? If we use the postulate we have and the theorem we have, which are we going to use? First of all, before solving the question, you have to know: “what am I going to use? Of all I have, of all the thing we studied what am I going to use? And it is what we have just studied.)

On the other hand, the students’ participation rather takes time to come. Thus, the students who work on the blackboard have difficulties trying to speak in English. However, as the teacher persistently uses **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching the students’ general participation gradually increases; and responses in **Kinyarwanda** such as: “*Magana abiri na makumyabiri na karindwi,*” “*cumi na gatandatu,*” “*Twibeshye,*” “*N’umunani,*” “*hari igisubizo nagerageje*” etc. abound in the second part of the lesson which by now had become lively. The pattern in this lesson is thus Input in **English** and **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching and Output in **Kinyarwanda**.

Overall, as appears from these examples, the respective teachers in O’ Level start the lesson in **English** in order to give the orientation of the lesson. Then when it comes the time to explain the content or to tell the students what THEY must do to participate in the lesson, the tendency is to use **English** and **Kinyarwanda** or **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching. Two exceptions, however, are observed in Biology S3 and Mathematics S3 where the lessons seem to resort to Kinyarwanda minimally. Indeed, only a few words in Biology S3 are translated into Kinyarwanda (white blood cells = *abasirikari b’umubiri*) and a few short comments in Kinyarwanda at the end of Mathematics S3 are made.

What seems to be particular about these two lessons as compared to all the others is that they are strictly focused on delivery of factual information (“Movement of Materials in and out of the Cell” in Biology, and “Tangent to the Circle” in Mathematics), whereas the other lessons either consisted exclusively in exercises; or included both factual information and application of the

information through exercises. The input/output pattern in these lessons is thus **English/English** almost completely, and thus, these lessons are instances of minimal use of *Translanguaging*.

(b) INPUT and OUTPUT in “Mathematics and Science” Subjects in A’ Level: In considering the language of input in “Mathematics and Science” subjects in A’ Level, the first example is drawn from the very first moments of a lesson in Chemistry S4. As appears from the first two paragraphs of the transcript, the language of input is **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching. Indeed, while mainly using English, the teacher systematically also uses Kinyarwanda in a most natural way as in the following extract:

T: What do you understand by “complex ion”? Mmhu? ... *Ni iki?* (= What is it?)
Complex ion, what is it? (Reaction from students takes time to come, and the teacher says ...)

... Look! this is a complex ion. It is a transition metal...., non transition *se ni iyihe?* (= So which is non transition ion?) Transition element ... becomes a complex ion in a transition (...?...) *iri* (=is) surrounded *cyangwa iri* (= or is) attached by other molecules *cyangwa* (=or) compounds. *Izo* (= those) compounds they are specifically called the ligands.

And as the lesson progresses, she continues with English but uses more and more Kinyarwanda naturally; so that it finally appears as though the same single language she is using is **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching.

This, however, doesn’t seem to influence the students’ OUTPUT much since they seem to be persistently using mainly Kinyarwanda as the following extract shows:

T: ...We don’t see the English names, but the Latin names... *Hari* (=there are) some rules *zanditse* (= which are written) you have to follow before naming a certain kind of complex ion. *Si byo?* (=isn’t it?)...you look some examples how do we name some complex ions. *Izo* = those) rules *ntabwo muzizi?* (=you don’t know them?)

S: *Turazizi ariko ntabwo tuzisobanukiwe.* (= We know them but we don’t understand them)

S: *Ntabwo zisobanutse!* (= They are not clear)

As can be seen in this extract, the teacher is still using English-Kinyarwanda for input. However, as if the students are only attentive to input in Kinyarwanda, their answers are mainly in Kinyarwanda and, though they have earlier been responding in English, their answers have

consisted mainly in one or two words (e.g.: “Four,” “minus one,” “minus 2,” “two,” “molecule,” “a ligand,” “sodium chloride” etc.). Thus, for the most part of the lesson, they seem to be empowered to express themselves only in Kinyarwanda; and it is only at the end of the lesson that they start to use Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching as well, so that a discussion like the following has become possible:

- T: *Ubwo* (=In that case) you have to indicate the oxidation status...
- SS: (Many students speaking at the same time in Kinyarwanda, but the voice of one of them goes up as he says:)
- S: *Ntabwo bashyiraho* (= They don’t put) oxidation status... *izo* (= those) latin names *ntabwo bashyiraho ntuza* (=they don’t put what...) ...*ntabwo bashyiraho* (= They don’t put) oxidation status...
- T: (...?...) *mu mategeko birahari mu kunemunga* (=... in the rules about naming it is written) complex.
- S: Oxidation status *ntijyamo* (= is not put)
- T: *Ntijyamo? Nta na rimwe itajyamo!* (= It is not put? It is always put!)

From this extract, it appears clearly that the students are communicating more fluently now, and the “medium of communication” has shifted from English or Kinyarwanda to Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. In other words, considering that they have been receiving INPUT in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching; it would be difficult to say that the INPUT is in English or in Kinyarwanda or that the OUTPUT is in Kinyarwanda or English: Rather, the INPUT/OUTPUT pattern of the lesson appears to be English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English. Thus, to differing degrees, both the INPUT and the OUTPUT in this lesson have become an integrated use of **English** and **Kinyarwanda**.

A similar remark about the language of input can be made about another lesson (**Mathematics S6**) from looking at the following extract.

- T:When you say coefficient; the coefficients are factors of a variable. OK? ...*Ni ukuvuga ahangaha* (=this means here) the coefficient. *Izi* (=these) factors *z’iriya* (=of that) variable. *Ziriya* (=these) variables *zigiye zigira* (=have each) x power 0; and you know that a variable power 0 equals ...*wa?* ...one. OK? Then you are going to compare the corresponding coefficients, ... , it means that the the the ... variables *ntabwo zitandukanye* (= are not separate). *Sibyo?* (= Isn’t it?) We compare the coefficients. Meaning that the coefficient a is ...

As can be seen in this extract, like in the preceding lesson, the teacher’s talk seems to draw freely on both English and Kinyarwanda, and her INPUT has thus integrated the two languages from

the beginning of the lesson throughout the end. Similarly, from the point of view of OUTPUT, the process has been the one in which students' output which had been marked by silence, mumbled answers in English, or merely one or two word responses to the teacher's prompts in English (e.g.: "minus b," "is one," "one," "equation" etc) has turned into a fluent and expressive Kinyarwanda-English language towards the end of the lesson as in the following extract:

- T: *Iyo* (=that) minus a, *na* (=and) minus two *iraba ifite iyihe* (=will have which value?) value ... (?).
- S: Eh! *Ahubwo nari nibeshye! Ubwo a iraba ingana na* negative two; *kubera ko* ... (?) (=Rather I was mistaken! This means "a" will be equal to negative two; because...) ... *na* negative one. A equal two.
- T: Equal minus two.

Indeed, as can be seen in this extract, teacher-student talk in Kinyarwanda-English has little by little replaced the students' limited expression in English as the lesson progressed albeit still timidly. In this lesson, therefore, with the students beginning to bring their contribution in **English-Kinyarwanda**, INPUT/OUTPUT pattern has turned from **English-Kinyarwanda** input and "limited" **English** output to **English-Kinyarwanda** input and **Kinyarwanda-English** output.

Finally, perhaps an even clearer example of this shift to English-Kinyarwanda input and Kinyarwanda-English output is Physics S5 which powerfully uses more Kinyarwanda than English as illustrated in the following extract.

- T: [...] I think "theory of matter" *twarayitangiye; Si byo?* (=we started it; right?)
- SS: llllll.
- T: All substance ... all matter is made of small particles under the form of molecules(?). *Siko twabibonye?* (=Isn't it what we saw?) ..(?)... the assumption of alternative theory....?.... *Na none kandi twabonye ko* (=also we saw that) matter ... there exist three sta.... three states. *Twabonye iki?* (=What did we see?)
- T&SS: Solid, liquid, and gaz.
- T: [...] *twabonye* (= we saw) Solid, liquid, gaz. *Ariko ahangaha nababwiye ko harimo mu ya kabiri;* (= but here I told you that in the second one there is) plasma,... either way change particle *cyangwa se* (=either) protons *cyangwa se* (=or) neutrons. *Twarabyize. Si byo?* (=We studied that. Isn't it?)
- SS: Yes.

- T: *Ahangaha kandi narababwiye nti: (=And here, I also told you :).forces uko zigenda zihinduka (=forces as they change) temperature igenda igira ite? (=progressively does what?... ahangaha temperature igenda igabanuka, ariko twajya (... ?...) temperature ikagira gute? (=here temperature progressively decreases, but when we go (...? ...) temperature does what?*
- SS: *Ikiyongera. (= decreases)*

In this extract, the teacher is engaged in delivering the content, using **Kinyarwanda** and **English** freely; and visibly; judging from the students' responses; the information is going through efficiently because of the language of INPUT which is **Kinyarwanda-English**. Consequently, the students also adopt the same language as the language of OUTPUT as can be seen in the following extract:

- T: *Ibintu bita strain.... ni extension over original ... twabonye ko over ... iyinyiyi rero urabona ko ari tugasigarana ...*
- S: *Zero.*
- T: *Oya ntabwo ari zero, ni ikintu kitagira unit.*
- S: *Nonese twamenya ari igiki?*
- S: *Tuzakivumbura rero? Tuzakivumbura rero!*
- T: *Ni ikintu kitagira unit.*
- S: *Tuzakivumbura!*
- T: *Nonese, reka nkubwire. iyo nanditse gatanu, si byo ? Nkongera nkandika five kilograms; nkongera nkandika five meter; nkongera nkandika five ampere; nkongera nkandika 5 joule; iki ni iki? muri Physics, ikintu kitagira unit, gishobora kuba ari constant, constant harimo izigira unit, hari n'izitagira iki?*
- SS: *unit.*
- T: *Ariko ikingiki akwandikiye gatanu muri Physics nta unit.... . Birumvikanye?*

Visibly, the students in this extract are uninhibitedly interacting with the teacher through Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, and in fact; save for the technical words which have no equivalents in Kinyarwanda; the lesson can well be efficiently conducted in Kinyarwanda; but, because of the technical terms in English, the language of output turns out to be Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching.

Put briefly then, this lesson adds to the other ones observed in “Mathematics and Science” to confirm that the INPUT/OUTPUT language pattern prevalent in that area of study is **English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English** Codeswitching (and **Kinyarwanda-English/Kinyarwanda-English** in some cases) with the A' Level students tending to **integrate**

Kinyarwanda and English more than the O' Level students do. On this note, what might be the case in "Humanities subjects" is examined next.

(c) **INPUT and OUTPUT in "Humanities" Subjects in O' Level:** Pursuant to the observation that the languages of INPUT/OUTPUT tend to be integrated **English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English** Codeswitching in the "Mathematics and Science" subject area, lessons observed in the "Humanities" subject area rather tend to diverge from this pattern. In a bid to ascertain this claim, the transcript of **Entrepreneurship S5** is examined first.

In the lesson of **Entrepreneurship S5** from which the extract below is taken; the teacher had used **English** to introduce examples of "cash-flow statements." Then she had asked a student to read one of the examples, provided explanations of the focus of the exercises, and sent a student to the blackboard still using English. When the student started working, however, she saw that he had problems explaining in English what he was doing and, while trying to help, she realized that English which had hitherto been used had to be supplemented by **Kinyarwanda**. Thus sentences like "Write the answer ... only. ... July *mwari mwayishize hehe ariko?*" (= Where had you put July?) are heard in her talk, and explanations like in the following extract are provided:

- S: (Works on the blackboard without speaking)
T: No! ... for ... the cash inflow! OK. Cash! ... Who can finish for the balance of the month of July? ... Sales per month: *Ni iyi* ... five million ... per month! *Ni ukuvuga ngo amafaranga buri kwezi ... afite; angana na miliyoni eshanu. Ni yo mpamvu dukomeza kwandika ahangaha miliyoni eshanu...*

As can be seen in this extract, the language of INPUT is not only English which has been used for factual information at the beginning of the lesson; it is also Kinyarwanda combined with English, and thus; the language of INPUT varies between **English** and **English-Kinyarwanda** Codeswitching.

On the other hand, the language of OUTPUT was expected to be **English**, and indeed it is, as attested to by short answers to the teacher's questions like "it is ten million," "there is July," "rental," "interest on loan" etc. However, when the students go to the blackboard for exercises, they almost invariably work without speaking; and when they need to ask a specific question or to make a comment, they use **Kinyarwanda or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching** (e.g.:

“Interest on loan *ntabwo ijyaho?*= Shouldn’t interest on loan included?). In other words, like in the case of input, the language of OUTPUT varies between **English** and **English-Kinyarwanda**.

In the other lessons in the “Humanities” subject area, however, some **Kinyarwanda** is used as well; but the language of input by the teacher is steadily **English**. For this argument, the first extract examined is from **Entrepreneurship S1**.

- T: OK. Good. And in your group; you write the importance ... What is the importance of saving money? ...
- S: Me teacher!
- S: *Oya!* (= No!)
- T: In your groups!
- Note:** Students have lively discussions in groups. Those I can hear near me are speaking in Kinyarwanda.
- T: Walks around from group to group. Near a group he says: “*eshatu*” (= three)... (Then to everybody): “I give you ten minutes” (After a while): “five minutes.”

In this extract, the word “*oya*” (=No) is uttered by a student, and the word “*eshatu*” is said by the teacher addressing one of the groups in discussions because they are held in Kinyarwanda. Otherwise, the language the teacher uses to give instructions to the students is English. Even in the remainder of the lesson, he doesn’t say anything in Kinyarwanda. In other words, the input from the teacher is in **English**. Similarly, in another lesson from **History & Citizenship Senior 2**, the pattern of input is as shown in the following extract.

- T: *Mujye mu magroupe.*
So now it is our new part of course, “History of North America and Europe in 19th Century.”
- SS: Yes.
- T: “The century of enlightenme... enlightenment.” And I want all groups ... I want all groups, to start by defining what enlightenment is. OK? We begin by here. How can you define enlightenment? Enlightenment was defined how?
Ntitwayivuzeho?
- SS: Yes

In this extract the teacher starts by giving instructions to the students to form discussion groups saying: “*Mujiye mu magroupe*” (=Go in your groups). Then a few other words in Kinyarwanda are uttered here and there, including: “*Ntitwabivuzeho?*” (= Didn’t we discuss that?) in the introduction to the lesson and a few other phrases towards the end of the lesson; but his use of Kinyarwanda is limited to that. The same can be said about History and Citizenship S1, History and Citizenship S2, Geography and Environment S4 and Geography and Environment S5. In all these lessons, except perhaps Geography and Environment S4 where the teacher asks the students to explain the “handline fishing method” in Kinyarwanda and in History and Citizenship S1 where the teacher asks the students to translate key terms; the INPUT by the teacher is in **English**; and the information which is imparted is mainly “factual information.”

Concerning OUTPUT, however, the language of output is not always English as shown in the following extract from a lesson in Entrepreneurship S1. Students are taking turns to present the result of their discussions in groups:

- T: another group, yes. You cool! No problem!
- S: (Writes on the board rather than speaks)
- T: (Reads for him) It allows sending money from to (Then he asks) And how the bank can help in sending money? How?
- S: *Idufasha kohereza no kwakira amafaranga.* (=It helps us send and receive money)
- T: Yea! How?
- S: (After the above answer in Kinyarwanda, starts in the same language again, but...)
- T: Try in English.
- S: *Ntabwo nabishobora!* (= I can’t)
- T: Who can help this group?
- S: It is allows sending money (sic). *Idufasha kwakira no kohereza amafaranga wenda uri nk’ahantu ushaka kohereza amafaranga utagombye kuyakura muri banki.* (= It helps us to receive and send money when you are in a certain place for example without having to withdraw the money from the bank)

As illustrated in this extract, the students are at an early stage of English Language Competence; and though they can understand and report on simple ideas like “sending and receiving money” or “saving money in the bank” in English; they need to resort to Kinyarwanda when they need to reflect more deeply on these ideas. That is why when the teacher asks a student to explain in English how the bank helps send and receive money, the student simply says *Ntabwo nabishobora* (=I can’t). And that is also why when another student is asked to explain, she simply answers in Kinyarwanda.

What seems to appear clearly from the data, then; is that at O’ Level, the language of INPUT in the “Humanities” subjects is predominantly **English**, and; like in the preceding case, the OUTPUT from students is **English** for simple answers to teachers’ questions; and **Kinyarwanda** for deeper reflection and discussion in class. At A’ Level, however, another pattern may be identified as discussed next.

(d) INPUT and OUTPUT in “Humanities” Subjects in A’ Level: Two lessons (*Geography & Environment Senior 4 and Entrepreneurship Senior 5*) were observed in “Humanities” at A’ Level. The following extracts from *Geography & Environment Senior 4* inform on the INPUT pattern they employ.

- T: OK. If you say north-west, it means what? North-west Pacific. It means what?
- S: The middle of North and West pacific.
- T: *Warebyemo*...? Ah this is the map. Who can come and show me the north-west? North-west?
- S: North-west? It can be in that location. ...North-west.

In the lesson from which this extract is taken, the whole work was done in teacher-students interaction and, except toward the end of the lesson where students were asked to explain how a “handline” is used for fishing, all the input was in **English**; so that the word “*warebyemo* (= did you look in it (= in the Atlas)) doesn’t represent much as input.

On the other hand, however, the fact that the teacher felt it necessary to ask students to use Kinyarwanda for explanations is revealing. Indeed, the teacher turned to Kinyarwanda as the following extract shows, when she noticed that explanations in English couldn’t be obtained:

- T: Yes. Who can tell us? Who can explain for us? What is handline method? Umh? Handline method, who can tell us? Umh? *Muzi uko bayikoresha?* (= do you know how it is used?) Handline? *Ni gute?* (= How?).

As can be seen from this extract, the teacher is repeating or rephrasing her question again and again, but the answer in English couldn't be obtained. It is only when she asked her question in Kinyarwanda that a volunteer offered to explain how a handline is used; and the suggestion is that **Kinyarwanda** is also used albeit to a lesser degree, even though the language of INPUT is mainly **English**; whereas the language of OUTPUT is also **English** but **Kinyarwanda** as well when deeper understanding and explanations are needed. The input/output pattern is thus **English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English**.

In this regard, another lesson, **Entrepreneurship S5**, is also clear about the language of INPUT in “Humanities” subjects at A' Level as illustrated in the following extract taken from near the middle of the lesson using only English.

- S: Interest on loan *ntabwo iyyamo?* (= Isn't interest on loan included?)
- T: *Ku kwezi gukurikiraho. Ukwezi kwa karindwi. Biratangirana n'ukwezi kwa karindwi bishyira ukwezi kwa munani. Ni ukuvuga ngo turacyari mu kwezi kwa gatandatu, turi kureba amafaranga yinjira for the month of June, and cash outflow for the month of... June. OK. Interest on loan per month, starting on July also...*

(= It is included in the following month. The “seventh month” (viz. July). It begins with July and goes into August. This means that, as we are in June, we are still considering the cash inflow for the month of June, and cash outflow for the month of... June. OK. Interest on loan per month, starting on July also...)

In this extract, **Kinyarwanda** has been used in a lesson hitherto apparently intended to be conducted in English only. Indeed, for nearly half of the lesson, the input has persistently been in English until the time a student asked a question in **English-Kinyarwanda** (S: Interest on loan *ntabwo iyyamo* = Isn't “interest on loan” included?), which seemed to be like a reminder to the teacher that the students needed to use Kinyarwanda as well for efficient communication. From that moment, the teacher used Kinyarwanda at least four times.

As appears from this lesson and the preceding one, **English** is the main language of INPUT and OUTPUT in Humanities subjects at A' Level, but **Kinyarwanda** is also used as a language of INPUT and OUTPUT when the teacher and students feel that deep reflection and discussion on issues arising from the lesson is to be achieved.

(e) INPUT and OUTPUT in “Languages” Subjects in O' Level: One of the particularities of the lessons in “Languages” subjects is that; contrary to “Mathematics and Science” lessons as well as “Humanities” lessons; the content in lessons of “Languages” subjects pertains precisely to the study of languages. What was observed in such lessons, therefore, was that they mainly used the respective languages. However, for certain explanations, Kinyarwanda in “Kiswahili, English, French...” lessons respectively was used as shown in the following extracts:

T: Nimeambiyeni hatutaki kutumia majina ya wanyama (*=I told you we don't want to use animal nouns*). Ntabwo dushaka gukoresha amazina y'inyamaswa (*=We don't want to use animal nouns*). Kwa sababu hatuwezi kusema mbuzi watanu (*=Because we can't say “mbuzi watanu”*). Ntabwo dushobora kuvuga mbuzi watanu. Sawa? (*=We can't say “mbuzi watanu. Right?”*) Iyi wa tuyikoresha ku bantu. (*=This “wa” is used for humans*) Lakini ninaweza kusema kwamba ni mbuzi tano (*=However, I can say five goats “mbuzi tano”*)

In this Kiswahili lesson, the teacher is explaining that the morpheme “wa” is not used when referring to animals, but to humans. The students don't seem to understand this directly and he turns to Kinyarwanda for explanations. Similarly, as shown in the following extract from a French lesson,

T: Donc ici ca veut dire, « Je me demande si je vais manger a midi ». Tu te demande toi même. Tu ne demandes pas a autrui. Biri *kumvikana ? Ntabwo... kiriya kibazo ntawe ukibaza. Ni wowe ucyibaza: «Ese ndi burye saa sita.” Uri kumva ko ntawundi wagusubizaOK? OK. Anha! Yes?*

the teacher is explaining the use of “interrogative sentences,” and one of the questions he is trying to explain is “*Je me demande si je vais manger a midi*” (= I wonder whether I am going to eat at noon), but the students don't seem to understand this kind of indirect question. Then he uses Kinyarwanda to explain. In English too, though the occasion to change the language of INPUT is not a grammar point but a reprimand for some students who didn't properly prepare their presentations, Kinyarwanda is preferred for the occasion. The languages of INPUT,

therefore, are *the relevant languages* for the different lessons; and *Kinyarwanda* for explanation of difficult points.

In this regard, however, it seems that the languages of OUTPUT in the respective lessons are not likewise varied. Indeed, as appears clearly in the following extracts, what the students in the respective lessons seem to be doing is to do what their teachers ask them to do, and they ask them to do it in Kiswahili, French, and English respectively.

- (1) T: Niambie nyingine *sentence*.
S: Bibi anaenda sokoni na watoto wawili.
T: Hiyo ni *sentence* sahihi tena safi sana. Mtu mwingine ?
- (2) T : Qui peut nous donner un exemple d’une phrase interrogative en utilisant le mot «est-ce-que»? Umhu?
S : Est-ce que nous avons mange la banane?
- (3) T: Who is ready? *Dutombole?*
SSS: *Oya! Iiiigo! Dutombole!*

As can be seen in the two first extracts above, the students are responding to the teachers’ questions which require them to exemplify the language they are learning (viz. Kiswahili, French); and that is why the answers are necessarily in **Kiswahili** and **French** respectively. However, when as shown in extract 3 the question does not require the students to exemplify the language they are learning (in the above extract the question is to know whether students are ready to do an exercise) both the languages of input and output are likely to vary.

That is probably why in extract 3 above, the teacher’s INPUT is **English-Kinyarwanda** and the students’ OUTPUT is **Kinyarwanda**. Otherwise, both the teacher and the students are mainly using the languages of the respective lessons. In sum, the languages of INPUT/OUTPUT are **English, Kinyarwanda, and Kiswahili** respectively, except for specific occasions where the language of input shifts to **Kinyarwanda** to deal with matters not directly related to the languages as subject content.

(2) Findings on “INPUT/OUTPUT: Variations

The 22 lessons observed in this study with a focus on describing the INPUT/OUTPUT pattern showed relatively different patterns of language use depending on the area of study. Thus in “**Mathematics & Science**,” the predominant INPUT/OUTPUT pattern appeared to be English

and English-Kinyarwanda for INPUT, and Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English for OUTPUT in both O' Level and A' Level; and most of the time, English coming in mainly for subject specific terms.

In the “Humanities” area of study, on the other hand, a significantly different pattern was observed: Whereas INPUT was mainly in English and English-Kinyarwanda generally; for deeper explanations both at O' Level and A' Level; English-Kinyarwanda was used in both O' Level and A' Level for OUTPUT. Exceptions, however, were observed in “Group Presentations” and in occasions where “simple answers” pertaining to factual information were required from students, in which cases English would be used for OUTPUT.

Finally, in “Languages” area of study; the INPUT/OUTPUT pattern observed was respective languages (viz.: Kinyarwanda, English, French, Kiswahili depending on the language lesson) for both INPUT and OUTPUT, apparently because the content of these lessons was the languages themselves. However, it is noteworthy that, even in such lessons, communication requiring deeper explanations tended to be in Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda mixed with the respective languages, both on the part of the teacher and the students.

4.2.3.2 “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging” in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

As Lewis (2008) and Jones (2010 in Lewis et al. 2012: 665) report, there might be two models of Translanguaging. Firstly, there is “Teacher-led Translanguaging,” an activity which is “planned and structured” by the teacher in an attempt to scaffold the Translanguaging activity and to provide Translanguaging cues for the more competent bilinguals (Lewis et al. 2012). Secondly, there is “Pupil-led Translanguaging,” an activity which is undertaken independently by students; and indeed students themselves, as Lewis et al. (2012: 665) further note, ‘considerably affect and determine flexible language arrangements in a classroom; needing to communicate their conceptual understandings or misunderstandings in an immediate and efficient manner’.

In this sub-section, the 22 observed lessons are scrutinized to determine (1) whether there seems to be any “planned and structured activity by the teacher,” attempting to scaffold (support) the Translanguaging and providing Translanguaging cues; and to see (2) the extent to which students have an opportunity to undertake Translanguaging activities independently; and/or affect and

determine flexible language arrangements in the classroom. Assessment of “Teacher-led and Pupil-led” Translanguaging in this sense is done by identifying and reporting on instances of language use in the 22 lessons observed as describing these concepts.

(1) Group Work and Group Presentation as “Implicit” Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging

For the purpose of describing “Teacher-led” Translanguaging in Rwandan Classrooms, 22 lesson transcripts were analyzed to identify possible planning actions which represent teachers’ attempt to support and prompt students’ Translanguaging activity for the benefit of Subject Content Knowledge and Language Competence development. Though not explicitly visible, some planning seems to transpire in a number of lessons observed as shown in the following extracts.

Extract 1: From Entrepreneurship S1: In this lesson, the teacher asks his students to form groups and discuss the importance of saving money in the bank. Then, a student who hasn’t heard that they must work in groups spontaneously puts up his hand:

S: Me teacher!

T: *Oya!* (= No!) In your groups!

(Students very quickly go in groups and start lively discussions. As I am sitting amidst students I can hear that the groups near me are discussing in Kinyarwanda. Also, the teacher is walking from group to group; and near a group he says:)

Eshatu. (= three). (Then to everybody he says:) I give you ten minutes!!

In this extract, the teacher says two Kinyarwanda words *Oya!* (= No!) and *Eshatu.* (= three). These are testimony to the fact that Kinyarwanda is the language used in the groups. Also, these are the ones said aloud enough to have been captured in the recorder; but he certainly said more while going from group to group since such group discussions normally use the Home Language of the participants. In any case, he organized work in these groups knowing that they would probably discuss in Kinyarwanda, and indeed, that is what they did. In this sense the teacher, though not deliberately, planned a Translanguaging activity in this lesson, (at least an implicit one).

Extract 2: From a lesson in History & Citizenship S2: In this lesson, the teacher starts by asking the students to go in groups thus:

- T: *Mujye mu magroupe!* (= go in groups!)
(Students promptly form groups and start discussing in Kinyarwanda. After a while the teacher starts ...)
So now it is our part of course, “History of North America and Europe in 19th Century.”
- SS: Yes.
- T: ... And I want all groups... I want all groups to start by defining what enlightenment is. OK? We begin here. How can you define enlightenment? Enlightenment was defined how? ... *Ntitwayivuzeho?* (= Didn’t we talk about it?)

As can be seen in this extract, implicit Translanguaging plan occurs in this lesson. Indeed, as the extract shows, before starting his lesson, the teacher has his students revise the previous lesson in groups knowing very well that they would discuss in Kinyarwanda, and probably that is the reason why, though he uses English to tell the students what to do, he switches to Kinyarwanda to prompt them to go in groups and start work (*Mujye mu magroupe!* (= go in groups!) and *Ntitwayivuzeho?* (= Didn’t we talk about it?)). In other words, the teacher implicitly planned a Translanguaging activity by organizing a lesson where he knows the students would use Kinyarwanda for revision in groups (hence, input in Kinyarwanda); and where he requires the students to report on their discussions in English (hence, output in English).

Extract 3: From a lesson in Geography & Environment S5: In this lesson, students have presented two topics (“Causes of Famines in Africa” and “Gender Equality”) and the latter has just come to an end. Then the teacher makes comments on students’ reports. Following is an extract from his comments:

- T: What about opportunity for jobs? For instance *ubuhake* (=feudal system). Women could not go to *shebuja* (=feudal lord) to get cows.

What can be said about this extract is that the teacher deliberately uses the Kinyarwanda words in his comments in a way to attract the students’ attention on the possibility to integrate English and Kinyarwanda for learning. In this sense, though the integration of languages is limited to a few words interspersed in his talk, the teacher’s use of these words can well be considered as some kind of language integration planning.

Finally another example of “implicit” Translanguaging plan is found in Geography & Environment S5. In this lesson, the teacher asked students to prepare topics and present them in groups; and as the teacher knows so well, they typically discuss in Kinyarwanda while preparing for these presentations. In other words, by assigning students topics for presentations, the teacher also gives them an opportunity to develop knowledge through their Home Language, and eventually; to report on the acquired knowledge in English and thus, to develop competence in the new language as well.

In sum, while *Translanguaging* as a developing concept is defined as a ‘deliberate and systematic use of two languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 664)’ for the purpose of enhancing learning, these examples are far from featuring **deliberate and systematic** classroom actions aimed by the teacher at learning enhancement through multiple language use. Whether deliberate or not, however, most of these actions in the context under study imply input in **Kinyarwanda** and output in **English**; and to a certain extent, they seem to parallel the above mentioned original *deliberate and systematic use of two languages*. For this reason, they are cited by default of explicitly planned and structured actions as the **only activities** presenting some similitude to “teacher-led” Translanguaging.

On the other hand, from the students’ perspective, the same examples show the kind of opportunity offered to them to engage independently in Translanguaging activities since they gather information **in Kinyarwanda** and prepare their presentation **in English** mostly without the help of the teacher. Arguably, it could be said that the lessons in which teachers organize “group presentations” and “group work” in the classroom represent opportunities for “implicit” teacher-led Translanguaging and pupil-led Translanguaging simultaneously.

(2) Findings on “Teacher-led” and “Student-led” Translanguaging

Twenty two lessons were analyzed with a view to identifying both instances of Translanguaging activities deliberately “planned and structured” by the teachers (teacher-led); and instances of Translanguaging activities independently undertaken by the students (pupil-led). What came out of the analysis is that strictly speaking, **there was no such a thing as deliberate planning and structuring of Translanguaging activity** in the lessons observed for the present study. Rather, what could be detected as presenting some similitude to **“Teacher-led” and “Student-led Translanguaging”** was “group work” and “group presentations” organized in a number of lessons

observed. Indeed, these lessons give students the responsibility to collect and discuss information on a given topic and to report on their findings. In so doing they give the students an opportunity to use their first language, Kinyarwanda for INPUT and English for OUTPUT, and thus, to a certain extent, “Pupil-led Translanguaging” is practiced. In view of the fact that there is no explicit intent to achieve this result on the part of the teacher, however, these lessons only represent instances of **“implicit”** Teacher-led Translanguaging.

4.2.4 Data on Translanguaging as Appraisal and Monitoring of Multilingual Practices

Another “Broader Aspect” of Translanguaging proposed in this study after ***“Teacher-led/Pupil-led” Translanguaging*** is “Appraisal and monitoring” of Integrated Use of Languages. As proposed in the present study, it is about observing, recording, and evaluating the functioning and performance of Multilingual Practices in the school generally, and in the classroom particularly. In view of the concept of Translanguaging as hitherto conceptualized, “Appraisal and monitoring” of Integrated Use of Languages corresponds to “Subject-determined Translanguaging” as I describe below.

4.2.4.1 “Subject-determined Translanguaging” in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

The concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” refers to the likelihood that certain subjects lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than others (Lewis et al. 2012: 663). Thus for example, as Lewis et al. (2012) ascertain, Translanguaging in the Welsh teaching/learning context happens to be practiced more in “Arts and Humanities” lessons.

In this regard, however, the situation in my own context is different since; as I discuss below; “Mathematics & Science” rather than “Arts and Humanities” lessons seem to adhere to Integrated Use of Languages more than other areas of study; which suggests, as I would like to submit with regard to language use, that the same subjects might present different challenges in different multilingual contexts; and that such a hypothesized **“Subject/Translanguaging”** affinity might not be intrinsic to one subject or another; that rather, certain subjects’ predilection for Translanguaging might be a function of (a) the multilingual specificities of different teaching/learning contexts; (b) different levels of study and different levels of language proficiency; and (c) different activities involved in particular lessons.

Three possibilities in this vein are thus hypothesized: (1) Firstly, **certain subject areas** in given contexts might involve the practice of Translanguaging more than others depending on **multilingual specificities** of those contexts. (2) Secondly, other likely factors might be the differences in **levels of study** and along with them, differences of **language proficiency**. (3) Thirdly, other influences might stem from the differences in **the types of activities involved** in a lesson. Thus, all the three propositions considered, it is suggested that “Subject Area/Translanguaging” affinity might in fact be a reality; but this affinity might be differentially so in different contexts; and it might also be **extrinsic** to the subject areas *per se*.

In this Sub-section, I attempt to document these possibilities in turn by interrogating the same data hitherto used to study the Translanguaging “broader aspect” of **Integrated Language Use**. But firstly, what does “subject-determined Translanguaging” entail in the context of my study?

(1) Subject-determined Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary Schools in Rwanda

Assessment of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” in the context under study was done by comparing the visible evidence of Translanguaging in different subject areas to **determine which seem to involve Translanguaging** more than others, or which do not involve Translanguaging at all if any. The following Table already used for Integrated Use of Languages appraisal in general shows more particularly how, in the context of the present study, the 22 lessons observed compare in terms of “**Subject Area-Translanguaging**” affinity.

Table 16: Words Other than English in the 22 Lessons Observed as Evidence of Subject Area-Translanguaging Affinity

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Year of Study</i>	<i>Nr-Words Total</i>	<i>Words other than English</i>	<i>%</i>
Physics	5 th Y	1320	922	69.84%
Mathematics	3 rd Y	3769	1642	43.5%
Microbiology	5 th Y	1816	512	28.19%
Chemistry	4 th Y	1916	489	25.52%
Mathematics	1 st Y	1728	371	25.4%
Mathematics	6 th Y	1511	264	17.47%
Mathematics	2 nd Y	558	75	13.4%
Physics	1 st Y	1011	120	11.86%
Mathematics	2 nd Y	1860	146	7.80%
Mathematics	3 rd Y	883	46	5.20%

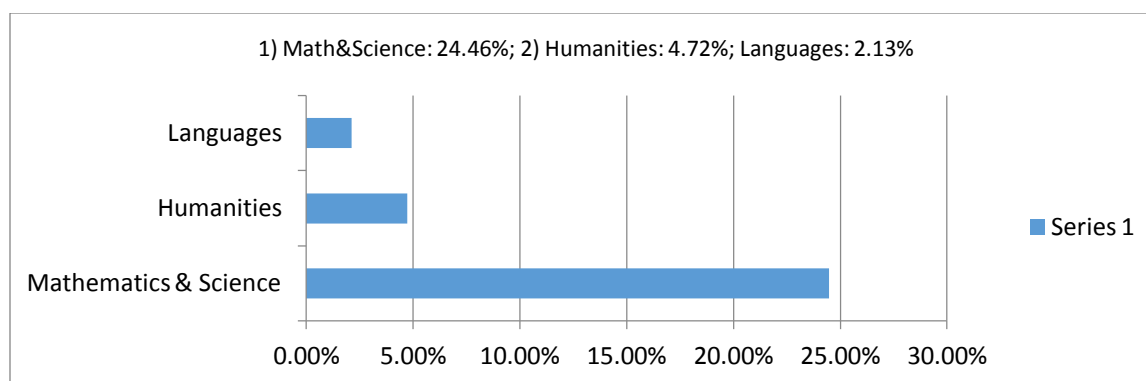
Biology	3 rd Y	3306	6	0.18%
SUBJECTS IN MATHEMATICS & SCIENCES				24.46%
Entrepreneurship	5 th Y	1101	120	10.89%
History& Citizenship	1 st Y	2009	202	10.05%
Entrepreneurship	1 st Y	1239	55	4.43%
Geogr&Environment	4 th Y	2012	64	3.1%
Geogr&Environment	5 th Y	907	21	2.31%
History&Citizenship	1 st Y	1981	27	1.36%
History& Citizenship	2 nd Y	2339	22	0.94%
SUBJECTS IN HUMANITIES				4.72%
Literature in English	4 th Y	1495	67	4.48%
Kiswahili	2 nd Y	1424	18	1.26%
English	3 rd Y	1823	12	0.65%
SUBJECTS IN LANGUAGES				2.13%

This Table gives an idea of how many words other than English were used in the lessons observed for the present study as an indication of the use of Translanguaging. As appears clearly from this information, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology all come in the first position with percentages ranging between as high as 69.84% and 5.20%; while a percentage as low as 0.20% seems to be a rather special case.

The “Mathematics & Science” area of study thus by far resorts to Translanguaging the most with an average of 24.46% of words other than English used in the lessons observed. Then comes the “Humanities” area of study where the different subjects range between 4.43% and 0.94% of words other than English used in class.

In the Chart below, these figures taken cumulatively highlight the difference between the different areas of study in terms of Translanguaging perhaps more tellingly.

Chart 8: Differential Use of Translanguaging in Different Subject Areas



As can be seen in this Chart, Mathematics & Science area of study, with an average of 24.46%, by far appears to practice Translanguaging the most. On the other hand, with just a 4.72% average, the Humanities area of study follows it and the “Languages” area of study comes last with an average of 2.13% of words other than English used. Definitely then, the data collected for this study suggest that Translanguaging tends to occur more in “Mathematics & Science” subjects than the “Humanities” and the “Languages” subjects. This is utterly different from Lewis et al. (2012) finding that Translanguaging is practiced more in Arts and Humanities subjects, which seems to suggest that other factors than the subjects themselves are likely to determine classroom predilection for the practice of Translanguaging.

It is thus hereby submitted that, rather than being “**subject-determined**” in the teaching/learning context of my study, Translanguaging might be a function of the **multilingual specificities** of the said contexts. In other words, the subject itself might manifest affinity with the practice of Translanguaging without being its determinant. Also, as I submit further, a rather more manifest determinant for the practice of Translanguaging in the context of this study is the “Level of Study” suggesting that different **levels of study** might differentially adhere to the practice of Translanguaging as discussed next.

(2) “Level of Study-determined” Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary Schools in Rwanda

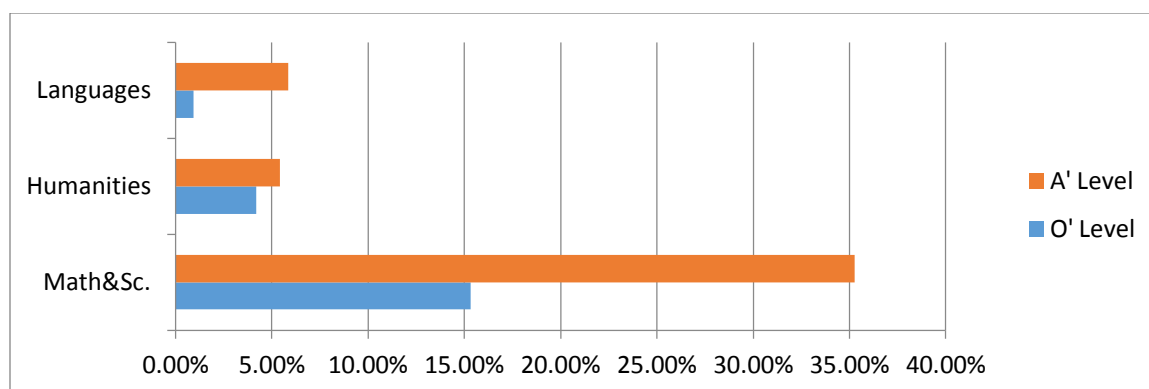
As was the case with “Subject-determined” Translanguaging, the likelihood of “level of study” as a determinant for the practice of Translanguaging was examined by reorganizing the data already used to investigate the Integrated Use of Languages “broader aspect” of Translanguaging as shown in the following Table.

Table 17: Other words than English in the 22 Lessons Observed as Evidence of “Levels of Study-Translanguaging” Affinity

<i>Area of Study</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Year of Study</i>	<i>Nr- Words Total</i>	<i>Words other than English</i>	<i>%</i>
Math & Science	Mathematics	6 th Y	1511	264	17.47%
	Physics	5 th Y	1320	922	69.84%
	Microbiology	5 th Y	1816	512	28.19%
	Chemistry	4 th Y	1916	489	25.52%
	A' Level				35.25%
	Mathematics	3 rd Y	3769	1642	43.5%
	Mathematics	3 rd Y	883	46	5.20%
	Biology	3 rd Y	3306	6	0.18%
	Mathematics	2 nd Y	1860	146	7.8%
	Mathematics	2 nd Y	558	75	13.4%
	Physics	1 st Y	1011	120	11.86%
	Mathematics	1 st Y	1728	371	25.4%
	O' Level				15.33%
Total & %					
Humanities	Entrepreneurship	5 th Y	1101	120	10.89%
	Geogr&Environment	5 th Y	907	21	2.31%
	Geogr&Environment	4 th Y	2012	64	3.1%
	A' Level				5.43%
	History& Citizenship	2 nd Y	2339	22	0.94%
	History& Citizenship	1 st Y	2009	202	10.05%
	Entrepreneurship	1 st Y	1239	55	4.43%
	History&Citizenship	1 st Y	1981	27	1.36%
	O' Level				4.19%
Total & %					
Languages	French	6 th Y	1737	126	7.25%
	Literature in English	4 th Y	1495	67	4.48%
	A' Level				5.86%
	English	3 rd Y	1823	12	0.65%
	Kiswahili	2 nd Y	1424	18	1.26%
	O' Level				0.95%
Total & %					

This Table shows the differences in terms of Translanguaging use between A' Level and O' Level, and in the different grades of study (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th). The differences between the levels of study (A' Level, A' Level) particularly, can perhaps appear more clearly in the following Chart.

Chart 9: Other words than English in Different Levels



As this Chart and the above table show, there are differences between O' Level and A' Level in terms of the number of words other than English used in different lessons; and invariably, more words other than English are used in upper levels than lower levels of study, which suggests that higher levels of study in the context of my study resort to “Integrated use of languages” (viz.: Codeswitching and Translation) more than the lower levels of study, and thus; **Translanguaging** might be a function of the different levels of study, or so to say it might be “*Level of Study-determined*”. And Translanguaging might also be “*Lesson Activity-determined*.”

(3) “*Lesson Activity-determined*” Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary Schools in Rwanda

As proposed below, Translanguaging might also be “*Lesson Activity-determined*,” suggesting that different activities might be differentially requiring “Integrated Use of Languages,” and *ipso facto* Translanguaging in the classroom might also be practiced differentially depending on these differing lesson activities. For a discussion of this proposition, once again, the data already used to investigate “integrated use of languages” are reused in the following Table to investigate this possibility.

Table 18: Translanguaging in Different Areas of Study and Lesson Activity Dimension

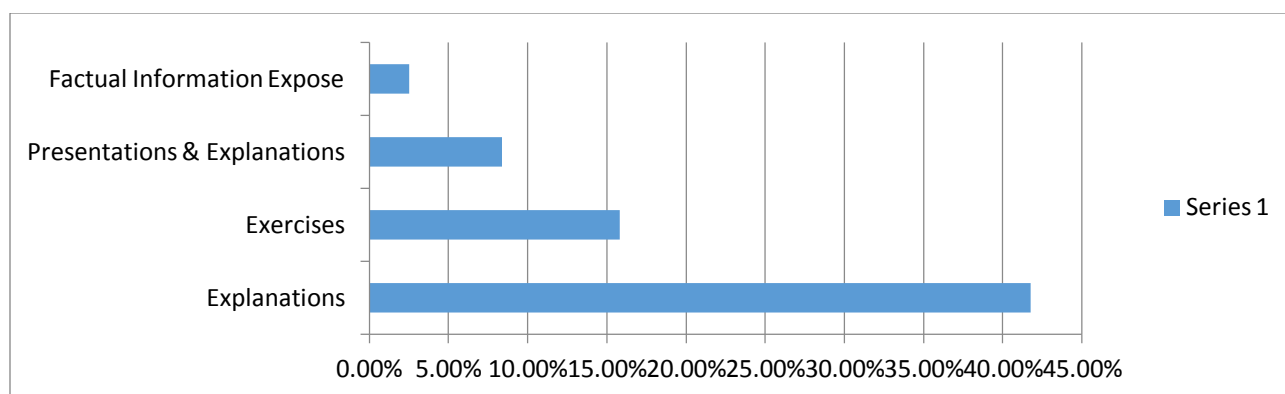
Position	Subject	Year of Study	Nr- Words Total	Words other than English	%	Activity Involved
1	Physics	5 th Y	1320	922	69.84%	Explanations
2	Mathematics	3 rd Y	3769	1642	43.5%	Explanations&exercises
3	Microbiology	5 th Y	1816	512	28.19%	Explanations
4	Chemistry	4 th Y	1916	489	25.52%	Explanations
Type of Activity: Explanations					Average: 41.76%	
5	Mathematics	1 st Y	1728	371	25.4%	Exercises

6	Mathematics	6 th Y	1511	264	17.47%	<i>Exercises</i>
7	Mathematics	2 nd Y	558	75	13.4%	<i>Exercises</i>
8	Physics	1 st Y	1011	120	11.86%	<i>Exercises</i>
9	Entrepreneurship	5 th Y	1101	120	10.89%	<i>Exercises</i>
<i>Type of Activity: Exercises</i>			<i>Average:</i>		15.8%	
10	History& Citizenship	1 st Y	2009	202	10.05%	<i>Group Presentations&Explanations</i>
11	Mathematics	2 nd Y	1860	146	7.8%	<i>Explanations&application</i>
12	French	6 th Y	1737	126	7.25%	<i>Grammar Explanations</i>
<i>Type of Activity: Mixed</i>			<i>Average:</i>		8.36%	
13	Mathematics	3 rd Y	883	46	5.20%	<i>Presentation-factual info</i>
14	Literature in English	4 th Y	1495	67	4.48%	<i>Group Presentations</i>
15	Entrepreneurship	1 st Y	1239	55	4.43%	<i>Group Work&Presentations</i>
16	Geogr&Environment	4 th Y	2012	64	3.1%	<i>Presentation-factual info</i>
17	Geogr&Environment	5 th Y	907	21	2.31%	<i>Group Presentations</i>
18	History&Citizenship	1 st Y	1981	27	1.36%	<i>Factual Info&Vocab Transl.</i>
19	Kiswahili	2 nd Y	1424	18	1.26%	<i>Presentation-factual info</i>
20	History& Citizenship	2 nd Y	2339	22	0.94%	<i>Presentation-factual info</i>
21	English	3 rd Y	1823	12	0.65%	<i>Group Presentations</i>
22	Biology	3 rd Y	3306	6	0.18%	<i>Presentation-factual info</i>
<i>Type of Activity: Presentations&Factual info</i>			<i>Average:</i>		2.52%	

As can be seen in this Table, the lessons investigated are no longer arranged according to different subjects and “subject areas of study,” but in terms of the **activities** involved in different lessons (see Column 7) regardless of the subjects. In this way, it becomes clear from the data in this Table that the classroom activity concerned with EXPLANATIONS ranks highest (41.75%) in terms of “Integrated Use of Languages.” Then next come classroom activities concerned with EXERCISES with an average of 15.8% in terms of “Integrated Use of Languages.” This activity is followed by another rather ambiguous activity combining “PRESENTATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS” with an 8.36% average. And finally, the last category of activity that involves the least of “Integrated Use of Languages” with a 2.52% average is mainly about expose of FACTUAL INFORMATION.

The differing importance and range of these types of activities with regard to “Integrated Use of Languages” can be even better apprehended through the following Chart.

Chart 10: Differing importance of lesson activities in terms of “Integrated Use of Languages.”



As can be seen in this Chart and the above Table, the activity consisting of **explaining subject content** correlates by far more than the other types of activity, with the teachers' and students' use of the different languages in their repertoire. Then next comes the activity pertaining to **exercises**, followed by **"presentation & explanations,"** and finally, the activity that seems to require "integrated use of languages" the least seems to be **"Expose of Factual Information."**

It is thus hereby suggested that, concerning the broad concept of "Multiple Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring," the concept of "Subject-determined Translanguaging" explained in Lewis et al. (2012) is a reality even in the context of the present study. What it means in this context, however, is that certain subjects (and subject areas) may seem to manifest a certain affinity with the use of Translanguaging; but the determinants of this affinity might not be the subjects themselves.

Rather, as has been argued in this Sub-section, the basic determinants of multilingual practices might be the **different specificities** of different multilingual teaching/learning contexts as well as the **level of study** which both might in turn be contributing to determining the **level of proficiency** in the different languages in presence. Moreover and most importantly concerning specifically different lessons; the **different activities** involved therein might also determine the extent of certain subjects' predilection for the practice of Translanguaging.

Appraisal of "Subject-determined Translanguaging" in the context of this study, therefore, might be an implicit cause-effect explanation of what is observed and what is explained in Charts like the following respectively:

Chart 11: Translanguaging in Different Subject Areas

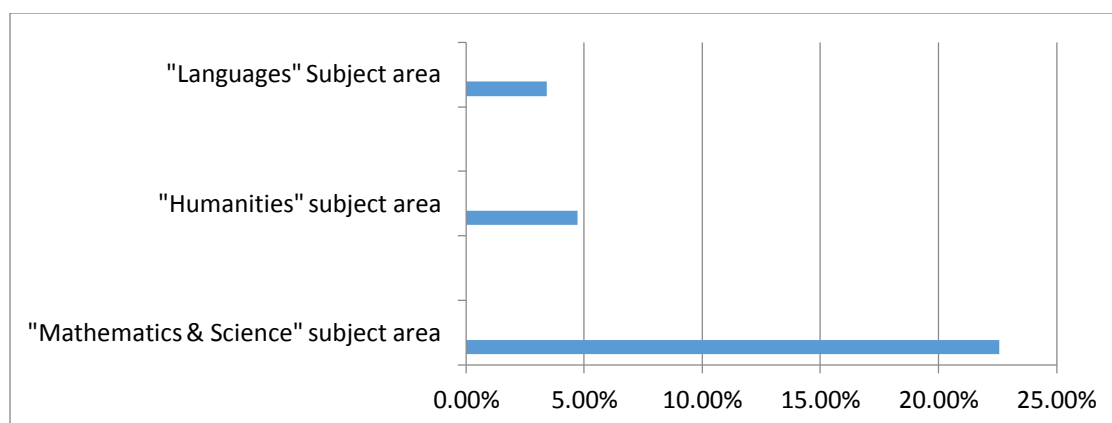
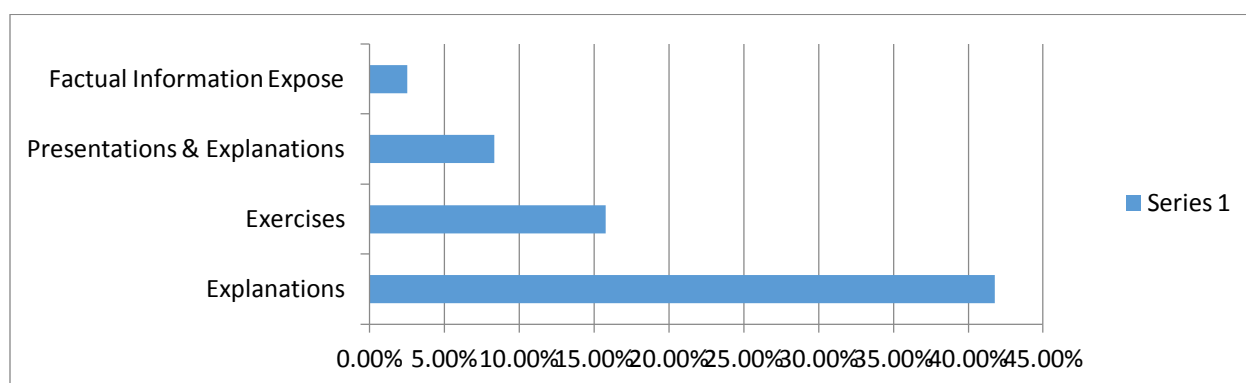


Chart 12: Lesson Activities and “Integrated Use of Languages.”



In reading these Charts concomitantly for complementary information, it is suggested that the “Mathematics & Science” area of study, for example, might have a tendency to resort to Integrated Language Use more than the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study for a composite set of reasons.

Some of these reasons might be for example: (1) The many language knowledge demanding **explanations** requiring both “Basic Interactional Communication Skills” (BICS) and “Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency” (CALP); (2) the inherent language knowledge demanding **exercises** requiring mastery of the Medium of Instruction speaking skills; and (3) the **presentation of factual information** inherent to Mathematics & Science subjects and requiring knowledge of jargon and abstract language. In addition to “**Level of Study**” earlier discussed as an explanation for “Subject-determined Translanguaging,” therefore, the “**Lesson Activity**” in the context of the present study seems to be an important factor in the process as well.

To conclude on this question of “subject-determined” Translanguaging, it might be noted that, taking into account the fact that the “Mathematics & Science” area of study is reputed to use much jargon and abstract language and that the higher the level of study is, the more likely abstract language is to be used; it is suggested that the more jargon and abstract language are featured in a lesson, the more *Translanguaging* needs to be practiced in the lesson. Also the higher the level of study where a lesson is taught, the more *Translanguaging* needs to be practiced. And finally, the more the **activity involved** requires the mastery of the medium of instruction (viz. assuming that language for explanations is more difficult than the language for factual presentation), the more *Translanguaging* needs to be practiced.

This note on Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” marks the end of the analysis of the data on the four “broader aspects” of Translanguaging in this Chapter. Section 4.3 below draws on the information obtained from this analysis to present an informed description of the Nature of Translanguaging in the context of secondary school classrooms in Rwanda.

4.3 The Nature of Translanguaging in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

In the preceding Section (4.2), the data collected for this study were analyzed through the theoretical guidance of four perspectives, namely: (1) The concept of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012), (2) the Structure of Secondary School education in Rwanda, (3) the Competence-based Curriculum Framework, and (4) the Theory of Linguistic Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1999). What has this analysis hitherto yielded is rather bulky information on the way languages are used in the two secondary schools investigated.

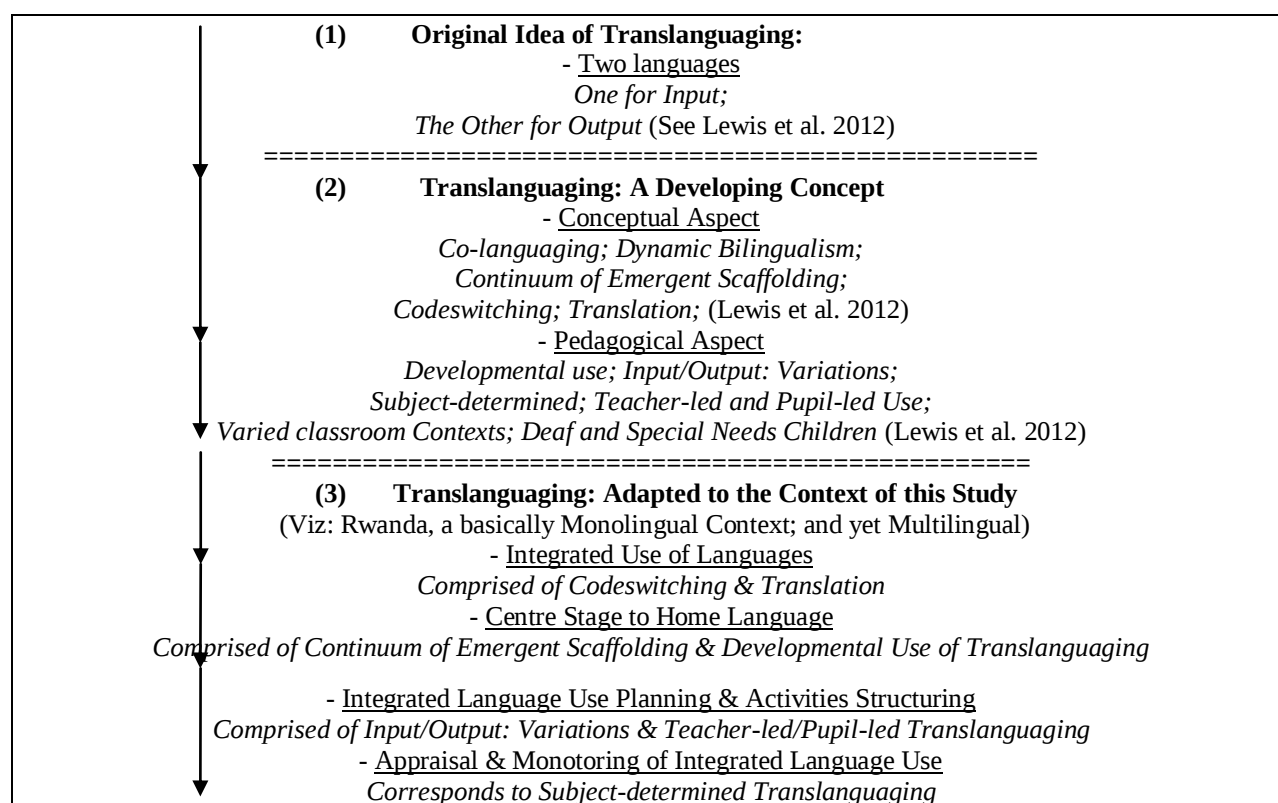
With a critical stance, this Section (4.3) selects the most significant details from this “bulky information” and organizes them into an informed description of the NATURE of Translanguaging as practiced in the context under study. Thus, Subsection 4.3.1 draws on the Concept of Translanguaging from its origins to its use in the present study; to highlight what Translanguaging might be elsewhere which IS NOT what it is in the context under study. Then coming to the crux of the matter; Subsection 4.3.2 focuses on what the present study deems to be the **Nature of Translanguaging** in the context of the present study. Finally; drawing on the

Theory of Linguistic Proficiency in academic contexts (Cummins 1979, 1999); Subsection 4.3.3 closes the Chapter on an attempt to appraise the practice of Translanguaging as a medium of instruction in the Secondary School academic context investigated in the present study.

4.3.1 Translanguaging in the Context of the Present Study: What It Is Not

As the concept of Translanguaging originated and developed in contexts significantly different from the context of secondary schools in Rwanda; to begin the description of its NATURE as practiced in this particular context; **Translanguaging** as a rapidly developing concept has been readapted as shown in the following Chart.

Chart 13: Readaptation of Translanguaging from its Original idea to its Use in the Present Study



As can be seen in this Chart, the whole evolution of Translanguaging is represented in three phases, from (1) its origin, through (2) its development, to (3) its use in the present study. Also, as still appears in the above Chart, the different phases of the concept trajectory correspond respectively, as elaborated below, to (a) What Translanguaging IS NOT in the context of the present study (1, 2), and to (b) What this study has found IT IS in this particular context (3). To

answer the first research question tackled in this Chapter, therefore, the description in this Sub-section firstly presents what Translanguaging as practiced in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda IS NOT.

4.3.1.1 Mismatch between Translanguaging as Practiced in the Context of the Present Study and the Original Definition of the Concept

From the time of its inception in the 1980's to the use of the concept in the present study, Translanguaging as a construct has travelled a long development trajectory. Indeed, as earlier quoted from Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012: 643-4), the original principle of Translanguaging as a 'pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input in bilingual classrooms' is that information is received through one language (e.g. English) and used by the student through the medium of the other language (e.g.: Welsh) (see Phase (1) in the above Chart).

In the context of the present study, numerous occasions where students received information through one language (in this case, English most of the time) and used it through another language could be observed. As have been described in Section 3.2 throughout data analysis, these might be for example occasions when students were assigned topics to prepare and present in groups; or instances when "group work" was organized in the course of a lesson; or still, when students received notes in English and discussed them with classmates as they reported to often do. In virtually all these occasions, whereas students received information in English, they were sure to discuss the content with their classmates in Kinyarwanda, or more accurately in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, and later reported back in English.

These occasions can well be considered as an application of the original definition of Translanguaging (viz. Input in one language and output in another language). However, one detail prevents them from being good instances of the original meaning of Translanguaging. That detail is related to the fact that these occasions were not PLANNED AND SYSTEMATIC uses of the two languages. For this reason; despite the fact that students in these occasions received information in one language and responded to it in another language; "Integrated Use of Languages" in the context of the present study still DOESN'T properly match the original idea

of “INPUT one language, OUTPUT another language”. In other words, should Translanguaging be a reality in the context under study; it still lacks the “input one language, output another language” criterion; and indeed, perhaps it is not Translanguaging in the proper sense!

4.3.1.2 *Irrelevance of Some Translanguaging Related Concepts in the Context of the Present Study*

Following inception of the practice of Translanguaging in the 1980s and its resounding success notably in Wales; Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice has been rapidly adopted in many multilingual teaching/learning hyperdiversity contexts. Concomitantly and perhaps as a consequence; the concept has rapidly developed in relation to a number of other concepts; and this development has often been motivated by the specificities of different contexts which undertake to practice Translanguaging. In this regard, *Co-languaging*; *Dynamic Bilingualism*; *Varied Classroom Contexts*; *Deaf and Special Needs Children* are all concepts which befit some contexts, without necessarily being useful in other contexts.

Similarly, in the context of the present study as I have submitted in this Chapter; Multilingual Practices are a reality in the classroom; but the type of Translanguaging which they define as befitting the context IS NOT likely to include the following concepts for the following reasons:

(1) “*Co-languaging*”

This concept explains a situation where ‘the curriculum content is delivered to different language groups simultaneously (Garcia 2009: 203 in Lewis et al. 2012: 660).’

In the context of secondary school classrooms in Rwanda, such situations are not often likely to occur since nearly the whole population in schools (and in the country generally) share the same Home Language.

(2) “*Dynamic Bilingualism*”

“Dynamic Bilingualism” ‘sees the complex bilingual language practices [...] as both the center of how language practices occur and the goal for communication in an increasingly multilingual world (Garcia & Sylvan 2011: 388)’. In the context of the present study, the complex bilingual practices may not necessarily be **the goal for communication** since the officially declared aim

in the context of Rwanda is to be able to use English as Medium of Instruction, and at the same time, develop/improve proficiency in Kinyarwanda, English, French, and Kiswahili (the 4 official languages).

Dynamic Bilingualism, for this reason, may be “the center of how language practices occur,” but not necessarily **the goal for communication** in this particular context of secondary school classrooms in Rwanda.

(3) “*Varied classroom Contexts*”

This concept is about classroom organizational problems due to ‘different first languages, heritage and immigrant languages, higher and lower status languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 664).’ Like in the case of “co-languaging” mentioned above, this problem is not likely to arise in the context under study since there are virtually no majority-minority groups in the country as almost the whole population share the same Home Language.

In this sense, therefore, Translanguaging in this particular context IS normally NOT about varied classroom contexts. It is about one virtually homogeneous classroom context where both teachers and students share the same first language (L1) and the same additional languages.

(4) “*Deaf and Special Needs Children*”

“Deaf and Special Needs Children” as a concept related to Translanguaging is about special education of children with special needs. Even though the concept is relevant in some “special education” schools in Rwanda, the context of special needs education is not concerned in the teaching/learning context of the present study; and, despite the current laudable option for inclusive education, “*Deaf and Special Needs Children*” as an aspect of Translanguaging is out of the scope of the present study.

Translanguaging in this particular context, therefore, IS NOT about “*Deaf and Special Needs Children*,” it rather happens to only involve teachers and students who can practice their listening/speaking skills (mainly in their home language, Kinyarwanda and to a lesser extent in English) and their reading/writing skills (mainly in English their medium of instruction, and to a

lesser extent in Kinyarwanda, their Home Language which they used as MoI only in their lower Primary School education).

(4) *Conclusion: Only a selection of seven concepts deemed relevant to the present study.*

On the whole, the concepts of *Co-languaging; Dynamic Bilingualism; Varied Classroom Contexts; and Deaf and Special Needs Children* discussed above are all recognized as contributing to the richness of the concept of Translanguaging, and to its usefulness for a wide range of contexts throughout the world. However, for the particular context of the present study, they represent what ***Translanguaging IS NOT*** in secondary school classrooms in Rwanda.

Conversely, in view of the whole concept as hitherto developed; **seven other concepts** (*Codeswitching, Translation, Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding, Developmental Use, Input/Output: Variations; Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging; Subject-determined Translanguaging*) are deemed relevant to the present study: These concepts together contribute to a description of what Translanguaging in the context of the present study IS DEEMED TO BE. The following Sub-section elaborates.

4.3.2 The NATURE of Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda

As submitted earlier in this Chapter; for a description of the Nature of Translanguaging in the schools investigated in this study; the above concepts retained as relevant to the context of secondary schools in Rwanda have been logically regrouped into 4 “broader concepts” as presented in the following Chart:

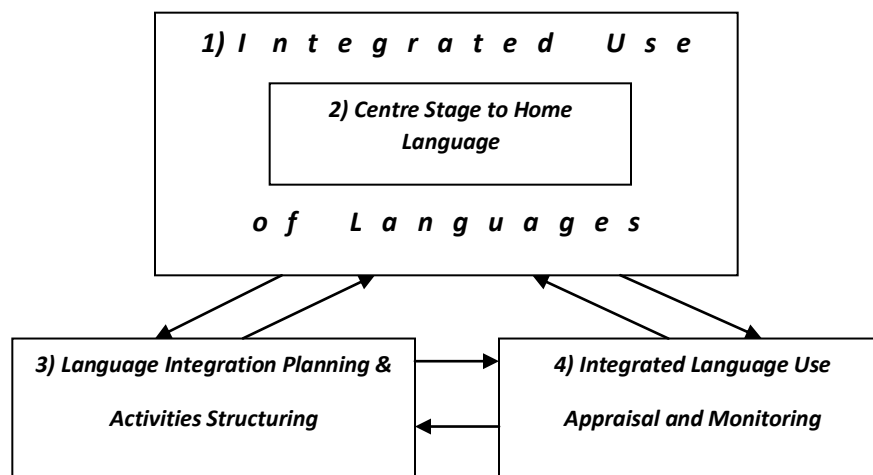
Chart 14: Selection and Regrouping of Concepts as Relevant to the Present Study

1 - <u>Integrated Use of Languages</u> Comprised of Codeswitching & Translation 2 - <u>Centre Stage to Home Language</u> Comprised of Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding & Developmental Use 3 - <u>Integrated Language Use Planning & Activities Structuring</u> Comprised of Input/Output: Variations & Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging

As can be interpreted from this Chart, the so called “broader concepts” encompass one or two of the concepts originally identified in the literature as related to Translanguaging. These “broader concepts” have been proposed to represent **4 salient aspects of Multilingual Practices** in the particular context of the present study. They orient to defining **Translanguaging** as a language practice IDEALLY consisting respectively in (1) using all the languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire inclusively for teaching/learning (***Integrated Use of Languages***); (2) allowing the teachers’ and students’ Home Language to play its due role in teaching/learning activities (***Centre Stage to Home Language***); (3) carefully planning the integration of languages (***Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring***) for teaching/learning rather going for random and disorderly multilingual practices; and (4) purposively observing, monitoring, and evaluating what is actually happening with the integration of languages (***Appraisal & Monitoring of Integrated Language Use***) rather than just letting multilingual practices happen.

For a visual representation of these “broader aspects” of Translanguaging as a construct that IDEALLY befits the context of secondary school classrooms in Rwanda, the following Figure obtains.

Figure 5: *Translanguaging and its 4 Interrelated and Interactive Facets as adapted to the Context of The present study*



As represented in this Figure, the above described “broader aspects” of Translanguaging are necessarily interconnected, ideally interactive and occurring symbiotically rather than linearly. Thus together, as a Model of Multilingual Practices which befits **basically monolingual classroom contexts**; they are proposed as an adequate tool for describing Multilingual Practices in these particular contexts; and as a reference for appraising them as fulfilling the requirements to qualify as instances of Translanguaging.

In the following paragraphs, therefore, a summary of **the Nature of Translanguaging** in Secondary School Classrooms in Rwanda is firstly presented with reference to this Model by describing it respectively as primarily about (1) “Integrated Use of Languages;” (2) “Centre Stage to Home Language;” (3) “Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring;” and “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages.”

4.3.2.1 “Integrated Use of Languages” as an aspect of Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary School in Rwanda

As appears to be most logical, Translanguaging is in essence about integration of languages for use, and in the context of the present study; this integrated use of languages manifests itself primarily through the practice of *Codeswitching* and *Translation*. How these concepts are applied in Secondary School in Rwanda is described as a way of presenting an essential aspect of WHAT Translanguaging IS in this particular context.

(1) Codeswitching as Practiced in the Two Secondary Schools Investigated

Translanguaging as *Integrated Use of Languages* was firstly examined by analyzing the use of **Codeswitching** in two Secondary Schools investigated in Rwanda. From the point of view of different levels of Secondary School (O’ Level and A’ Level) and grades of study (from 1st year to 6th year); all levels of study generally use Codeswitching in the classroom. However, the upper level (or A’ Level) seems to resort to the practice of Codeswitching more than the lower level (or O’ Level).

With regard to the different areas of study (and different subjects on the curriculum), Codeswitching is used differentially between the different areas of study, with the “Mathematics

and Science” area of study resorting to Codeswitching more than the “Humanities” which uses it relatively moderately; and the “Languages” area of study which uses Codeswitching relatively minimally.

A salient characteristic of Translanguaging in the context of the present study, therefore, is that Codeswitching is extensively used in Secondary School Classrooms; that from the point of view of different areas of study; it is practiced in virtually all subjects, but more so in “Mathematics & Science” than the “Humanities” and “Languages” subjects; and that from the point of view of different levels of study, Codeswitching is practiced in all levels of study but more so in upper than lower levels. Furthermore, it is related to another concept investigated in this study, namely: Translation which is considered next.

(2) Translation as Practiced in the Two Secondary Schools Investigated

Translanguaging as *Integrated Use of Languages* was also examined by identifying and counting instances of **Translation** in different subjects and in different levels of study. In terms of levels of study, it appears that generally (even though with rather limited range of frequency), Translation is practiced in all levels of study; but less so in A’ Level than O’ Level which uses the biggest number of Translations. Moreover, apart from being used in different levels of study, it also appears that Translation is used in different areas of study, and that the “Humanities” areas of study followed by “Mathematics and Science” areas of study seem to use Translation more than the “Languages” areas of study.

The core of another characteristic of Translanguaging in the context of the present study, therefore is that, from the point of view of different AREAS of study and contrary to Codeswitching which is used more in “Mathematics & Science,” Translation occurs more in “the Humanities” than in “Mathematics & Science” and “Languages” areas of study; and that from the point of view of different LEVELS of study, it is practiced in all levels of study but more so in the lower than upper levels of study.

(3) Concluding Note on Integrated Use of Languages

To conclude on the question of *Integrated Use of Languages*, it is noteworthy that the languages integrated most in the schools investigated are Kinyarwanda and English; to a lesser degree Kinyarwanda and French; to an even much lesser degree still, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili. Also

the most frequently heard combinations of languages are likely to be (1) Kinyarwanda-English, (2) English-Kinyarwanda, and (3) Kinyarwanda-French; in that order. Finally, even though Codeswitching and Translation together define “Integrated Use of Languages,” Codeswitching is by far more widely practiced in the context under study, and Translation is rather used minimally. In spite of its presence, therefore, the fact of minimal use of Translation is likely to considerably reduce the desirable positive impact that “Integrated Use of Languages” would normally be expected to have on teaching/learning.

4.3.2.2 *Centre Stage to Home Language* as an Aspect of Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary School in Rwanda

Apart from being essentially about Integrated Use of Languages as discussed above, Translanguaging as ***Centre Stage to Home Language*** in the context of the present study is also about the centrality of the teachers’ and students’ shared home language use; and this appears from an examination of two concepts, namely: *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* and *Developmental Use of Languages*.

(1) Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding in the Two Secondary Schools Investigated

Translanguaging as *Centre Stage to Home Language* was firstly investigated by considering the teachers’ scaffolding actions whereby students are encouraged to use their skills as developed in Kinyarwanda, their Home Language. Thus, from the point of view of levels of study as has been established in this study; teachers’ scaffolding actions seem to occur in all levels of study. Indeed, teachers integrate English and Kinyarwanda in their lessons whenever deemed necessary, and thus they give their students an opportunity to use their listening and speaking skills acquired in Kinyarwanda; and the students themselves extensively integrate the two languages in their learning. More particularly; lessons featuring “group work” and “group presentation” represent particular instances of scaffolding actions in the sense that when teachers organize these kinds of activities in their lessons, they *ipso facto* give their students an opportunity to use Kinyarwanda in their discussions either in class or when they prepare for their “group presentations” before coming to class.

In terms of different subject areas (and individual subjects), on the other hand, scaffolding actions through integrated use of languages are likely to occur in all subject areas, but more so in “Mathematics and Science” area of study than the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study.

(2) Developmental Use of Translanguaging in the Two Secondary Schools Investigated

Translanguaging as *Centre Stage to Home Language* was also investigated by identifying students’ uses of their skills developed in Kinyarwanda to learn. With reference to different levels of study; it appeared that students in all levels of study use listening and speaking skills acquired in Kinyarwanda to make sense of subject content. In terms of different subjects, on the other hand, it was found that students in “Mathematics and Science” subjects seem to resort to listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda more than students in other subject areas.

(3) Concluding Note on “Centre Stage to Home Language”

To summarize the important aspect of Translanguaging identified in the present study as *Centre Stage to Home Language*, a characteristic of Translanguaging with respect to “emergent scaffolding” and “developmental use” is that Kinyarwanda, the students’ Home Language helps teachers considerably in their endeavor to make the content of their lessons understood. Similarly, students widely integrate English and Kinyarwanda mainly through Codeswitching (and to a lesser degree through Translation) in an attempt to make sense of their lessons. Moreover, they make use of opportunities offered by group work and group presentations to discuss lesson content in Kinyarwanda (or Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching); and in all this, they mainly resort to Kinyarwanda listening and speaking skills.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that students rarely use their reading and writing skills developed in Kinyarwanda because they generally discuss in Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching and prepare their reports in English; and because the textbooks in subjects other than Kinyarwanda as a curriculum subject are almost exclusively written in languages other than Kinyarwanda (English, French, Kiswahili).

4.3.2.3 *Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring as an Aspect of Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary School in Rwanda*

A third perspective identified in the present study as an aspect of Translanguaging is “Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring” and it concerns the concepts of “Input/Output: Variations” and “Teacher-led/Pupil-led translanguaging.”

(1) “Input/Output: Variations” in the Two Secondary Schools Investigated

Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring was firstly examined through an attempt to determine “Input/Output: Variations” in different levels of study and different subjects. Originally, “Input/Output: Variations” in the context of Wales where the concept of Translanguaging originated from consisted of English/Welsh variation or *vice versa* as a pattern of **INPUT** one language, and **Output** another language. Observation of the situation in the schools investigated, however, showed the following variations to this pattern.

With regard to different levels of study, the predominant input/output pattern in all levels of study is generally English and English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching for **input**, and Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching for **output**, rather than English/Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda/English.

However, with regard to different subject areas, “Mathematics and Science” predominant input/output appears to be English-Kinyarwanda for **input** and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching for **output**. In the “Humanities,” similarly; the predominant input/output appeared to be English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching for **input** and Kinyarwanda-English for **output**. Finally, in the “Languages” area of study, a different pattern was found to be the relevant languages (Kinyarwanda, English, French, and Kiswahili) or English/ Kinyarwanda Codeswitching for **input**, and Kinyarwanda/English Codeswitching for **output**.

(2) Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging in the Two Secondary Schools Investigated

Translanguaging as Language Integration *Planning and Activities Structuring* was further investigated by making an inventory of, and a comment on, teachers’ Translanguaging practices to ascertain whether their actions are “deliberately planned and structured,” and by examining students’ actions to determine whether they are “independently undertaken”.

In terms of teacher’s Translanguaging in the classroom, it was notably found that their Integrated Language Use actions were not **deliberately planned and structured**; that their language

input/output pattern variations were due to students' and/or teacher's contingently genuine need to express themselves; and that, strictly speaking, in terms of "teacher-led Translanguaging," they were not practicing Translanguaging.

With regard to students' **"independently undertaken Translanguaging"** on the other hand, it was found that, in part, they are free to engage in the specific activities related to "group work" and "group presentations" using Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in their discussions. At the same time, however, when using Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in "group work" and "group presentation," they know they have to use English for output, and thus, their "independence" is reduced.

(3) Concluding Note on Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring

An important characteristic of Translanguaging in the context under study, therefore, is that Translanguaging activities are **not deliberately and systematically planned and structured**. However, activities involved in "group work" and "group presentations" offer teachers and students opportunities to undertake Translanguaging actions. Indeed, through this kind of work in group, teachers *ipso facto* implicitly plan the languages of input/output likely to occur in their lessons, and allow students to vary the language(s) of input/output. However, this kind of work in group is only a small aspect of the teaching/learning work, and deliberate and systematic planning and activities structuring still appear leave much to be desired.

4.3.2.4 "Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages" as an Aspect of Translanguaging in the Context of Secondary School in Rwanda

Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages as the last "broader aspect" of Translanguaging in the present study corresponds to only one concept among the other concepts described in the literature, namely: "Subject-determined Translanguaging." As discussed below, in investigating Translanguaging as "subject-determined," it was not *a priori* assumed that, whatever the context, certain subjects lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging.

(1) "Subject-determined Translanguaging" in the Two Secondary Schools Investigated

In the present study, this concept is not understood as suggesting that certain subjects intrinsically determine the use of Translanguaging, that indeed, Translanguaging is “subject-determined” in the strict sense of the term. Rather, from a comparative observation of different lessons in the classroom, differences between different subjects (or subject areas) in terms of the extent to which some (of them) practice Translanguaging more than others were noted.

In this regard, as the present study has found; a characteristic of the practice of Translanguaging in the context of the present study is that “Mathematics & Science” resort to “Integrated Use of Languages” the most as compared to the other areas of study, namely: the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study. Also, pursuant to this observation; it could be speculated that some factors in the context of the present study, might be the major determinants of the prevalence of “multilingual practices” in some subject lessons rather than others. These factors are as follows:

(a) Jargon and Abstract Language as “Integrated Language Use Determinant”

Taking into account the fact that the “Mathematics & Science” area of study is reputed to use much jargon; it is speculated that the more jargon and abstract language are featured in a lesson, the more “Multilingual Practices” are likely to occur in the lesson. Moreover, given the fact that the higher the level of study, the more jargon and abstract language need to be used; it is suggested that Translanguaging in the context of the present study might also be “*Level of Study-determined*” as elaborated next.

(b) Differences in Levels of Study as “Integrated Language Use Determinant”

As the data analyzed in this study has shown, there are differences between O’ Level and A’ Level in terms of multilingual practices in different lessons; and almost invariably, these practices are mostly found more in upper levels than lower levels of study, probably because they have to express complex ideas, and hence; higher levels of study tend to resort to “integrated use of languages” (viz.: Codeswitching and Translation) more than the lower levels of study. It is thus suggested that **Translanguaging** might be not only “subject-determined,” but also, “*Level of study-determined.*” As the present study has found, however, it might also be “*Lesson Activity-determined.*”

(c) Lesson Activities as “Integrated Language Use Determinant”

“Jargon and Abstract language” and “Levels of Study Differences” might not be the only factors in determining the use of Translanguaging: In the context of the present study, it was observed that the **kind of activity** involved in a lesson is also important. In this regard, it has appeared from the data that “**explanations,**” and “**exercises**” as lesson activities seem to correlate with the prevalence of Integrated Language Use; whereas “**presentation of factual information**” as a lesson activity seems to resort to “Integrated Use of Languages” rather minimally.

(2) Concluding Note on Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages

Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages as “Subject-determined Translanguaging” was examined by attempting to identify the factors likely to determine the prevalence of Multilingual Practices in the 22 lessons observed in the context of the present study. To this effect, these lessons were compared in terms of how much they differentially use “other words than English,” and two characteristics of Multilingual Practices in this context were identified.

Firstly, even though Translanguaging has been characterized as “**Subject-determined,**” suggesting that certain subjects might intrinsically lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging; different subjects in different contexts may lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than others. Thus for example, whereas Arts and Humanities subjects in the context of Wales (Lewis et al 2012) seemed to use Translanguaging more than other subjects; Mathematics & Science in the context of the present study appear to resort to multilingual practices more than the other areas of study. This suggests that even if certain subjects in a given context may lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than other subjects; they might not necessarily do so in other contexts. In other words, subjects MAY NOT BY THEMSELVES determine their own use of Translanguaging. Rather, other factors (intrinsic and extrinsic) might cause them to lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than others.

Secondly, among other things, the above mentioned causes for predilection for Translanguaging might include: The Use of **jargon and abstract** language in a lesson; the **level of study**; and the **type of activity** involved in a lesson. Concerning the **type of activity** more specifically, these **types of activity** likely to determine the use of Translanguaging in the context of the present

study may be: “**Explanations**” and “**exercises**” which seem to require the use of multilingual practices the most, and “**presentation of factual information**” which seems to resort to multilingual practices the least.

4.3.2.5 Conclusion: A Succinct Description of the Nature of Translanguaging

Overall, the findings hitherto discussed extensively can be succinctly encapsulated in the following Table.

Table 19: Essential Facts about the Nature of Translanguaging in the Secondary Schools investigated

<i>Broader Aspect of Trans languaging</i>	<i>Concepts Included</i>	<i>Findings</i>	<i>Comment</i>
1. Integrated Use of Languages	- Code switching	- <i>With regard to levels of study</i>; CS practiced in all levels and grades of study; but more so in upper than lower levels - <i>With regard to subject areas</i>; CS practiced in all subject areas; but more in Maths & Science than the “Humanities” and “Languages”	<u>Noteworthy:</u> - The languages most likely integrated: Kinyarwanda & English - Frequent Codeswitches: Kinya-Rwanda/English; English/Kinya-Rwanda; Kinyarwanda/French
	- Translation	- <i>With regard to levels of study</i>; translations done in virtually all levels of study; but more in O’ Level - <i>With regard to subject areas</i>; translations done in all areas of study; but observed in the Humanities the most; whereas in Maths & Science, moderately practiced, and minimally so in the “Languages” area of study.	- Comparatively, CS practiced more than Translation: Indeed, little use of translation generally. - Most often, translation from English to Kinyarwanda; rarely the opposite. - Usually, Translation limited to the word, phrase, and sentence level: Rarely whole text level.
2. Centre Stage to Home Language	- Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding	- <i>With regard to levels of study</i>; Scaffolding actions observed in all levels of study. But more in upper levels of study. - <i>With regard to subject areas</i>; Scaffolding observed in virtually all subjects. But lessons featuring “group work” and “group presentation” particularly good for scaffolding	- Scaffolding often manifested through CS: (Mostly English/Kinyarwanda CS)
	- Develop mental Use of Trans languaging	- Students <i>in all levels of study</i> willingly use listening & speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda - <i>In different subject areas</i>: Use of these skills mostly observed in Maths & Science subjects.	- Rarely reading & writing skills are used, and in fact, virtually all text books written in other languages than Kinyarwanda.
3. Integrated Language Use Planning & Activities Structuring	- Input/Output: Variations	- <i>In virtually all levels of study</i>: English and English-Kinyarwanda CS for input; Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English CS for output. - <i>In different subject areas</i>: . In Math&Science and Humanities; English-	- Input/output: variations due to contingently genuine need for ease of expression

		Kinyarwanda CS for input & Kinyarwanda-English CS for output . In Languages; Relevant language for input & Relevant (or relevant language/Kinyarwanda CS) for output	
	- Teacher-led/Pupil-led Trans Languaging	- Integrated Language Use: Not deliberately and systematically planned by the teacher - Generally, students freely integrating languages for use notably in their study time, and in “Group work” and “group presentation.”	- “Implicit planning” of integrated language use when teachers assign work to be done in groups. - Otherwise no planning at all
4. Integrated Language Use Appraisal & Monitoring	- Subject-determined Trans Languaging	- Subjects involving Integrated Use of Languages in the context of the present study: Mainly “Mathematics & Science” subjects.	- In other contexts (e.g. in Wales), likelihood of other subjects involving Translanguaging more than others. Hence, observed predilection for Translanguaging not really “subject intrinsic,” but rather determined by extrinsic factors (e.g.: type of activity in a lesson).

These are briefly the salient points discerned from the data as pertaining to the NATURE of Translanguaging in the context of the present study. In view of these characteristics, what might be referred to as “Translanguaging” in this context is primarily characterized

by (1) extensive use of integrated languages (mainly involving Kinyarwanda and English) through *Codeswitching* notably; and to a lesser degree through *Translation*; and by (2) markedly supplementing English language skills with Kinyarwanda speaking and listening skills, in all levels of study and in all subject areas, for teaching and learning. At the same time, however, still as ascertained with reference to the concept of Translanguaging as developed to date, multilingual practices in this context appear to be (3) unplanned and mainly resorted to in a contingently *ad hoc* manner, mainly out of necessity to genuinely and efficiently communicate/understand subject content. Furthermore and as a corollary, these multilingual practices are (4) scarcely monitored and appraised.

As discussed next, while Translanguaging is expected to represent ideal multilingual practices for teaching/learning, such a practice of the concept as succinctly described above, can be ambivalent about the benefits it can bring to secondary school education generally; and to subject content knowledge and language competence development more particularly.

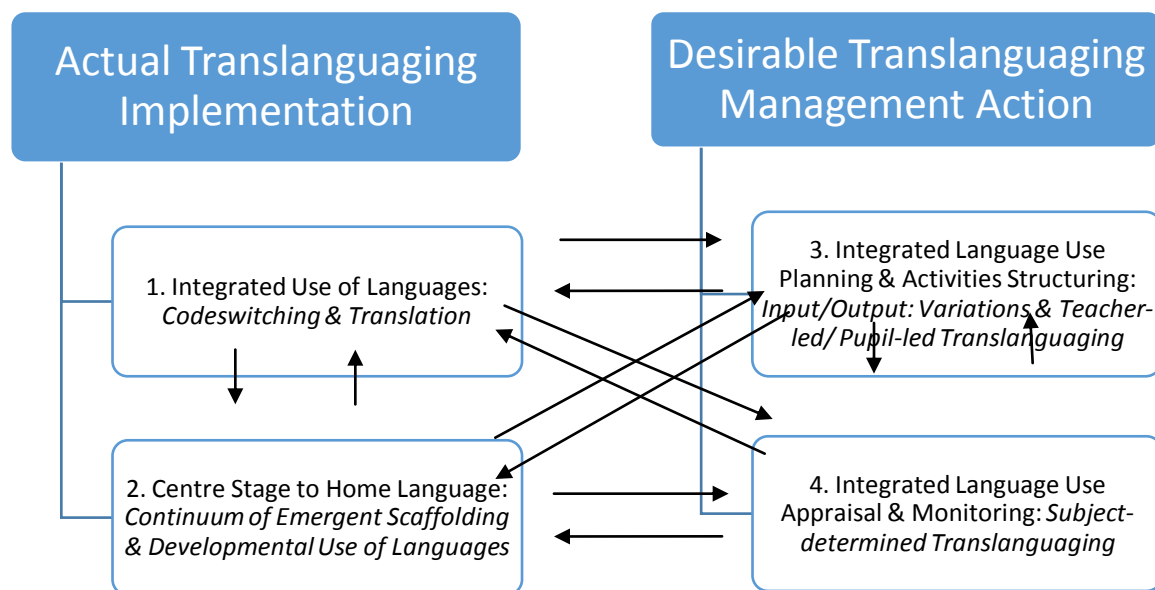
Following is an appraisal to that ambivalence with reference to the current development of the Concept of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012), and to the Theory of Language Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1999) in academic contexts.

4.3.3 Appraisal of Translanguaging as Practiced in the Academic Context of Secondary School Education in Rwanda

4.3.3.1 Appraisal in Terms of the Concept of Translanguaging Itself

For an appraisal of the practice of Translanguaging in the context of the present study, the four “broader concepts” earlier discussed as different aspects of Translanguaging are ideally fully interrelated and permanently interactive for multilingual practices to be fully beneficial to the teaching/learning process as illustrated in the Chart below.

Fig. 6: Translanguaging Implementation and Management



As represented in this Chart, two of the 4 “broader concepts” (*Integrated Use of Languages* and *Centre Stage to Home Language*) are directly about the very fact of using different languages together in the process of teaching and learning; and they represent the **actual implementation** of the concept of Translanguaging in the context under study. On the other hand, two other

concepts (*Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring* and *Integrated Language Use appraisal & Monitoring*) are, so to say, **indirectly** concerned with the **integration of languages** *per se*. In fact, they are about the necessary decisions underpinning the language integration process for teaching/learning; and they represent **Desirable Translanguaging Management Actions**. Nonetheless, all the 4 of “broader concepts” are equally necessary for multilingual practices to be useful for teaching/learning and, as symbolized by the arrows between them; they are ideally interconnected, mutually dependent, and interactive.

In this way, (1) the languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire must be integrated for teaching/learning (*Integrated Use of Languages*); but (2) this “language integration” must heed the important role that the Home Language must play in the teaching/learning process (*Centre Stage to Home Language*). At the same time and most importantly, for efficient teaching/learning, this “Integrated Use of Languages” must be (3) carefully planned and activities must be well structured for efficient use of Multilingual Practices for teaching/learning; and for this to happen; Integrated Use of Languages must be (4) regularly monitored and evaluated for teaching/learning efficacy through integrated use of languages.

Therefore, all the four proposed aspects of Translanguaging must work in harmonious interaction, and this interactive character is considered as an important criterion of efficacy. It is in view of the Multilingual practices observed in the context of the present study that it has been possible to evaluate them as follows:

(1) In terms of “Integrated Use of Languages”

Evaluation of Multilingual Practices in the context of secondary school in Rwanda can’t but firstly acknowledge the fact that Codeswitching is widely used and that presumably, through it, “Integrated Use of Languages” might be allowing teachers and students to take advantage of all the languages in their repertoire for teaching and learning. However, as it has been established that Translation is practiced rather **minimally**, the benefits that might accrue from its use of Multilingual Practices generally may, to a certain extent, be **limited**.

(2) In terms of “Centre Stage to Home Language”

Once again, it is acknowledged that Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” implies that teachers and students in the context under study profitably make use of English, and supplement it with skills developed in Kinyarwanda (the teachers’ and students’ Home Language) for teaching and learning. However, as earlier argued, the fact that Kinyarwanda is not used as Medium of Instruction beyond lower primary school, it is not sufficiently developed as a language of academic discourse, and thus it is potentially limited in its contribution to the talk in the academic context.

(3) In terms of “Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring”

As has already been established in this study, “*Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring*” represents the weakest aspect of Translanguaging as applied in this context. Indeed, whereas it is necessary for any action to be carefully planned to yield good pedagogical results, there doesn’t seem to be any deliberate planning in the use of languages in the present context and thus, the benefits that would otherwise accrue from well thought out integration of languages might be mitigated.

(4) In terms of “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”

Just like “Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring” discussed above, “*Integrated Languages Use Appraisal and Monitoring*” represents another aspect of Translanguaging which is not developed to play its role. In fact, together these “broader aspects” of Translanguaging labeled together as “**Desirable Management Action**” have been found to be the weakest aspect of the practice of Translanguaging in the context of the present study. Indeed, as has been established in this study, it is practiced without any appraisal and monitoring action, and almost without any planning (and/or *vice versa*, without any planning and therefore, without any appraisal and monitoring action).

It is thus suggested that; given the fact that “planning,” “appraisal” and “monitoring” are crucial processes in any enterprise; Translanguaging as practiced in the context under study is not fully-fledged; that in fact, to say the least, the outcome of its application might be mitigated. And this is the more so that random and unplanned integration of languages may not be sure to lead to the

use of a fully adequate language for academic use. The following sub-section elaborates even more with reference to the Theory of Language Proficiency.

4.3.3.2 Appraisal with Reference to the Theory of Language Proficiency in the Academic Context

In the preceding Section, Multilingual Practices observed in secondary school classrooms in Rwanda were evaluated in terms of the concept of Translanguaging itself, and the outcome was that the practice might result in a language which may not be adequate for academic use. In this last sub-section, another corroborating evaluation is attempted with reference to Cummins' (1979, 1989) theory of "Language Proficiency" in academic contexts.

According to the theory of "Language Proficiency (Cummins' (1979, 1989)," two fundamental characteristics are necessary for adequate language use in academic contexts. These characteristics are BICS (Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency); and for teachers and students to adequately use a language for teaching/learning, they need to develop their competence in terms of both these characteristics. As I explain in this concluding Sub-section, however, the kind of "translanguage" observed as resulting from multilingual practices in the context of this study might not be fully adequate in view of the skills developed in the languages mixed.

In this regard, in virtue of "**Actual Integration of Languages**" (viz.: "*Integrated language use*" and "*Centre Stage to Home Language*") the integrated languages are Kinyarwanda which teachers and students hardly develop in terms of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) because they don't use it in teaching/learning (only used in lower Primary School), and English which they hardly develop in terms of Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) because they rarely use it in everyday conversation.

What this suggests, therefore, is that the product of the integration of Kinyarwanda and English in these conditions (viz.: Extensively integrated through Codeswitching and minimally through Translation) might tend to be a juxtaposition of Kinyarwanda BICS and English CALP mainly under the form of subject specific terms.

Secondly, in terms "**Desirable Management Actions**" (viz.: "*Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring*" and "*Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages*"),

there doesn't seem to be any Translanguaging management action likely to orient the **“Actual Language Integration Actions”** towards purposefully desired results. Indeed, as the present study has found, not only there doesn't seem to be any deliberate planning, but also; there is no attempt to evaluate the situation and to orient to desired “Language Competence” and “Subject Content Knowledge” development.

Therefore, even though “Integrated Use of Languages” is likely to lead to enhanced communication as ascertained in this study; it is still necessary to determine the extent to which it is likely to lead to the targeted “Subject Content Knowledge” development and “Language Competence” development; and these represent the topics of the coming Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 respectively.

CHAPTER 5:

THE ROLE OF TRANSLANGUAGING IN ENHANCING SUBJECT CONTENT KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT

5.0 INTRODUCTION

After Chapter 4 and its detailed description of Translanguaging as it actually occurs in two secondary schools in Rwanda, this Chapter sets out to ascertain the extent to which the practice is likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development. In this endeavor the Chapter is informed by three theories, namely: **Translanguaging** as a teaching/learning theory; **Language Proficiency** (Cummins 1979; 1999) as a theory of language competence in academic contexts; and **Anderson & Krathwohl's (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing** as a theory of knowledge.

In Section 5.1, the “Frame of Analysis and Presentation” of the data based on these theories is firstly presented. Then Section 5.2 proceeds with the analysis of the first set of data comprised of corpora recorded from classroom language practices and transcribed verbatim. Next, Section 5.3 follows with an analysis of the data from interviews with teachers. Thereafter, Section 5.4 focuses on the data from interviews with students. And finally, Section 5.5 closes the Chapter with an informed account of how Translanguaging is likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development in the two secondary schools investigated.

5.1 FRAME OF ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

5.1.1 The Concept of Translanguaging as a Guide into the Analysis of the Data

The first theory proposed as guidance to the study of the Role of *Translanguaging* in Enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development in the context under study is **Translanguaging** itself. In this Chapter, this theory is not used crudely as a developing concept (see Chapter 1), but rather, as a construct already described in Chapter 4 as it actually occurs in the context under study. Thus, for ease of reference, the following Chart succinctly presents, in broad lines, the said Chapter 4 description of the Nature of Translanguaging in secondary school in Rwanda.

Table 20: Translanguaging as Described in Chapter 4

Multilingual Practices in 2 secondary schools	
- Described with reference to I) <u>Seven Selected Concepts Related to Translanguaging Regrouped as:</u> <u>1. Integrated Use of Languages</u> <u>2. Centre Stage to Home Language</u> <u>3. Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring</u> <u>4. Integrated Use of Languages Appraisal and Monitoring</u> - With reference also to II. <u>The Structure of Secondary school Education in Rwanda</u> III. <u>The competence-based Curriculum Framework</u> - And appraised with reference to IV. <u>Cummins' (1979, 1989) Theory of Language Proficiency (CALP/BICS) in academic contexts</u>	I) <u>Characteristics of Translanguaging as Found to Occur in the Context Under Study:</u> 1. Integrated languages used extensively, in all levels of study and in virtually all subjects; 2. Students persistently encouraged by teachers to resort to skills developed in their Home Language & effective steady use by students of these skills in learning; in all levels of study and in virtually all subjects; Note: more so in upper levels of study and in “Mathematics & Science” area of study. 3. Utmost lack of deliberate classroom language integration planning; however, implicit language integration planning (not always intended) in some classroom activities such as “group work” and “group presentations” in all levels of study and in virtually all subjects Note: more so in upper levels of study and in “Mathematics & Science” area of study. 4. Teachers’ lack of deliberate integrated language use evaluation and monitoring; in all levels of study and in virtually all subjects II) & III) <u>Note on Findings 1; 2; 3 above:</u> More so in upper levels of study and in “Mathematics & Science” area of study. II) & III) <u>Note on Finding 4 above:</u> No evaluation & monitoring, but easily noticeable fact that “Mathematics & Science” area of study resorts to integrated use of languages in teaching and learning more than other areas of study. IV) “Integrated language use” only results in <u>Kinyarwanda BICS and English CALP</u> combination, not desirable <u>English BICS+CALP and Kinyarwanda BICS+CALP</u>

As can be seen in this Chart, the information on **Translanguaging** in the context of secondary schools in Rwanda serves as guidance into the study of HOW multilingual practices are likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development through 4 “broader aspects” of Translanguaging as elaborated below.

5.1.1.1 Translanguaging as (1) Integrated Language Use

This broader aspect of Translanguaging regroups the two concepts of *Codeswitching* and *Translation* as proposed in this study; the rationale for this regrouping being that these concepts refer to the very **act of using** different languages in the same activity of language use. Thus whereas **Codeswitching** is defined as using elements from different languages in the classroom discourse, **Translation** concerns the act of rendering the same content in two different languages.

In this Chapter, therefore, I propose to begin the investigation of HOW Translanguaging enhances **Subject Content Knowledge Development** by firstly focusing on HOW “integrated use” of English and Kinyarwanda (and eventually, French and Kiswahili) facilitates **smooth delivery of** and **access to** knowledge to teachers and students respectively.

5.1.1.2 Translanguaging as “Center Stage to Home Language”

In the literature on the process of teaching/learning in formal education the recurrent question is related to identifying the appropriate “linguistic variety”³⁴ for teaching/learning. To this question, different teaching/learning paradigms give a clear cut answer by suggesting (rightfully) that the Home Language (Mother Tongue, First Language) of the learner is the “appropriate” language of teaching/learning (UNESCO 1953, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Brock-Utne 2007). Without denying this privileged role of the Home Language; **Translanguaging** as a teaching/learning process argues that the answer is not merely the ***Mother Tongue*** (Home Language, First Language) of the learner; that rather the answer is that **all the languages** in the teacher’s and students’ repertoire are harnessed. Still in addition and most importantly, all the languages in the students’ repertoire are not only harnessed, but also the student’s Home Language occupies the “Centre Stage” in the process.

At this stage of the present study, therefore, I consider it convenient to treat the concept of *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* and *Developmental Use* as belonging together because, as aspects of Translanguaging, they are also about integration of all the students’ languages for

³⁴ Term borrowed from Franceschini (2011)

learning, but more particularly, they pertain to encouraging the students' use of their Home Language for learning.

Drawing on this “broader aspect” of Translanguaging, therefore, I propose to further investigate HOW Translanguaging enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development by ascertaining HOW the use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda, the students' Home Language in the context of this study, is encouraged by the teacher (*Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding*) and HOW they are used by the students (*Developmental Use*) to **facilitate smooth delivery of, and access to Subject Content Knowledge**.

5.1.1.3 Translanguaging as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring”

Firstly, it is important to note that, in the particular formal education context of teaching/learning, there are necessarily educational goals to be attained. For the attainment of these goals, the practice of **Translanguaging** must necessarily feature an aspect of **Planning**. A broader aspect of the construct is thus proposed which includes the concepts of “*Input/Output: Variations*” and “*Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*.” Of these concepts, the former is about decision on the “linguistic variety (Francheschini 2010)” to be used to contribute knowledge to the process of teaching/learning (by the teacher or any other source) (**see language for smooth delivery of Knowledge**); and the “linguistic variety” to be used by the student to exteriorize the product of the teaching/learning process (**see language used for access to Knowledge**).

In this Chapter, therefore, I submit that **some planning** must be put into the choice of the “linguistic varieties” to be used for Input and Output for the attainment of desired results. On the other hand, the latter concept (“*Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*”) is about whether some **planning** occurs at all; and if so, WHO actually **plans** for the choice of these linguistic varieties to be used for Input and Output.

In the present Chapter, I further submit that for the attainment of desired teaching/learning goals, the choices are made by the teacher (*Teacher-led Translanguaging*) for “deliberate and systematic (Lewis et al. 2012)” use of languages. In other words, drawing on the two broader aspects of Translanguaging described above (viz. Translanguaging as “*Integrated Use of Teachers' and Students' Languages*” and Translanguaging as “*Centre Stage to Home*

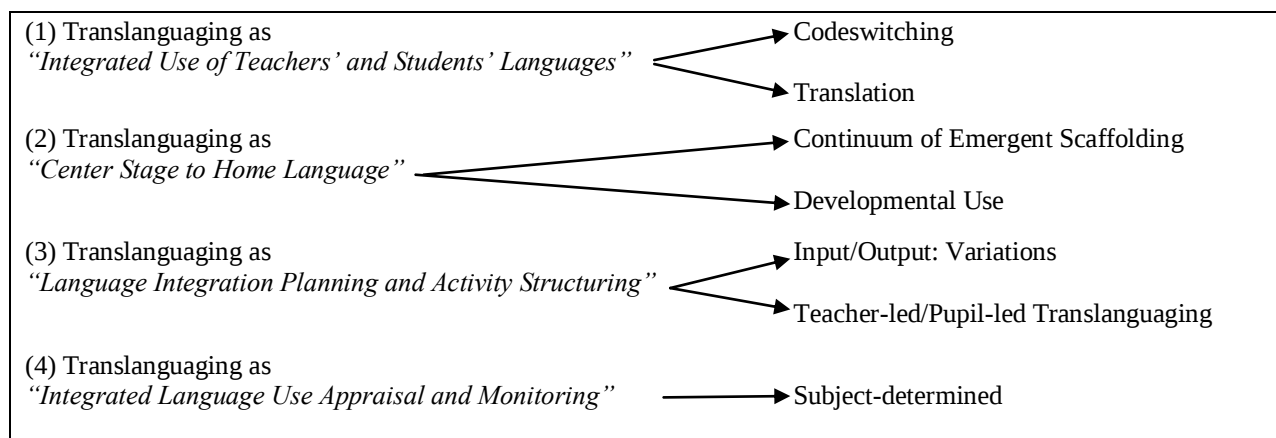
Language”), integration of languages for teaching/learning need to be deliberately and systematically thought out (1) to include all the languages in the teachers and students’ repertoire, and (2) to heed the central role of the students Home Language for the attainment of desired results.

Investigation of HOW Translanguaging enhances **Subject Content Knowledge Development**, therefore, is geared to ascertaining whether the language(s) of Input and Output are judiciously chosen by the teacher to ensure **smooth delivery of** and **access to Knowledge**.

5.1.1.4 Translanguaging as “Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring”

Finally, attainment of desired results in the process of teaching/learning in formal education is conditional on appraisal and monitoring of the process. In this regard, the practice of Translanguaging needs to be regularly evaluated and monitored; both **in terms of “Integration of Languages”** and in terms of the way **integrated language use** judiciously applies to all the **“different areas of study” on the curriculum**. For ease of reference, the following Chart summarizes the above “broader aspects of Translanguaging” proposed in this study generally and in this Chapter more particularly.

Chart 15: The “Broader Aspects of Translanguaging” proposed for the study



Drawing on these “broader aspects of Translanguaging”, I submit that investigation into HOW Translanguaging is likely to enhance **Subject Content Knowledge Development** in the context under study focus on whether and how these “broader aspects” of Translanguaging contribute to **smooth delivery of and access to knowledge in all subjects on the curriculum**. Thus, the way *Translanguaging* is used as a guide into the analysis is as follows.

5.1.1.5 Translanguaging as a Guide into the Analysis of the Data

In view of the above proposed “broader” aspects of Translanguaging and taking account of the findings in Chapter 4 on “the nature of Translanguaging” as actually practiced in the context under study (see Chapter 4), the questions implied in the investigation of the role of the practice in enhancing students’ Subject Content Knowledge Development are presented in the following Table.

Table 21: Broader Aspects of Translanguaging and questions related to Subject Content Knowledge Development

<i>Translanguaging as observed in the context under study (See Chapter 4)</i> (1)	<i>Questions guiding the Investigation of the extent to which Translanguaging Enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development</i> (2)
(1) Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Teachers’ and Students’ Languages	
- Extensive use of English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in all levels of study & in all subjects; but more so in upper levels of study and in Math & Science area of study	Q1. Does extensive integration of English and Kinyarwanda through Codeswitching contribute to enhancing smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge ? And if so TO WHAT EXTENT?
- Limited use of Translation , and even so; almost exclusively in lower levels of study; and particularly in the 1 st year	Q2. Does limited integrated use of English and Kinyarwanda for Translation contribute to enhancing smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge ? And if so TO WHAT EXTENT?
(2) Translanguaging as Center Stage to Home Language	
- Extensive Emergent Scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching in all levels & in virtually all subjects, but more so in upper levels of study & in Math & Science area of study.	Q1. Does extensive encouragement of students’ use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda contribute to enhancing smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge ? And if so TO WHAT EXTENT? And which skills are tapped?
- Extensive “Developmental Use” of listening & speaking skills in Kinyarwanda in all levels & in all subjects, but more so in Math & Science area of study.	Q2. Does extensive resort by students to skills developed in Kinyarwanda contribute to enhancing smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge ? And if so TO WHAT EXTENT? And which skills are tapped?
(3) Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning & Activities Structuring	
- Predominant “input/output” pattern: Input = English-Kinyarwanda, Output = Kinyarwanda-English.	Q1. HOW Does the Input/Output pattern of English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English contribute to enhancing smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge ? And which skills are tapped?
- Significantly Limited input/output pattern as English/Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda/English;	Q1. Is <i>limited Input/Output pattern of English/Kinyarwanda & Kinyarwanda/English</i> likely to contribute to <i>enhancing smooth delivery of and access to Knowledge</i> ? And which skills are tapped?
- No such a thing as “deliberate planning and activity structuring” observed in the context under study.	Q2. HOW does the lack of deliberate planning and activity structuring contribute to hampering (<i>or enhancing</i>) Smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge ? And which skills are tapped?

- In some lessons, however, “group work” and “group presentations” represent some form of “implicit planning.”	Q3. HOW does “implicit planning” in “group work” and “group presentations” contribute to enhancing Smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge?
(4) Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”	
- Mathematics & Science-determined: Translanguaging observed more in “Mathematics & Science” subject area than others. - Furthermore, more in upper than lower levels of study. Hence, practice opposite to the one observed in Lewis et al.’s (2012) context	Q1. HOW does “Mathematics & Science-determined Translanguaging” contribute to smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge in all subjects on the curriculum? Q1. HOW does “Mathematics & Science-determined Translanguaging” in upper than lower levels of study contribute to Smooth delivery of, and access to Knowledge in all subjects on the curriculum?

As can be seen in this Table, column (1) shows how the analysis of the data in this Chapter capitalizes on the findings on the Nature of Translanguaging as practiced in the context under study (see Chapter 4). The questions in Column (2) on the other hand, are indications of how the data are interrogated to determine whether (and ascertain the extent to which) Translanguaging is likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development. These questions represent the overarching aspect of the investigation.

For the second aspect, the investigation as proposed in the Theoretical Framework is guided by the Theory of Language Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1989) in the Academic Context. The questions to be answered as inspired from this theory are posed next.

5.1.2 The Theory of Language Proficiency and Analysis and Presentation of the Data

As appears to be most logical; the investigation into the role of Translanguaging in students’ Subject Content Knowledge Development needs to refer to a theory of Language Proficiency in the academic context; and Cummins (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency proposed in the Theoretical framework appears to be appropriate in this Chapter.

As Cummins (1979, 1999) pertinently proposes in this theory, adequate Language Competence in academic contexts comprises two important constructs, namely: “Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency” (CALP) and “Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills” (BICS) (Cummins 1979, 1999). In this Chapter, analysis of HOW Translanguaging enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development firstly draws on the concept of Translanguaging as summarized in the preceding Table; and it also draws on Cummins (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency in the Academic Context as presented in the following Table.

Table 22: Translanguaging and Language in Academic Contexts

<i>Characteristics observed in the context under study</i> (1)	<i>Language Competence Situation with regard to CALP & BICS</i> (2)	<i>Anticipated questions with reference to Subject Content Knowledge Development</i> (3)
(1) Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Teachers' and Students' Languages		
- Extensive use of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in all levels of study & in all subjects; but more so in "Math & Science" area of study and in upper levels of study - Communication facilitated. (speaking & understanding easier) - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . CALP undeveloped in Kinyarwanda . BICS undeveloped in English . Uncertain about the nature of BICS&CALP in Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING	Q1. HOW is extensive use of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING likely to enhance Subject Content Development amid limited BICS and CALP in English and Kinyarwanda respectively, and with the uncertain nature of BICS and CALP in Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING
- Limited use of Translation; almost exclusively in lower levels of study & more particularly in the 1st year - Two versions of the same Subject content in both English and Kinyarwanda	However; . Limited BICS in English; & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . Little use of Translation	Q2. HOW does limited use of Translation is likely to hamper/enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development amid limited BICS and CALP in English and Kinyarwanda respectively (including the question of Translation efficacy and critical Translation impact attainment)
2) Translanguaging as Center Stage to Home Language		
- Extensive scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING in all levels of study and mainly in upper levels of study. - Understanding facilitated by taking advantage of Home Language knowledge. - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda	Q1. HOW is extensive scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING in all levels likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development amid BICS and CALP deficit in English and Kinyarwanda respectively?
- Extensive "Developmental Use" of Kinyarwanda listening & speaking skills in all levels and more in upper levels of study - Students taking advantage of Home Language as resource - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . Use of Kinyarwanda limited to listening and speaking skills	Q2. HOW does extensive Developmental Use of Translanguaging is likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development amid limited BICS and CALP in English and Kinyarwanda respectively?
(3) Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning & Activities Structuring		
- Predominant "input/output" pattern: English-Kinyarwanda Input, Kinyarwanda-English Output. Limited input/output in Kinyarwanda/English or English/Kinyarwanda - Input/output Variation possible: Not limited to English as per language in education policy. - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . Lack of original Input in one language and Output in another	Q1. HOW is predominant English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/ Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development amid limited BICS and CALP in English and Kinyarwanda? And amid lack of the original pattern of Input in one language and Output in another language.

- No such a thing as “deliberate planning and activity structuring.” However, group work and group presentations represent some form of implicit planning - Only implicit teacher-led and thus, mainly pupil-led Translanguaging - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . (1) Planning Defect exacerbating by (2) little Translation use, and (3) lack of original Input in one language and Output in another language pattern.	HOW is Integrated Language Use Planning Defect likely to hamper/enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development amid limited BICS & CALP in English and Kinyarwanda respectively? And amid Planning Defect, little Translation use, and lack of original Input/Output pattern of language use.
(4) Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”		
- Translanguaging observed more in “Mathematics & Science” subject area than in other areas. - First likely beneficiaries of Translanguaging: Maths & Science students - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication in “Math & Science”	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda	HOW is predominance of Translanguaging practice likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development in “Mathematics & Science” area of study amid limited BICS & CALP in English and Kinyarwanda respectively?

As can be seen in this Table, the salient features of Translanguaging as observed in Chapter 4 as occurring in the context under study (see Column 1) are taken into account along with the situation of Language Competence in English and Kinyarwanda with regard to **limited CALP and BICS** (see Column 2); and questions on HOW the practice of Translanguaging is likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development **in two Secondary schools** are formulated. Since “Knowledge” is concerned, however, another theory, Anderson & Krathwahl’s (2001) Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing is also considered.

5.1.3 Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing as a Guide into the Analysis and Presentation of the Data

As a relatively recent adaptation of Bloom’s (1956) taxonomy; Anderson and Krathwohl’s (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing is interesting for this Chapter which focuses on “**Translanguaging and Subject Content Knowledge Development,**” in the sense that it represents a practical classification of different levels of knowledge.

As reiterated from Chapter 2 and elaborated here by citing Wilson’s (2016: 5) succinct discussion of the taxonomy, these levels of knowledge refer respectively to (1) **Factual knowledge** which is ‘knowledge that is basic to specific disciplines [...and] refers to essential

facts, terminology, details or elements students must know or be familiar with in order to understand a discipline or solve a problem in it'; to (2) **Conceptual Knowledge** which is 'knowledge of classifications, principles, generalizations, theories, models, or structures pertinent to a particular disciplinary area'; to (3) **Procedural Knowledge** which is 'information or knowledge that helps students [...] do something specific to a discipline, subject, or area of study [...] refers to methods of inquiry, very specific or finite skills, algorithms, techniques, and particular methodologies'; and to (4) **Metacognitive Knowledge** which refers to 'awareness of one's own cognition and particular cognitive processes [and which] is strategic or reflective knowledge about how to go about solving problems, cognitive tasks, to include contextual and conditional knowledge and knowledge of self (Wilson 2016: 5)'.

In view of these levels of knowledge, therefore, the specific question to answer is how the practice of Translanguaging is likely to facilitate the process of teaching/learning subject content in a way to achieve **understanding and expression** of Subject content in all the above levels of Knowledge. In a move to reflect on this question; the hypotheses laid out in the Table below serve as a basis for discussion.

Table 23: Translanguaging and Language for Different Levels of Knowledge

<i>Characteristics observed in the context under study</i> (1)	<i>Possible gains</i> (2)	<i>Anticipated questions with reference to Anderson&Krathwohl's Taxonomy</i> (3)
(1) Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Teachers' and Students' Languages		
- Extensive use of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING in all levels of study & in all subjects, but more so in "Math & Science" area of study and in upper levels of study	Communication facilitated. (speaking & understanding made easier through CODESWITCHING) - Hence, better delivery of and access to Subject content.	However; . Need to understand & express "factual" and "conceptual" Knowledge . Need to understand & express "procedural" & "meta- cognitive" Knowledge - Hence, question of which level of knowledge likely to be served by CODESWITCHING
- Limited use; almost exclusively in lower levels of study & more particularly in 1sr year	Two versions of the same Subject content in both English and Kinyarwanda - Hence, better delivery of and access to Subject content	However; . Need to understand & express "factual" and "conceptual" Knowledge . Need to understand & express "procedural" & "meta- cognitive" Knowledge - Hence, question of which level of Knowledge likely to be served by Translation - Hence, question of critical Translation impact attainment

(2) Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning & Activities Structuring		
- Predominant “input/output” pattern: Input = English-Kinyarwanda, Output = Kinyarwanda-English. Limited input/output in Kinyarwanda/English or English/Kinyarwanda	Input/output: Variation possible: Not limited to English as per language in education policy. - Hence, better delivery of and access to Subject content	However; . Need to understand & express “factual” and “conceptual” Knowledge . Need to understand & express “procedural” & “meta- cognitive” Knowledge - Hence, question of which level of knowledge likely to be served by Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING
- No such a thing as “ deliberate planning and activity structuring .” However, group work and group presentations represent some form of implicit planning	Only implicit teacher-led and thus, mainly pupil-led Translanguaging - Hence, access to Subject content; in spite of Translanguaging planning defect	However; . Need to understand & express “factual” and “conceptual” Knowledge . Need to understand & express “procedural” & “meta- cognitive” Knowledge - Hence, question of which level of Knowledge likely to be served by Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING
3) Translanguaging as Center Stage to Home Language		
- Extensive scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING in all levels and in all subjects but more so in “Math and Science” area of study and in upper levels of study	Understanding facilitated by taking advantage of Home Language knowledge. - Hence, better delivery of and access to Subject content	However; . Need to understand & express “factual” and “conceptual” Knowledge . Need to understand & express “procedural” & “meta- cognitive” Knowledge - Hence, question of which level of “Math & Science” knowledge is likely to be served by Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING
- Extensive “Developmental Use” of listening & speaking skills in Kinyarwanda in all levels & in all subjects but more so in Math & Science area of study	Students taking advantage of Home Language as resource - Hence, possibility of access to Subject content	However; . Need to understand & express “factual” and “conceptual” Knowledge . Need to understand & express “procedural” & “meta- cognitive” Knowledge - Hence, question of which level of Knowledge likely to be served by Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING
(4) Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”		
- Translanguaging observed more in “Mathematics & Science” subject area than in other areas	First Translanguaging beneficiaries: Maths & Science students - Hence, better delivery of and access to Subject content in “Math & Science”	However; . Need to understand & express “factual” and “conceptual” Knowledge . Need to understand & express “procedural” & “meta- cognitive” Knowledge - Hence, question of which level of “Math & Science” knowledge is likely to be served by Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING

As I have tried to convey through this Table, there might be **assured gains** with regard to Subject Content Knowledge Development in the practice of Translanguaging; and these gains pertain to **better delivery of, and access to** Subject Content Knowledge. However, **for lack of Translanguaging planning and structuring**, there might be a number of pitfalls incurred in

disorderly use of Translanguaging; especially those related to **difficulties of which language** to use for Subject Content Knowledge **expression** and **discussion**. Whether this and the other hypotheses earlier put forward at the outset of this chapter are founded, the data analyzed in the following Sections will tell.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON SUBJECT CONTENT KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT: EVIDENCE FROM CLASSROOM LANGUAGE PRACTICES

5.2.1 Analysis and Presentation of the Data with Reference to the Concept of Translanguaging

As proposed in the Theoretical Framework for this Study (see Chapter 2), three theories, namely: Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012) as a teaching/learning practice, Language Competence (Cummins 1979, 1999) as a Theory of Language Proficiency in academic contexts, and Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing (Anderson & Krathwohl (2001), serve as guide into the analysis of the data in this Chapter. For this purpose, the “Frame of Data Analysis and Presentation” proposed in Section 5.1 above has elaborated on the way these theories are drawn on. Thus, for this Sub-section, the analysis refers to the **concept of Translanguaging** and related theories as regrouped into “Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Languages” (5.2.1.1); “Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language” (5.2.1.2); “Translanguaging as Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring” (5.2.1.3); and “Translanguaging as Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring” (5.2.1.4).

5.2.1.1 “Integrated Use of Languages” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

“Integrated Use of Languages” has been proposed as the first “broader aspect” of Translanguaging. It includes “*Codeswitching*” and “*Translation*,” and the rationale is that these concepts in the context of Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice consist specifically in **the very act** of using more than one language in the classroom talk to support teaching/learning. The significance of these concepts for Subject Content Knowledge Development is discussed in turn.

(1) Codeswitching and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As has been established in the literature, “Codeswitching” as a multilingual practice is closely related to Translanguaging, and indeed; there appears to be much overlap between the two (Levis et al. 2012). On the other hand, previous consideration of the construct as practiced in the context under study has found Codeswitching to be **extensively** used in the classroom. More particularly, English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching were found to be widely used in all levels of study and in all subjects; and more particularly more in upper levels than lower levels of study (viz. in the three A’ Level grades); and in the “Mathematics and Science” area of study more than the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study. In what follows, I interrogate the data further to discuss the **way in which** Codeswitching as an extensively practiced aspect of Translanguaging might be contributing to **delivery of, and access to knowledge**.

The first example to illustrate how Translanguaging is likely to enhance ***Better Delivery of, and Access to Subject Content Knowledge*** is from a lesson in Geography and Environment 4th Year. Towards the end of this lesson, the teacher is displaying a picture; trying to make students see the differences between “handline” and “longline” methods of fishing. Thus through question-and-answer method she leads the students to mention a number of these differences, but there is still one that they fail to see clearly. This moment of the lesson generates the following conversation:

- T: Another difference?
- S: Handline is a traditional method; longline is modern.
- T: Here, yes; it is another difference, but another, another, yes?
- S: Another is that handline is near hand.
- T: Gggood! ... (*Teacher point to another student*)
- S: And longline is draw (sic) by boat.

At this juncture, the teacher has seen that to come to the answer she wanted would take too much time. The students would go on giving many “good” answers, but would probably not find “the answer” as fast as she would like them to, or they would not find it at all. She then (somehow unexpectedly and almost suddenly) shifts from English to English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching thus:

- T: ‘Handline *ifata amafi ari hafi, si byo? Mu gihe* longline *ifata ari kure*. Longline *igafata menshi*. *Birumvikana?*
(=Handline catches fishes which are near, doesn’t it? Whereas longline catches those which are far. Longline catches a substantial quantity. Is it clear?).

In this way, the information takes a few seconds to be understood by all the students, and indeed they seem to understand promptly. Thus, the teacher's decision to resort to English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching appears to have saved time and energy; and also to have avoided any sort of misunderstanding (with reference to the answer she had in mind).

Another example is from a lesson of French in 6th Year. Here the teacher is trying to explain the insertion of euphonic "t" in interrogative sentences as in "*Ta soeur quand arrive-t-elle?*" (Literally: "Your sister, when is she arriving?"). After a long explanation of about 157 words length, the teacher can see clearly that the students are not following. Indeed, the more he explains, the more he realizes that the words and phrases like "*insérer,*" "*intercaller,*" "*faciliter la prononciation*" etc... he is using are obscuring rather than illuminating the explanation. For this reason, he has to drop the original focus of the explanation (= about the euphonic "t") to attend to the new vocabulary he is using. Finally, in order to really make the students understand what he is explaining, he shifts to French-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching thus:

T: ... Quand on dit intercaler ca veut dire insérer. OK ? Intégrer quelque chose. *Ni ugushyira ikintu hagati. OK ?* On dit que donc lorsque le verbe se termine par une voyelle, il faut intercaler un « t » entre le verbe et le pronom personnel sujet pour faciliter la prononciation. Je vais donner un exemple : «Ta sœur, quand arrive-t-elle? » *Ni ukuvuga ngo iyi « t » uyishyira hagati muri iyi phrase interrogative ku maverbe aherwa na voyelle kugira ngo bifacilite ... kugira ngo bitworohereze prononciation ; kugira ngo bivugike. Eueee..urabona hano mvuze ngo: « Ta sœur quand arrive * elle? » Ntabwo bivugi... donc ntabwo, ntabwo bisoundinga neza. Aiko iriya « t » ari na yo ntuzaza yambazaga, ijyamo kugira ngo prononciation yumvikane. Ntibyumvikanye?*

T: (= When we say « interpolate » we mean « insert ». OK? To integrate something. *It is to put something between. OK?* So when the verb ends with a vowel, we must interpolate a "t" between the verb and the personal pronoun to facilitate pronunciation. Let me give an example: "Your sister, when is she arriving?" *This means that this "t" is put in this interrogative sentence on verbs ending in a vowel in order to facilitate ... so as to make the pronunciation easy for... to make it easy to say. Euee... you see here if I said: « Ta sœur, quand arrive * elle ? » it is difficult to sa... so it doesn't sound well. But this "t" which [the student] was asking about, is put here to ease pronunciation. Is it clear?*

Many students unanimously say YES after this explanation, showing that most of (if not all) them have understood; and indeed, when the teacher shifted to French-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching, the class appeared to follow better.

Still another example is from Mathematics 1st Year. In this lesson about “illustrating sets of natural numbers on a number line,” students are doing exercises on the blackboard with the help of the teacher. But not much talk is going on since students are doing the exercises silently for the most part, while the teacher either reminds them that they must explain what they are doing or, now and then, gives the explanations himself. Towards the end of the lessons, however, one student doesn’t do the exercise correctly, and another student asks to redress the mistake:

S: *Hariya arabyishe! Teacher! (= There he is doing it wrong! Teacher!)*

This calls the teacher’s attention to the mistake, and as it is almost the end of the lesson, he doesn’t want to spend any more time (which he doesn’t have by now) by helping the student (in English) to correct his mistake as he has hitherto been doing. Rather, he explains the exercise again in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching:

T: *Ni byo? ... Reba hano ukuntu ikibazo kimeze. Bari baduhaye point “a.” Point « a » is 3 negative 2. Barongeta baduha « m », « m » ni middle point of distance (a and b). Ahantu bakubaza: Ni hehe tuzashyira point “b” kugira ngo iyi “m” izabe ari yo iba mid point ya distance (a and b)? Inh? Ni hehe tuzayishyira?*

(= Is it?... See here how the question has been asked. We have been given point “a.” Point “a” is 3 negative 2. We have also been given “m”, “m” middle point of distance (a and b). What they are asking: Where are we going to put point “b” so that this “m” is mid point of distance (a and b)? Enh? Where are we going to put it?)

S: *Negative 1 (Apparently, this answer is wrong, and the teacher continues...)*

T: *Enh? Ni hehe tuzayishyira? Ni hehe tuzashyira « b » ? Akangaka ubu ni agace: Ni kimwe cya kabiri cya distance (a and b). Si byo? Ni hehe rero aka kadoomo « p » tuzagashyira?*

(=Enh? Where are we going to put it? Where are we going to put “b”? This one is one part: It is half of distance (a and b). Isn’t it? Where are then going to put this point “p”?)

In this extract, the teacher obviously uses Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching at this particular moment because he notices that the question had not been understood. Whereas he had been mainly using English throughout the lesson, he seems to have decided to shift to Codeswitching to make sure that this time the students understand. And probably also because he notices that it is almost the end of the lesson, which couldn't allow him the leisure to engage in an explanation in English. And indeed, after this explanation and a few more exchanges with the students, the bell rings the end of the lesson, and the teacher asks the students to redo this exercise as homework.

From these examples and many more that can't be cited here, the use of Codeswitching appears to be a good way to deliver/access knowledge. In fact, when using English only, teachers are often seen to proceed carefully, either moved by the aim to make sure the students understand; or even (sometimes) constrained to hesitant and cautious talk by their own relatively limited fluency in English.

When they shift to English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING on the other hand, they seem to express themselves with confidence and free of constraint; and they seem to be assured that the students are following what they are saying. It would thus be right to say that, generally speaking, Codeswitching (and *ipso facto* Translanguaging) fosters better delivery of, and access to, Subject Content Knowledge by facilitating communication.

(2) Translation and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As earlier discussed (see Chapter 2), “Translation” as part and parcel of Translanguaging has been presented in the literature as a useful tool for scaffolding learning (Lewis et al. 2012), for vocabulary knowledge development (Creese & Blackledge 2011), for meaning making and literacy development (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010). Also, in the context of the present study, examination of the worth of Translation as an aspect of Translanguaging has revealed that, though minimally used in the Secondary schools investigated, it appears to be used in virtually all levels of study, but more so in lower grades (viz. O' Level) than higher grades (A' Level).

After Codeswitching, and like it, as a concept directly related to “the very act” of integrating languages in the classroom, Translation is further examined to gauge the way in which it is likely to support understanding of Subject Content Knowledge delivered in English and translated into

Kinyarwanda. The first example used to support this argument is from a lesson in Entrepreneurship 1st Year (O' Level) which simultaneously featured group work and group presentation.

In this lesson, the teacher asked his students to form groups to discuss “The Importance of Saving Money in a Bank” and thereafter present the result of their discussions. What appeared clearly in the implementation of this exercise is that all students worked in Kinyarwanda in their groups; then translated their work in English; and reported on their work in English and directly translated their sentences in Kinyarwanda, probably following previous instructions from the teacher. This proved to facilitate the work particularly at this lowest level of Secondary school: Indeed, virtually all the advantages of saving money in the bank were cited and translated, and the students seemed to enjoy it.

Another useful utilization of Translation was observed in a lesson of “History and Citizenship” still in 1st Year (O' Level). In this lesson, the teacher presented his lesson in English, and he made sure that all the key terms of the lesson are translated in Kinyarwanda. In this way, the students were simultaneously learning the English and Kinyarwanda versions of the key vocabulary of the lesson, which in fact constituted the gist of the whole lesson. As could be observed throughout this lesson, the parallel and systematic presentation of this vocabulary proved to be an efficient way of covering a substantial amount of content since it made it possible to avoid lengthy and often difficult explanations in English only.

Still another example is from Mathematics 1st Year (O' Level). In this lesson, the class is going through exercises done by students at home as a homework. When the class comes to exercise Nr. 2, the teacher reads: “Illustrate each of the following sets of numbers ... (and students complete) “On the number line!” Then the teacher wants to make sure all the students remember what “number line” means and asks:

T: Eh! ... Number ... Number line; *Bishatse kuvuga iki? Bishatse gusobanura iki? Reka mbyoroshye: Mbwira mu Kinyarwanda.*

(= Eh!... Number line; what does it mean? What does it refer to? Let me make things easy: Tell me in Kinyarwanda).

Students then tried to translate:

S1: *Shyira imibare iri hasi ... ku m...* (= Put the numbers which are “down” ... on...)

- S2: *Shyira imibare ku rutonde.* (= Put the numbers on the list.)
S3: *Shyira imibare iri hasi ku murongo.* (= Put the numbers which are “down” on a line.)

Basically, though the different Translations are rather inadequate from the linguistic point of view, they still showed that the students roughly understood what they had to do, but the teacher wanted to make sure they understand specifically the notion of “**illustrating**” the set of numbers. So he suggests the word “*erekana*” which better gives the idea of what they had to do in this exercise. This resulted in students doing the exercise, apparently knowing what they are doing more precisely.

As earlier mentioned, the multilingual practice of Translation was not widely used; and indeed, the examples given here might be virtually the only instances of Translations occurring in all the 22 lessons. However, as these examples have shown; Translation is considerably useful whenever it is correctly used (in fact a Translation may be erroneous), because it saves time and provides students with richer information by using two languages instead of using only one.

(3) Conclusion: “Integrated Language Use” and its Role in Subject Content Knowledge Development

As has appeared from the above analysis, taken as a whole, “Integrated Use of Languages” proposed in this study as comprised of Codeswitching and Translation seems to be useful for **delivery of Subject Content Knowledge** by the teacher and **access to** it by the student. In using all the languages in their repertoire, the teachers find it easier to communicate with the students, and the students understand better what their teachers have to tell them; and this is the more true that the language of instruction is English which the students (and even sometimes the teachers) don’t master so well; and that they share the same Home Language which they can all resort to comfortably.

5.2.1.2 “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As proposed in this study; another wider aspect of Translanguaging after “**Integrated Use of Languages**” is “Translanguaging as **Centre Stage to Home Language**,” suggesting that; apart from featuring integration of different languages in the lesson; the practice of Translanguaging

also reserves the student's Home Language a central role. In this regard, "Centre Stage to Home Language" entails the concepts of "Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding" and "Developmental Use of Translanguaging."

(1) "Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding" and Subject Content Knowledge Development

"Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding" as earlier discussed (see Chapter 2) relates to learners' need for language support if they are to usefully participate in Translanguaging tasks in the classroom (Lewis et al. 2012). Indeed, as Garcia & Kheifgen (2010) remark, the kind of support they need is in line with the normal practice by **emergent bilinguals** whereby they frequently resort to their Home Language to accomplish different learning tasks in the classroom, and therefore; educators need to encourage them in that practice. In this regard, as earlier shown in the present study, observation of lessons in the context under study has shown that; whether deliberately or not; teachers in this context widely encourage the use of the students' Home Language in the classroom; and this encouragement is likely to enhance **Subject Content Knowledge Development**.

The first argument for this enhancement is rather generic to all lessons which consist in giving the students the responsibility to be the first Subject Content Knowledge contributors to the lesson by planning "group work" and "group presentations." These lessons typically occasion students' use of Kinyarwanda, their Home Language, and thus; in the data collected for this study, such activities were observed in Entrepreneurship 1st Year where students were asked to identify the advantages of saving money in a bank as earlier mentioned; in "Literature in English" in 4th Year for group presentations on an English playwright; in "Geography & Environment" in 5th Year for group presentations of "The Causes of Famines in Africa" and "Women's Rights"; and in "History and Citizenship" 2nd Year to discuss the characteristics of "The Century of Enlightenment."

Even though carrying out these tasks (especially in their preparations stage by the students) is not directly supervised by the respective teachers, they represent ways in which teachers give their students opportunities to use their skills developed in their Home Language; and this can be regarded as one way in which the concept of "Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding" represent enhancement of Subject Content Knowledge Development.

Another remark that can perhaps be made to illustrate the role of Translanguaging in enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development as represented by the concept of Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” is related to the essence of the concept itself. Since the central idea contained in the concept is that students need support from the time they start learning a new language to the time they become able to fully participate in Translanguaging activities as fully-fledged bilinguals (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010), all the language practices involving both the integration of the students’ Home Language and their new language can well be considered as part of the concept of “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding.” In other words, “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” is a multilayered evolution from “emergent bilingualism (Garcia 2009)” to fully-fledged Translanguaging and thus, it would seem right to assert that; of all the multilingual practices in the classroom; Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding actually refers to all the other multilingual practices.

Thus, if **Codeswitching** is about integrated use of two (or more) languages including the students’ Home Language; it contributes to the evolution from emergent bilingualism to Translanguaging; and, arguably; all the evidence that Codeswitching enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development can be used to suggest that “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” similarly enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development. Also, if **Translation** as an aspect of Translanguaging is about rendition of the meaning of subject content expressed in one language into another (or other) language(s), and if evidence is produced that Translation is a useful language practice for fostering Subject Content Knowledge Development; then, the same evidence also substantiates the role of Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding in enhancing Subject Content Learning since it is Translation from English **to the students’ Home Language**.

Further still, all the evidence produced for the importance of “Input/Output: Variation,” “Subject-determined Translanguaging,” and “Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging” can be considered as evidence that Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding contributes to Subject Content Knowledge Development, because they all contribute to the continuum in their own respective ways. And finally, that **Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding** is particularly about encouragement of **students’ use of skills developed in their Home Language** to aid thinking, reflecting, and extending their inner speech (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010) doesn’t remove anything to its connectedness to the other concepts in the way described above since, after all; in one way

or another; these concepts are all about tapping the Home Language as a resource for learning generally, and for Subject Content Knowledge Development particularly.

(2) “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Earlier in the present study (see Chapter 4), “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” was found to be extensively used by students resorting to Kinyarwanda **listening and speaking** skills for learning. Thus, students’ frequent “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” was found to occur through integrated use of English and Kinyarwanda mainly through English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching; and this appeared to happen mainly in “Mathematics and Science” subjects and in upper levels of study. As discussed more pointedly below, however, “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” in the particular context under study was found not to be fully taken advantage of in the classroom context.

The first examples to illustrate this argument concern again the lessons “implicitly planned” by the teachers as using “group work” and “group presentation” in the classroom, namely: Entrepreneurship 1st Year, Geography and Environment 5th Year; History and Citizenship 1st Year; and Literature in English 4th Year. Firstly, as earlier referred to, in an Entrepreneurship 1st Year lesson; students working in groups discuss in Kinyarwanda, and thereafter present their work in front of the class. This implies that, while preparing for their small presentations, they use listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda while discussing and presenting their work since they systematically translate in Kinyarwanda their contributions to the presentations.

In Geography and Environment 5th Year too, “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” occurred in a similar way. Students came to the class having prepared their presentations, and again; they routinely use their speaking and listening skills developed in Kinyarwanda to discuss their topic. Still in Geography and Environment 5th Year, a similar exercise occurs since, like in the above example, students came to class prepared for their presentations, and they widely use Kinyarwanda in the process of getting ready for such “group presentations.” Finally in a lesson in Literature in English 4th Year, students are presenting on the work of an English playwright, and they too routinely prepare these group presentations through listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda.

As highlighted through these examples, therefore, it seems clear that “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” in the context under study is primarily, and even almost exclusively, practiced through **listening and speaking** skills. Arguably, it would also be useful for them to make explicit use of reading and writing skills in Kinyarwanda for more structured activities to **access** Subject Content Knowledge Development.

(3) Conclusion: “Centre Stage to Home Language” and its Role in Subject Content Knowledge Development

After “Integrated Use of Languages” as the first aspect of Translanguaging, another closely related “broader aspect” of Translanguaging proposed in this study is “Centre Stage to Home Language.” It is central to the practice of Translanguaging in the sense that it gives precedence to the students’ Home Language, their natural way of expression and indeed, their natural way of learning. In the context of this study as the above analysis has shown, Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language is extensively practiced both with regard to *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* by teachers who in fact share the same Home Language with the students; and in terms of *Developmental Use* by the students.

This **extensive** practice by both teachers and students is likely to widely enhance **delivery of, and access to Subject Content Knowledge**. However, students were found to resort mostly to listening and speaking skills and rarely to reading and writing skills if ever; and thus, Subject Content Learning enhancement would be even greater if reading and writing skills were also tapped.

5.2.1.3 “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Translanguaging is not only “Integrated Use of Languages” and “Centre Stage to Home Language” as discussed above; it is also about planning the integrated use of languages in the classroom. Thus, from the point of view of who plans the process, Translanguaging includes the concept of “Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging,” and from the point of view of the result of the integration process, it includes the concept of “Input/Output: Variations.” Contribution to Subject Content Knowledge Development of these concepts is discussed in turn.

(1) “Input/Output: Variations” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Originally, the idea behind this aspect of Translanguaging was to ‘deliberately switch [...] the language mode of input and output in the classroom (Lewis et al. 2012: 663)’. Two languages in the classroom then would be used; one for input and the other for output; but it was also suggested that there might be possibilities for variations of the input/output pattern, depending on different bilingual curricula (Garcia 2009a). In this sense, “Input/Output: Variations” is about planning the integrated use of different languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire and structuring the activities these languages are involved in.

In line with this concept, the PREDOMINANT “input/output” pattern of language use in the context of the present study was found to be “input” through **English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching** and “output” through **Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching**; and also rather rarely, “input” through **English** and “output” through **Kinyarwanda** or vice versa. In other words, the “original” Input/Output pattern mentioned in the literature whereby **one language** would be used for learning input and **another** for learning output (Lewis et al. 2012) was found to be scarce in this particular context. Nonetheless, as discussed below, the observed Input/Output pattern was found to be most efficient for ***Better Delivery of, Access to Subject Content Knowledge***. The first example used for this argument is from a lesson in Mathematics 3rd Year. Following is an extract from the lesson:

T: [...] The triangle ABH and the triangle ABC are...

SSS: Equal

T: No, similar! They are similar... because two triangles..., we have just seen that triangles or figures are similar,... may be similar, may be similar... *twavuze ko triangle zishobora kuba similar ryari? Zishobora kuba zingana, cyangwa zitagize zite?... zitangana. Sibyo? Ibintu bishobora gusa ariko bitangana dukonsiderinze iki? Size: Ingano yabyo. Sibyo?*

(= [...] we said that triangles may be similar when? They may be equal, or not what?... not equal. Isn't it? Things may be similar without being equal if we consider what? Size: Their size. Isn't it?

In the lesson from which this example is drawn, the class is doing exercises on “Similar Triangles.” Strategically, the teacher had begun by reviewing the necessary notions like “right

angle triangles” and theorems and postulates like the “angle-side-angle theorem” and the “angle-angle postulate”; and he had done this in English only.

However, as can be seen in the first two lines of the extract, the simple oral test the teacher uses to assess his students’ understanding of the difference between the notions of “similar” and “equal” shows that there is still a need for further explanations (Indeed, when he says: “[....] The triangle ABH and the triangle ABC are...?”; the students repeat the same mistake and say: “Equal!!”). This shows that the students are confusing the concepts of “equal triangles” and “similar triangle” even though the teacher has just explained at length the topic of ***Similar Triangles*** in English. Thus, in order to go deeper into the necessary explanations and enable the students to do the exercises, he uses English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching; and in reality, it could be said that the stretch which puts some clarity in the students’ mind is the Kinyarwanda part in the teacher’s explanation.

Visibly then, the teacher’s wisdom to change the language of input from English to English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching has cleared the students’ mind on the point of their misunderstanding. This change of the medium of **delivery of subject content** is better on many accounts. Not only the students understand better, but also the teacher himself is more at ease drawing on Kinyarwanda and English to give the necessary details he realizes are still necessary for the students to understand what he has just told them in English only.

On the other hand, for output, the convenient language for the students’ participation in the lesson appears to be Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. In the first place, the above example can also be used to show the students’ need to use Kinyarwanda-English for their **access** to, and **output** of Subject Content Knowledge. Indeed, even though they had been offered the necessary explanations in English, their output (viz. answering that the triangles are equal whereas they are similar) showed that they still needed more explanations.

Another signal that the convenient language for the students’ access to and output of Subject Content Knowledge is often Kinyarwanda-English is that during exercises, students often answer questions (correctly) without speaking; or use either Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching when they speak. This appears for example in a lesson in Physics 1st Year.

In this lesson, the class is doing application exercises of the “Archimedes Principle.” The teacher calls for a volunteer to do question 1. Many students put up their hands; and when one is designated, he goes to the blackboard and simply writes the answer silently. Given the fact that the teacher was addressing the class in English, this might show that the student was not ready to produce the answer in English (though he knew it!). And it is not so much because the student is still in 1st Year. Even in a lesson in Entrepreneurship 5th Year this is observed.

In this lesson, the class is doing exercises on the establishment of “cash-flow statements.” One example of such a “cash-flow statement” has been written on the blackboard and the teacher calls for a volunteer to **state** the sources of money in the statement. When a student is designated; he doesn’t **state** them; rather he goes to the blackboard, and points to the answer without speaking.

Still another similar example is from a lesson in Mathematics 6th Year. In this lesson, a student is doing an exercise on the blackboard, but he is not speaking and the teacher has to repeatedly request that he speak, or that he speak louder as he rather mumbles inaudible explanations when he tries to offer some. Also, at these requests, the student would start speaking, but the explanations in English would soon fade away.

What appears clearly to be the case then is that, in fact, **English only** does not facilitate students’ contribution to the lessons, even when they have something in store for output; and many occasions when they do contribute their ideas show that Kinyarwanda-English is what they need. One such example is from a lesson in Physics 5th Year. In this lesson which persistently uses Kinyarwanda-English for input, the teacher is trying to explain the notion of “strain” in the context of “Grook’s Law.” Following is the teacher-students talk which apparently arouses students’ interest:

- T: [...] *ibintu bita* (= Things they call) strain... *ni* (=is) extension over original size
[...] *tugasigarana...* (=we remain with ...?)
- S: zero
- T: *Oya ntabwo ari zero, ni ikingu kitagira* unit. (=No it is not zero, it is something which has no unit)
- S: *Nonese twamenya ari igiki?* (=In that case how can we know what it is?)
- S2: *Tuzakivumbure rero? Tuzakivumbura rero!!* (=Should we discover it then? Then we shall discover it!!)

- T: *Ni ikintu kitagira unit.* (=It is something without a unit)
- S: *Tuzakivumbura!* (=We shall discover it!)
- [....]
- T: *Ni yo mpamvu iyo mfashe five meter, nkagabanya na one meter, hasigara kangahe se? ...* (=That is why when I take five meters, divided by one meter, what do I thus have?)
- SS: Five.

In this extract, the students seem to be intrigued by an answer without a unit; and, even before the teacher has finished explaining this kind of answer without a unit (for example a “constant”); they resolve, as proud young scientists, to undertake discovery of that thing without a unit. With a bit more explanations in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, however, they know what that thing without a unit is.

The point about this example, however, is not that the students have come to know about this kind of answer without a unit: The point is that the use of Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English produces all kinds of output, and that the students can exteriorize it through Kinyarwanda-English medium; which they often fail to do when using English only as argued above.

Finally, other examples such asking questions clearly through Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English were observed in Mathematics 1st Year; Physics 1st Year; and Chemistry 4th Year. They all demonstrate that, whereas the original Input/output pattern as per the 2009 language in education policy is English/English; English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English as a variation to this pattern appears to be more apt to foster students’ full participation in Subject Content Knowledge Development.

(2) “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Another concept related to **Translanguaging as Planning and Activity Structuring** is “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging.” Whereas “Teacher-led Translanguaging” refers to “planned and structured” Translanguaging actions by the teacher, “Pupil-led Translanguaging” evokes independently carried out actions by the students (Lewis et al. 2012).

In the context of the present study, it is most importantly noted that **no planning action by the teacher** was observed; and this lack of explicit “Teacher-led Translanguaging” makes it the

more interesting to ascertain what shortcomings the data show in relation to this characteristic. As has earlier been documented, “Teacher-led Translanguaging” in the context of the present study is only implicitly accomplished. Indeed, as earlier argued, when teachers organize “group work” and “group presentations” in their lessons; they *ipso facto* give their students an opportunity for “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” whereby they have leisure to focus on a given topic and use their listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda to discuss the topic with each other. Thus, while discussing the topic, they may use Codeswitching, translate ideas from Kinyarwanda into English etc.; and this represents some form of implicit Translanguaging planning.

For explicit “Teacher-led Translanguaging,” however, the data show that teachers don’t plan and structure their Translanguaging actions. In other words, strictly speaking, “Teacher-led Translanguaging” is not practiced, and what this entails is that Translanguaging in this particular context is primarily “Pupil-led”; which means that students undertake Translanguaging activities independently, and influence flexible use of languages (Lewis et al. 2012) on their own, but this cannot replace the teacher in his role of Translanguaging planning.

(3) Conclusion: Lack of “Language Integration Planning” and Implications

In view of the above observation, the following can be said with reference to the other aspects of Translanguaging especially with regard to *Planning and Activity Structuring*.

- *As regards the very “Act of Language Integration in the Lesson Discourse:”* With regard to Codeswitching, even though this aspect of Translanguaging is widely and usefully practiced; it is not deliberately meant by the teachers as a teaching/learning strategy. Rather, it is only used as a natural way of speaking, both from the teachers’ and the students’ point of view.

On the other hand, in terms of Translation, this aspect of Translanguaging is also usefully practiced. However, it is so minimally applied that its impact can hardly yield any tangible outcome. Should there be some “deliberate planning” on the part of the teacher; Codeswitching would be “planned” to focus more on subject content understanding, and everything could be done so that Translation be practiced more, so as for it to better benefit the teaching/learning process.

- *In terms of “Centre Stage to Home Language:”* With regard to “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding,” as already established in this study, teachers extensively encourage students’ use of their Home Language, mainly through Codeswitching. However they do it naturally guided by their own needs of expression and by the students’ needs of accessing knowledge, and in so doing, English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching tends to overshadow both English and Kinyarwanda uses. Should there be some “deliberate planning,” a certain balance in the use of these three “linguistic varieties” (Kinyarwanda, English, and English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching), would be achieved.

- *In terms of “Integrated Language Use Planning:”* Language of Input/Output pattern as one aspect of “Integrated Language Use Planning” has been found to be dominated by English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English pattern. Should there be “deliberate planning,” other language of input/output patterns like English/English, English/Kinyarwanda, Kinyarwanda/English, and Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda would also find more space of application to the better benefit of subject content learning and expression.

In terms of “Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring:” The evaluation of the practice of Translanguaging across different subject areas and different levels of study has found that “Mathematics and Science” subjects resort to “Integrated Use of Languages” more than other areas of study; and that upper levels of study resort to the practice more than lower levels. Should there be more “deliberate planning” by all teachers; all **areas** and **levels** of study could adhere to the practice as much as needed and as judiciously as possible; and this too would better benefit subject content learning and expression.

5.2.1.4 “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

“Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” is another aspect of Translanguaging proposed which corresponds to the concept of “*Subject-determined Translanguaging*” as in fact this concept is not so much about “integration of languages” in lessons *per se*; but rather, about its occurrence in different areas of study.

(1) “Subject-determined Translanguaging” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As hinted at above, the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” relates to Lewis’s et al. (2012) observation that certain subjects lend themselves more than others to the practice of Translanguaging. In other words, it is an appraisal of the practice of Translanguaging after observation of what happens in different areas of study. In Lewis et al.’s (2012: 663) context (i.e. Wales), it appeared that Translanguaging occurred more ‘in arts and humanities lessons’. However, as earlier established in the present study, what was observed in Lewis et al.’s (2012) context is the opposite of what happens in the context under study where the practice of Translanguaging was found to be prevalent in “Mathematics and Science” subjects. This prevalence may be interpreted by considering two factors pertaining to the languages used in teaching/learning.

Firstly, as Lewis et al. (2012) have rightfully remarked, the subjects in this area of study are reputed to feature much ‘jargon and abstract language.’ In the particular context of the present study, both this jargon and abstract language are in English, and “jargon and abstract language” mean that the area of study is demanding in terms of proficiency in English.

On the other hand, Kinyarwanda which is involved in Translanguaging along with English (understanding of which is exacerbated by jargon and abstract language) is not developed in the “Mathematics and Science” jargon and abstract language. Consequently, in an attempt to **deliver/access** “Mathematics and Science” Subject Content Knowledge; teachers and students find it necessary to integrate the two languages by mainly using Kinyarwanda which they know well, to which they add the necessary subject-specific terms, jargon, and abstract language from English. Most likely this might be the reason for “Mathematics and Science” predilection for Translanguaging; and most happily, this turns out to be beneficial for **delivery of, and access to Subject Content Knowledge** in that area of study.

5.2.1.5 Likely Enhancement of Subject Content Learning through Translanguaging:

Summary

Generally, as has been argued throughout this Section, “**Integrated Use of the Languages**” in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire is **very useful** because it allows for the students’ use of all the language resources at their disposal, including most importantly the use of their **Home Language**. Both from the teachers’ and from the students’ perspective, attempt to make the most

of the languages in presence are made to the benefit of **access to knowledge** by the students and **its delivery** by the teachers. As has been remarked with regard to language arrangements in lessons, however, if more planning was put into Translanguaging activities structuring, even better academic results would be achieved. More particularly as I discuss next, **Subject Content Knowledge Development** would gain much if the practice of Translanguaging was supported by adequate fostering of **language proficiency** in the academic context.

5.2.2 Analysis and Presentation of the Data with Reference to Language Proficiency in Academic Contexts

Of the three theories proposed for the analysis of the data in the present study, Cummins' (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency is called upon in this Section. This theory defines two interrelated constructs, namely" CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) and BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communications Skills) which are necessary for **Delivery of, and access to** Subject Content Knowledge through fully-fledged language use in the academic context. Even though, as established in the preceding Sub-section, the practice of Translanguaging certainly contributes to enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development, the argument here is that this enhancement could be even greater if "Integrated Language Use" were such that students' BICS and CALP are better harnessed.

5.2.2.1 "Integrated Use of Languages" in the Classroom Academic Context and Subject Content Knowledge Development

(1) Codeswitching in the Academic Context and Delivery of, and Access to Knowledge

That Codeswitching may be found helpful for subject content teaching/learning in many instances considered in the preceding Sub-section might give the impression that any resort to the practice is perfect in all times and in all contexts. Far from it, some uses of Codeswitching in the data collected for this study didn't all seem to be so useful; and this might stem from limited CALP/BICS development in Kinyarwanda and English respectively. Following is an example from a lesson in French.

T: *"Urabona hano mvuze ngo: Ta soeur quand arrive * elle? Ntabwo bivugi... donc ntabwo, ntabwo « bisawundinga » neza. Ariko iriya « t » [...] ijyamo kugira ngo*

prononciation yumvikane.

(= You see here if I say “Ta soeur quand arrive * elle?” it is not pronoun... so ...it doesn’t sound well. But that “t” is inserted [...] so that the pronunciation could be **heard**, or **understood**.)

In this example already referred to, the teacher is trying to explain the insertion of the euphonic “t” in an interrogative sentence. After having tried in French and switched to Kinyarwanda, he uses the clause “*kugira ngo yumvikane*,” meaning literally “so that the pronunciation could be heard.”

As earlier mentioned, from the episode from which this sentence is extracted, the students perfectly better understood what the teacher wanted to explain, and they understood partly because the teacher had shifted to French-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING, and partly because he gave a clear example (Ta soeur quand arrive * elle?). However, if any student had paid attention to the last information “hearing the pronunciation,” he would have been misled, and retained a wrong understanding of the role of “euphonic *t*”; and this is not the fault of the teacher who correctly translated “to sound” in Kinyarwanda as “*kunvikana*.” Rather, the problem stems from the fact that two languages don’t necessarily render the same concepts in the same way. Thus, in English the meaning of the verb ‘sound’ in “**the pronunciation SOUNDS good**” appears to be clear, while in French-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching the verb “*yumvikane*” in “*kugira ngo pronunciation yumvikane*” could simultaneously refer to at least three concepts (see the concept of “*kumvikana*” as to be **understood**, to be **heard**, to be **perceived** ...).

Another example is from Chemistry 4th Year. In this lesson about “complex ions,” which seems a bit tough for the students judging from their numerous questions and the way the teacher has to explain all sorts of details; the teacher naturally and nicely resorts to English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching throughout the lesson; and this proves to help establish more frequent and useful teacher-students communication. Not the whole talk does seem to be successful, however, and one of the reasons why the students keep asking questions and sometimes asking questions already answered is that Codeswitching doesn’t always target the areas of difficulty for the students, which in this case seems to be related to Chemistry subject-specific terms and jargon. Following is an example to illustrate this:

T: So this is what they call the “complexes.” They are “transition metals” surrounded by *izo* (=those) “ligands” *cyangwa se* (=or) “substances” ... “transition metals” can be either one or more than one. So *hano dushobora kuba dufite* (=here we may have) one “ligand,” *ariko ifite* (but which has) six “molecules” ... *cyangwa se* (=or) “ligands.”

In the lesson from which this example is taken, the teacher is explaining the structure of “complex ions” which consists of “transition metals” surrounded by “ligands.” Thus, in her use of Codeswitching while doing so, she integrates Chemistry subject-specific terms and everyday conversation Kinyarwanda words as can be seen in the above extract. Thus, the **chemistry terms**: “complexes,” “transition metals,” “ligands,” “substances,” “transition metals” etc. are used along with **simple ordinary Kinyarwanda words**: *izo* (=those), *cyangwa se* (=or) *dushobora kuba dufite* (= we may have), *ariko* (= but) etc.; but the resulting Codeswitching in this case doesn’t really seem to make the **Chemistry jargon** clearer. Indeed, as the words “those,” “or,” “we may have,” “but” are not really difficult in English; the teacher could as well have used English only as follows:

T: So this is what they call the “complexes.” They are “transition metals” surrounded by those “ligands” or “substances”... “Transition metals” can be either one or more than one. So here we can have one “ligand,” but it has six “molecules”... or “ligands.”

As appears from comparing the two versions of the extract, there doesn’t seem to be much gain with regard to understanding the Chemistry subject content conveyed as long as the terms “complexes,” “transition metals,” “ligands,” “substances” are used as such in both versions. Similarly, the Kinyarwanda words: *izo* (=those), *cyangwa se* (=or), *hano dushobora kuba dufite* (=here we may be having), *ariko ifite* (but which has), *cyangwa se* (=or) don’t seem to add much to understanding the subject content conveyed in the extract since their meaning is likely to be rendered with relatively equal ease in English. In other words, whereas Codeswitching can aid comprehension in the classroom; it is not really clear to what extent its use in this particular example adds to comprehension of the chemistry terms.

And again, as argued in the preceding example from a lesson in French, the teacher is not to blame for this. Rather, what should be noted for a possible explanation is firstly that the scientific terms in the above extract are in English, and they belong to the domain of Cognitive Academic

Language Proficiency (CALP). On the contrary, the everyday language words in the extract are in Kinyarwanda, and they belong to the domain of Basic Interactional Conversation Skills (BICS); and scientific talk necessarily draws from the two kinds of language proficiency (CALP, BICS).

Secondly, another useful remark is that the two languages used in this extract are notoriously characterized by asymmetric development of these two aspects of language. Indeed, whereas English is simultaneously developed in terms of BICS and CALP, Kinyarwanda appears to be only developed in terms of BICS with regard to most areas of study including notably “Mathematics & Science” subjects.

Thirdly, as another intervening factor, whereas English language users in the Rwandan context are more likely to be proficient in “Academic” than “Conversational” use of English for having acquired it in the Academic domain; Kinyarwanda language users in the same context are likely to be proficient in “Conversational Kinyarwanda Language,” simply because “academic Kinyarwanda” is virtually undeveloped in many areas of study.

What could be concluded, therefore, is that the teacher has simply **naturally** integrated the two languages in her talk because she knows them both; and most importantly, because it is much easier for her to draw on both languages to express herself. However, the Kinyarwanda BICS part of the talk and the English CALP part of the talk put together don’t seem to make the content clearer.

Conclusion: As has been argued through the above examples, Codeswitching may not always be successful in facilitating subject content delivery. Indeed, whereas it has been lauded, as a teaching/learning strategy, for its usefulness for **delivery of/access to** Subject Content Knowledge; failure in certain circumstances like the ones described above can ensue from asymmetric development of the languages involved (notably in terms of CALP/BICS), and from asymmetric CALP/BICS acquisition of these languages. Therefore, it is true that Codeswitching is a perfect enhancement to Subject Content Knowledge Development; but its overuse to the detriment of other “linguistic varieties” such as English, Kinyarwanda etc. might mitigate the expected level of knowledge development in the Academic Context.

(2) “Translation” in the Academic Context and Delivery of and Access to Knowledge

Having argued in the preceding Sub-section that Translation can be used to enhance delivery of and access to Subject Content Knowledge, it is important to remark that one of the major problems in Translation consists in differences between the language of the original text and the language to be translated into. In the particular case of the present study, there are obvious differences between English and Kinyarwanda, and like in any other occasions of Translation, difficulties may occur while trying to translate subject content from English into Kinyarwanda; and the difficulties are often ascertained by asymmetric development of CALP and BICS in both Kinyarwanda and English. To illustrate this; I reuse two examples earlier given in previous discussions.

The first example is from Mathematics 1st Year. In this lesson, the teacher has asked his students to translate the sentence: “**Illustrate** the following **set of numbers** on a **number line**.” Here are the Translations that the students propose:

- S1: *Shyira imibare iri hasi ... ku m...* (=Put the numbers which are down here ... on...)
- S2: *Shyira imibare ku rutonde.* (=Put the numbers on a list)
- S3: *Shyira imibare iri hasi ku murongo.* (=Put the numbers down here on a line)

As can be seen in this example, the students are translating the verb “arrange” and the Mathematics term “number line” respectively as “*shyira*” for “illustrate;” “*imibare*” for “set of numbers;” “*urutonde*” and “*umurongo*,” for “number line,” but these words don’t really render the exact concepts in the English sentence, “**Illustrate** the following **set of numbers** on a **number line**”; and even though the teacher could see that his students understood what they had to do, he realized that they didn’t have the notions rendered in “illustrate,” “set of numbers,” and “number line.” Indeed, since “Mathematics concepts” of “set of numbers,” and “number line” have not been developed in Kinyarwanda, it is virtually unproductive to try to translate them into Kinyarwanda.

Another similar example is from Chemistry 4th Year. As earlier argued, even though the teacher’s use of Codeswitching has considerably helped subject content understanding in most of the time; in other instances, it has not been so successful because some Chemistry jargon cannot be translated into Kinyarwanda. For a recall, the following extract is again used here:

- T: So this is what they call the “complexes.” They are “transition metals” surrounded by *izo* (=those) “ligands” *cyangwa se* (=or) “substances” ...

“transition metals” can be either one or more than one. So *hano dushobora kuba dufite* (=here we can have) one “ligand,” *ariko ifite* (but which has) six “molecules” ... *cyangwa se* (=or) “ligands.”

As can be seen in this extract, “complexes,” “transition metals,” “ligands,” “substances” are all subject-specific terms which can’t be found in Kinyarwanda. They belong to Chemistry jargon, they are necessary for Language Competence in this subject; and thus Translation of a Chemistry text from English into Kinyarwanda for teaching/learning might not be easy. And this doesn’t concern Chemistry only: In any subject area, there is likely to be a subject-specific language which might be difficult to translate in a language like Kinyarwanda which is not widely used for teaching/learning. This problem is related to the issue of CALP and BICS in different languages; and arguably, it might mitigate the otherwise highly usefulness of the practice of Translation.

5.2.2.2 “Centre Stage to Home Language” in the Classroom Academic Context and Subject Content Knowledge Development Enhancement

(1) “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” in Academic Contexts and Delivery of, and Access to Knowledge

The argument hitherto made that multilingual practices related to Translanguaging are of paramount importance for Subject Content Knowledge Development seems to suggest that all it takes for these multilingual practices to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development is just to occur. However, as earlier argued asymmetric development of CALP/BICS in Kinyarwanda and English respectively seems to constitute a limiting factor. What this problem consists of in substance is that, for useful integration of languages for subject content development, it might be necessary that CALP and BICS be evenly developed in the languages involved in the multilingual integrated practice; the reason being that sometimes, putting together two or more languages would in fact amount to repeating terms from the “Academic Discourse” of one language and associating them with expressions from the “Conversational Discourse” of another language without necessarily enhancing understanding of the Subject Content Knowledge conveyed in the resulting “integrated talk.”

This argument has been made in connection with the multilingual practice of Translation; and thus, in line with the earlier discussion on the relatedness between “Continuum of Emergent

Scaffolding” and other multilingual concepts; it would be right to speculate here that Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding too would be the more profitable that CALP and BICS were evenly developed across the languages involved in school multilingual practices for Subject Content Knowledge Development. Indeed, given the fact that the concept of “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” is about encouragement of the use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda, this encouragement would be the more beneficial that students’ Kinyarwanda were also developed in terms of CALP as English is. And in fact, for that matter, the encouragement would also be the more beneficial if their English were also developed in terms of BICS.

(2) *“Developmental Use of Translanguaging” in Academic Contexts and Delivery of, and Access to Knowledge*

Bearing in mind that the concept of “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” is about students’ effective use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda; to discuss the issue of limited CALP and BICS with reference to the concept; it is firstly necessary to reiterate the fact that the data hitherto analyzed don’t present any assurance that students use reading and writing skills acquired in Kinyarwanda to prepare their presentations in class or to participate in group work. Rather all the evidence considered (especially the evidence on in class group work which could be directly observed) suggests that students only use their Kinyarwanda **listening and speaking skills**. Thus, the lessons in Entrepreneurship 1st Year; in History & Citizenship 1st Year; and in Physics 2nd Year where the teachers organized group work as a way to explore the content of the respective lessons were loudly animated as the students discussed in their groups; and invariably all of them could be heard speaking Kinyarwanda. In other words, as the students don’t know any “**subject-specific terms**” in Kinyarwanda; they just spoke “**conversational Kinyarwanda**” in which they simply fitted “**subject-specific terms**” from English “academic discourse” in the respective lessons. The outcome of “Developmental Use” of Translanguaging with regard to CALP and BICS development in Kinyarwanda and English respectively, therefore, appears to be uncertain in this particular context. In other words, it seems uncertain how using listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda is likely to enhance CALP development in Kinyarwanda, and it is also uncertain how it is likely to foster BICS development in English.

Nonetheless, judging from the lively participation of the students and the conduct of these lessons as underpinned by the use of listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda (the Home

Language of the students); it still seems right to assert that “Developmental Use” represents another aspect of Translanguaging which allows it to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development.

5.2.2.3 “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” and Subject Content Knowledge Development Enhancement

(1) “Input/Output: Variations” in the Academic Context and Delivery of, and Access to Knowledge

As earlier identified, the variation to the original English/English Input/output pattern in the context under study is **English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING**; and the present study has established that this variation is conducive to Subject Content Knowledge Development because it facilitates teacher-students communication. As I argue below, however, there might be some **limitations linked to students’ BICS/CALP** in the languages involved in the integrated languages they resort to for Subject Content Knowledge learning. Following are some examples to illustrate this point.

The first example is again drawn from a lesson in Chemistry 4th Year. In this lesson, the language used is English-Kinyarwanda from beginning to end, both by the teacher and the students; and this “**English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English**’ input/output is visibly welcome since the students seem to get genuinely involved in the lesson, and engage in discussions of its content by answering or asking questions. However, owing to the jargon of the subject, many Chemistry terms are used in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching; and in reality, understanding of these terms does not necessarily seem to be enhanced by the use of Codeswitching as can be seen in this example.

T: So, *ni ukuvuga ngo* we have this kind of complex ion. This complex ion, *ishobora kuyikora* isomers, *cyangwa izindi* complex ions *zikaba zikonteninze* the same molecular formula.

(= So, this means that we have this kind of complex ion. This complex ion can form isomers, or other complex ions containing the same molecular formula.)

From reading the English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING version and the English version; it doesn’t seem clear how the fact of using the Kinyarwanda words enhances Chemistry Content Learning, since the terms likely to cause difficulties do not seem to be explained through the

integration of the two languages. Indeed, the stretches in Kinyarwanda do not necessarily clarify the meaning of “complex ion,” and “isomer” for example. Rather, it seems that these subject-specific terms (CALP) are just put together with simple Kinyarwanda words. This can be seen even more clearly in the following example where very simple words like *muri* (= in), *ariko hano* (=but here), *cyangwa* (=or) are used:

T: So what do we call isomers? So the isomers *muri* (=in) complex, *twigamo* (=we learn there) about izomers *muri* (=in) organic chemistry, *ariko hano* (=but here) the complex ions are also called isomers. *Ni ukuvuga ngo* (= this means that) isomers, these are the compounds *cyangwa* (= or) compounds with the same molecular formula, [...]

In this extract, the simple Kinyarwanda language used to express the conversational side of the talk seems to be juxtaposed with the Chemistry English jargon used for the academic side of the talk. Thus, the two languages are merged, but it is not clear how the Kinyarwanda alternatives added to the Chemistry subject specific terms might **be better language of Input** as compared to the English alternative expressions added to the Chemistry subject specific terms. And yet, the students (and the teacher) visibly seem to prefer the combination of the two languages; and arguably, this might be proof that Codeswitching as they are using it is indeed **better language of Input** than the separate use of English and Kinyarwanda. Therefore, it could be speculated that the reason for this preference for Codeswitching is that neither English nor Kinyarwanda is self sufficient as a language of input/output; and it might be that it is because students' BICS and CALP are **not simultaneously** developed in either of the two languages.

(2) “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging” in the Academic Context and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Another concept related to “Translanguaging **as Planning and Activity Structuring**” is “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging.” Whereas “Teacher-led” Translanguaging refers to “planned and structured” Translanguaging actions by the teacher; “Pupil-led Translanguaging” evokes independently carried out actions by the students (Lewis et al. 2012).

With regard to the context of the present study, it is most importantly recalled from Chapter 4 that “Teacher-led Translanguaging” was found to be only **implicitly** accomplished. Indeed, when teachers organize “group work” and “group presentations” in their lessons, they *ipso facto*

implicitly plan students' Translanguaging activities by giving them an opportunity for "Developmental Use" whereby they give them leisure to focus on a given topic by using their listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda. Consequently, by the same token, they give them an opportunity to develop their Kinyarwanda Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS); while at the same time, they also develop their English Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) since they normally have to report on their work in English.

Concerning now "explicit" planning of Translanguaging actions, again as established in Chapter 4, there is generally no deliberate planning. Following is an example to show this:

- S: Interest loan *ntabwo ijyamo?* (=Shouldn't interest on loan be included?)
 T: *Ku kwezi gukurikiraho. Ukwezi kwa karindwi. Biratangirana n'ukwezi kwa karindwi bishyira ukwezi kwa munani. Ni ukuvuga ngo turacyari mu kwezi kwa gatandatu, turi kureba amafaranga yinjira* for the month of June, and cash outflow for the month of... June. OK. Interest on loan per month, starting on July also...

This extract is from a lesson in Entrepreneurship 5th Year; in an episode about "cash-flow statements." As can be seen in this extract, the student prompts the teacher to use Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in this lesson which has hitherto been being conducted in English only; and which from that moment, proceeds in **Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching**. And this lesson is not the only one where the change of the language of Input is prompted by students. In Geography 4th Year too, the teacher switches from English to Kinyarwanda when she sees that students don't seem to be able to give her the answer to her question on longline and handline fishing. Still other lessons like French 6th Year, Kiswahili 2nd Year, Mathematics 2nd Year etc. all change from the original language of Input to English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching prompted by the needs of the moment.

As a corollary to this, in the absence of planning, the use of English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching develops a combination of BICS and CALP contributed respectively by Kinyarwanda and English, mainly in the context of English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching. In other words, in the absence of Translanguaging planning, Kinyarwanda doesn't simultaneously develop both BICS and CALP in its own right, and English doesn't simultaneously develop both BICS and CALP in its own right either. The end result then, because of "Teacher-led Translanguaging" defect, is likely to be (1) BICS & CALP developed only through

Codeswitching; (2) BICS still developed, though to a lesser degree, in Kinyarwanda; and (3) CALP still developed, to a lesser degree, in English.

As an overall result with regard to CALP/BICS development then, the lack of “deliberate and systematic” planning is unlikely to foster neither CALP in Kinyarwanda nor BICS in English. Thus, the lack of explicit “Teacher-led Translanguaging” is such that English CALP and Kinyarwanda BICS are likely to be developed only through Kinyarwanda-English and English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching.

5.2.2.4 “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” in the Classroom Academic Context and Subject Content Knowledge Development Enhancement

(1) “Subject-determined Translanguaging” in Academic Contexts and Delivery of, and Access to Knowledge

For a discussion of how “subject-determined Translanguaging” is likely to enhance/hinder Subject Content Knowledge Development; it is firstly important to recall that the “practice of Translanguaging” itself in the particular context under study entails that for **delivery of, and access to** knowledge, teaching and learning extensively makes use of English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, as earlier established.

On the other hand as discussed above; what the use of English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching implies in terms of language use in the academic context is that Subject Content Knowledge is delivered and accessed through a blend of Kinyarwanda BICS and English CALP through Codeswitching. In other words; the fact that data on Subject-determined Translanguaging in the context under study indicate that “Mathematics & Science” subjects use English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching the most means that Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) which are necessary to express/access knowledge tend to develop in that area of study mainly within the confines of Codeswitching.

The corollary to this is that; given the fact that English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching is not a developed “linguistic variety” in the academic sense; overreliance on it

might constitute a limiting factor for Delivery of, and Access to, knowledge in Mathematics and Science subjects. In other words, it is true that English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching facilitates communication; that harnessing Kinyarwanda BICS and English CALP presents an advantage as compared to situations where “**English only**” or “**Kinyarwanda only**” would be used. However, in view of the above mentioned likely limitation of Codeswitching, how “subject-determined Translanguaging” as a “fact-finding” aspect of the practice would help is by serving as an indicator of how the language arrangements planning dimension of Translanguaging can efficiently work, lest the benefits expected to accrue from the integrated use of languages in the classroom be mitigated.

5.2.2.5 Conclusion: Translanguaging in the Academic Context

On the whole, in view of the asymmetric status of CALP/BICS in the two most widely used languages in the context under study (viz.: Kinyarwanda and English), integrated use of these languages certainly helps delivery of and access to Subject Content Knowledge. However, due to the said asymmetry between English and Kinyarwanda; in view also of the lack of deliberate Translanguaging activity planning and structuring in a way to harmoniously foster CALP/BICS in the languages involved; the outcome expected from the practice of Translanguaging might be at times mitigated.

A note of hope, however, as I argue in the following Sub-section is that, despite this likely mitigation by asymmetric CALP/BICS development in both Kinyarwanda and English, integrated use of these languages might still be useful for **delivery and expression of all the levels of knowledge**.

5.2.3 Analysis and Presentation of the Data on Subject Content Knowledge Development with Reference to the Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing

In this Chapter, the data on Subject Content Knowledge Development have hitherto been analyzed with reference to the theory of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. (2012) and to Cummins’ (1999) theory of Language Proficiency in academic contexts. At this juncture, for an understanding of what it takes to develop Subject Content Knowledge, reference is made to the knowledge dimension of the cognitive domain of learning as has been analyzed as comprised of

four levels, namely: the “factual,” “conceptual,” “procedural,” and “metacognitive,” levels (Anderson & Krathwohl, eds. (2001).

In this Sub-section, how “Integrated Use of Languages,” “Centre Stage to Home Language,” “Integrated Language Use Planning,” and “Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring,” are likely to enhance Subject Content Knowledge Development is considered next.

5.2.3.1 “Integrated Use of Languages” and Subject Content Knowledge Development Enhancement

(1) Codeswitching and Delivery of, and Access to the Four Levels of Knowledge

As appears from an analysis of the data collected for this study, Codeswitching seems to be called upon whenever it is necessary to express knowledge and explain it for deep understanding. Indeed, in the data collected for this study, the above mentioned levels of knowledge seem to be expressed differently in the classroom and both Codeswitching and English seem to be allocated to different levels of knowledge. The first example to illustrate this is drawn from a lesson in Biology 5th Year which seems to systematically alternate stretches of Subject Content Knowledge delivery in **English**; and explanations of that content **in Kinyarwanda-English** Codeswitching. In fact, this lesson is comprised of an introductory reminder of the previous lesson followed by a new content which the teacher visibly introduces, conducts, and concludes, by alternating different combinations of English and Kinyarwanda. Thus, in the progression of the lesson, the teacher firstly reminds briefly the content of the previous lesson using English only. Then, she introduces a new topic (viz. “Population Growth of Pathogens”) in Kinyarwanda-English as follows:

- T: The culture of microorganisms. He [Louis Pasteur] has done how we can culture microbiology; or pathogens. And we have seen how we can culture micro-organism and paramecium. Now after seeing that, we are going to see the population of pathogens. Or microbe. Pathogens is also known as microbes where we find there; virus, bacteria, microscopic fungi, and so on. We have seen here how we can culture paramecium. After seeing that, we are going to see how the ... the population... how the growth of those microorganisms.

As can be seen from this extract, the teacher seems to firstly use English as long as she knows that what she is saying might be already known. Thus this initial stretch concerns what she

considers as given since it refers to a previous lesson, and she closes it by announcing the new topic thus, still in English:

T: “After seeing that we are going to see how the... the population,... how the growth of those microorganisms.”

After this introduction, however, she immediately switches to Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching to repeat the most important part of the last lessons which she uses to introduce the new topic, and apparently; she uses Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching to mark the importance of this reminder; which she aptly integrates and uses to facilitate understanding of the new topic. She thus proceeds with her talk as follows:

T: *Ngira narababwiye ko bishobora gukoreshwa nko kwa muganga; si byo? Iyo umuntu afite umurwayi runaka .. kugira ngo babashe kugira gute? ...kumenya the cause, the agent cause of the disease bakora iki? The culture of a sample. Narababwiye ko bashobora gukoresha urine, saliva and so on ... bakabasha kumenya iki? The cause of the disease. Hari igihe bashobora kureba muri microscope ntibabashe kugira gute? Kwidentifayinga the cause, bagakoresha icyo bita ahangaha culturing. Twari twabonye ubushize culturing of paramecium. Noneho tugiye kureba how the population can grow through the culturing of pathogens.*

In this way, the teacher seems to perform two different but complementary tasks: Firstly, she reminds the students of the **factual information** discussed in the previous lesson using English (viz. **Factual Knowledge** on “Culturing of Microorganisms” reminded in English). Then, she elaborates on this factual information by showing its usefulness in the practice of medicine using English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching (viz. **Procedural Knowledge** of how the agent cause of disease is identified through culturing of microorganisms; a **procedure** reminded in English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching). Thus, from one level of information to be delivered to the other; apparently owing to the difference between the levels of knowledge these stretches of information belong to; the teacher switches to a different mode of knowledge **delivery** which no longer merely uses English, but resorts to **English-Kinyarwanda**.

This seems to suggest that; whereas **access to factual knowledge** through English only would not cause any problem of understanding; **access to procedural knowledge** might require harnessing all the linguistic tools available (viz. English and Kinyarwanda); just as **delivering** the knowledge itself and capturing attention would require that the teacher use all the tools at her

disposal. And indeed, when she used both English and Kinyarwanda, the “different levels of knowledge” (viz. concepts like “microorganisms culturing” and procedures like “culturing process” itself) were better conveyed; and, as could be seen clearly in the class, the students were happy of this entry into the new topic and their attention was visibly captured.

It is noteworthy that this integration of languages seems to be persistently used in the whole lesson even if it might not have been consciously planned and deliberately realized. Testimony to this persistence in integrated language use is another example drawn from a bit further ahead in the same lesson. As the teacher progressed in her explanations, she gave an example to explain the necessity for a time of adaptation before the population of pathogens begins to grow thus:

T: [....] *Ni ukuvuga ngo hari phase aho za pathogens ziba zivuye muri environment zari zimenyereyemo. Si byo? noneho bazijyanye mu yindi environment. Ngira ngo ibyo byaba nko kuri buri,... buri any organism. Where there is the change, where there is the change, si byo? Hagomba kubaho iki? Adaptation. Niba bagukuye ahangaha bakakujyana wenda nko muri [...]*

T: [...] *Icyo gihe nugerayo, ntabwo wi... uzagira gute? Ubanza gufata umwanya wo kumenyera iki? kumenyerana n’abandi bantu bashyashya, kumenyerana n’iki ? na environment iri aho.*

T: The same here of those pathogens. Or those microorganisms. They have here the time of adaptation of new ... environment or a new medium. The second phase here is the phase which is termed here “exponential phase.” In this phase, there is the growth, the growth of the population.

Ni ukuvuga ngo byamaze kumenyera ha hantu; the medium, are favorable condition iyigira gute? Which allow here the growth of those microorganisms. Niba ahangaha the purpose is the growth of those pathogen; ahangaha rero hazabaho iki? hazabaho multiplication, hazabaho the growth. Zikora iki? Ziridividinga; zidivayidinga by microscission; ngira ngo murabizi ko za microorganisms ahangaha they are unicellular organisms. Za amoeba, za bacteria, they are unicellular organisms, zidividinga by binary scission. Noneho hakore iki? hakore the growth of the population.

As can be seen in this extract, the teacher alternately uses English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching and English. In the particular case shown in the above extract, what seems to be the case is that the teacher counts so much on the example of a student who is moved to another school and needs time to adapt to the new environment. After giving this example almost in Kinyarwanda only, the teacher then draws a parallelism between the process of the student’s adaptation in the

new milieu and the process of the pathogens' adaptation; and with the satisfaction that her example given almost completely in Kinyarwanda has laid the foundation for understanding; she switches to an explanation predominantly given in English.

It could be speculated that for her, the example is crucial for students' understanding of the knowledge she wants to convey; and this explanation is close to **metacognitive knowledge**. Hence, she integrates Kinyarwanda and English in a way to use a predominantly Kinyarwanda talk, to ensure that this higher level of knowledge is well acquired as it is for her key to conveying "another type of knowledge," this time **procedural**. Thus having secured students' readiness to understand this "procedural information"; she allows herself to switch to an explanation inclined to use more English than Kinyarwanda; confident that the work done through predominantly Kinyarwanda-English talk has laid the ground for understanding the information she is conveying.

This strategy to allocate differently seasoned Kinyarwanda-English/English-Kinyarwanda talk to different **levels of knowledge** seems to be a major characteristic of most of the lessons observed in the present study. In a lesson of Mathematics 3rd Year for example, the teacher is preparing the class for exercises on "Similar Triangles." As the knowledge he is conveying for a start is "**Conceptual Knowledge**," the teacher uses English only. Thus, talks like the following extend on about 10 minutes before the exercises start.

T: Someone to remind us about what we talked about last time? I need someone to remind what we talked about last time... (*Teacher proceeds after a few seconds waiting in vain for a student to volunteer and answer. Then...*)

OK! Last time we talked about "similar triangles" and we tried to know what is similar triangles. We said that to know similar triangles, we have to obey 3 rules. OK? We have postulates: Angle-angle postulate³⁵; OK?; and we have angle-side-angle theorem; and we have side-side-side theorem. Any triangle which has angle-angle postulate is equal to or [?..] of two triangles which have angle-angle postulate, we say that those triangles are similar. For example, we try to draw for the same postulate before doing exercises.

OK. We have the triangle ABC which is similar to the triangle BEF. Why those 2 triangles are similar? Because we have an angle ABC which is similar to the angle

BEF; and we have to know that those two angles are right to the triangle. The angle ACB is right angle; and the angle BEF is also right angle. So we say that those two triangles are similar.

OK? For angle-side-angle we have also to know that,... (drawing on the board) ... D, E, and F. Those are two triangles. If I marked that one, these are the sides AC is equal to the side DE. If I do that, means that those two sides CD is also equal to EF. Means that we have side-side; side-side; side-side; angle-angle. Means that angle C is also equal to the angle D. So the two triangles are also similar.

So the theorem, the third theorem (they are three); the side-side theorem. So here, we try to say about a third theorem. These three, we have to talk about equilateral triangle, because it is a triangle which has three sides which are equal; that one is equal to that one; that one is equal to that one. And those three sides are equal. That one has sixty; that one has sixty; that one has sixty. Means that those two triangles; those two triangles are similar. So we turn for exercises as we talked about.

That said, with all the students silent and expectant, the teacher said, as it were, farewell to **English only talk** up to the end of the lesson. Indeed, whereas he was initially dealing with both “**Factual**” and “**Conceptual**” knowledge; he was now turning to **Procedural Knowledge**, and definitely; the required language for “how to do things” seems to be English-Kinyarwanda “Codeswitching,” not English which was used for both “basic facts” and “theories.” The new talk, therefore, is as illustrated in the following extract:

T: A ... I think you know *Niki kindi ushobora kongeraho kuri iki tumaze gukora? Turi gushaka area y'iki?.. y'aka gatriangle. Si byo?* So, we have just found the base. Base is equal to hypotenuse minus the height square under all square; meaning that we have 15, we have just found the area. Yes, OK? You needed to find the area. First of all, *biriya, ...ibi urimo urambaza ngo biriya bya similar.* First of all we need the area. *Ikintu wakagombye kumenya ahangaha; dufite izi triangle ziri similar. So niba ziri similar, ni ukuvuga ko hashobora kuba hajemo mistake yo gukompayilinga ikibazo ariko kuba zamaze kuba similar you have* that one is the height. The height is equal the side; that one is like a median. That one is right angle; OK. In the triangle, that one is the right angle; sorry, that one is equal to sixty. And you have to divide the median into two sides which are equal. According to the question how it is, what you do is correct. So, let us also see what we call similarity in right angle triangle. OK, we talk about similarity ... similarity... *Hari ikibazo ufitemo hariya?*

This extract is interesting in two ways. Firstly, it comes amid visible collaboration of the class and the teacher in doing an exercise, and as a mistake has slipped in, the whole class and the

teacher are trying to find out where the mistake is. In other words, the English-Kinyarwanda talk being now used seems to be **the right one** for this kind of activity. Secondly, whether the teacher has deliberately chosen this Kinyarwanda-English integration or not; the fact is that he operated a neat shift from English only to Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching corresponding to the shift from the “**factual**” and “**conceptual**” knowledge of the beginning of the lesson as opposed to the “**procedural**” knowledge of the major part of the lesson.

Still another example is from History & Environment 2nd Year. Contrary to the preceding case, this lesson uses English only from beginning to end, and it seems that the major reason is that it is all about **delivery of “factual” information**. Indeed, this lesson is about “the Century of Enlightenment” and the focus is on the characteristics of the century. Stretches like the following in English only therefore run from the beginning to the end of the lesson:

- T: About changes. They thought about changes... changes or reforms, refo ... reforms in different sectors of life, different sectors of society. They used to think about changes or reforms in ... aaaah... economy, re... religion, government ... government is about politiCodeswitching, OK? Government, aaaah... society, culture ... culture ... let us say etc... here. The period of many philosophers; they used to think beyond the normal. They used to think critically ... to bring changes in soci [...]
- T: Individual rights. Yes individual rights or natural rights of people. OK? And these individual rights in the enlightenment period, they were ... enh... were described as right to life, right to liberty, right to property. These were natural rights of people, and they were discussed by different philosophers of enlightme... enlightenment. OK. From this group, another characteristic of this period of enlightenment. Can you please tell us? ... Quickly please!

Many more examples from the 22 lessons observed can be given, and visibly; different levels of Knowledge seem to be associated with different kinds of talk with regard to English and Kinyarwanda separate use or integration into Codeswitching. Therefore, Codeswitching as used in the above examples (viz. as alternation of “intrasentential” and “intersentential” codeswitches) seems to be the most practical way of **delivering** and **accessing** knowledge in the context investigated. Thus on the whole; except for some problems of subject-specific terms (see CALP) which might not be resolved by the use of Codeswitching; this aspect of Translanguaging can well be considered the key to Subject Content Knowledge Development in the context of the present study. That said, however, this concept in its relatedness to “**Translanguaging as**

Integrated Use of Languages” in the classroom, is not the only important one for Subject Content Learning. **Translation** to which I turn now is another important concept.

(2) Translation and Delivery of, and Access to All the Four Aspects of Knowledge

Having argued that; though a most useful language practice for subject content development; Translation might not be easy for teaching/learning owing to problems of CALP and BICS in the languages involved; the practice might still be efficient for delivery of, and access to, different levels of Knowledge, viz. “Factual,” “Conceptual,” “Procedural,” and “Metacognitive” Knowledge (Anderson & Krathwohl (2001). For this argument, I use an example from Entrepreneurship 1st Year which, as earlier explained, consisted of students’ discussions in groups, reports in front of the class, and Translation of what they were presenting. One aspect of the importance of saving money in the bank one student states and translates is

- S: Allowing, allowing the saver to the credit from the bank.
 *.. nyine, kubitsa muri banki bigufasha kuyibonamo inguzanyo. Iyo ubitsamo
 ujyamo bakakuguriza.”*
 (= ... as I say, to save money in a bank helps you to obtain credit from it. When
 you save money in it, you go there and they lend you (money).)

As can be seen in the student’s Translation, he doesn’t strictly translate the English version which apparently is the kind of language that could well be found in “factual” information about the importance of saving money in the bank. Rather, he translates the idea contained in the “factual” information and at the same time; elaborates a bit on his Translation, and thus; he simultaneously contribute to “factual” and “conceptual” knowledge as well as “procedural” and “metacognitive” knowledge. This possibility offered by Translation as an aspect of Translanguaging can be a practical way of moving back and forth between the four levels of knowledge, and in the particular case under study, it can be a compensation for the lack of “academic language” in Kinyarwanda when it becomes necessary to render the meaning of some information in both English and Kinyarwanda.

5.2.3.2 “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Subject Content Knowledge Development Enhancement

(1) “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and Delivery of, and Access to All the Four Aspects of Knowledge

For a discussion of the role of Translanguaging in Subject Content Knowledge Development with regard to “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding,” it would be reiterated that this concept is about encouragement by the teacher of students’ use of their Home Language to learn. And yet, to speak of encouragement of Kinyarwanda use in the context under study entails that it will combine with English through Codeswitching. Hence, with regard to the four levels of Knowledge, it would be said that the concept of “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding,” facilitates expression of **Procedural** and **Metacognitive** levels of knowledge since, as has been argued above, English only is rather reserved for **Factual** and **Conceptual** knowledge while English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching is used for **Procedural** and **Metacognitive** levels of knowledge.

(2) “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” and Delivery of, and Access to All the Four Aspects of Knowledge

“Factual,” “Conceptual,” “Procedural,” and “Metacognitive” Knowledge are the four levels of knowledge identified in Anderson & Krathwohl’s (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing; and to discuss HOW “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” contributes to fostering students’ Subject Content Knowledge needs to identify which **skills in the students’ Home Language** are likely to help accessing and/or expressing knowledge at the above mentioned different levels. In this regard, a look at the lessons observed in this study reveals that (1) basic facts like definitions and concepts (factual knowledge) and theories (conceptual knowledge) are generally delivered and accessed through English. Thus for example, lessons like Mathematics 1st Year and 3rd Year which focus on exercises begin by presenting theory in English to prepare for the exercises. In these two levels of Knowledge, therefore, resort to Home Language doesn’t seem to be of much help. Rather, **accessing** and **expressing knowledge** at these levels requires skills in English; and not necessarily skills developed in the Home Language.

Concerning explanations of how to do things (procedural knowledge); and descriptions, discussions, and explanations (metacognitive knowledge), however, these levels of knowledge seem to be **accessed** (or understood) and **expressed** by students **primarily** through listening and speaking skills acquired through Kinyarwanda, their Home Language. Testimony to this is that virtually all lessons resort to **English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching**, especially when it comes

to explanations and exercises, thus offering students an opportunity to use their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda. One example (among others) to show this is from a lesson in Physics 5th Year.

In this lesson, the teacher is explaining a theory on one of the properties of “matter”; namely **“elasticity and strain.”** Throughout the explanation, he uses Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching as appears in the following extract:

- T: [...] *Nababwiye nti* (= I told you this): Grook’s law says that,... *mwanditse?* (= are you writing?) “Provided elastic limit is not exceeded, the extension is directly proportional to the applied force or tension in the wire.”

In this first part of the extract, the teacher gives the exact wording of Grook’s Law. Then he gives the following explanations:

- T: *Reka mfate urugero rworoshye. Mfate urugero rworoshye.... Mbese muzi ikintu bita spring. Spring... rasoro; ntimuyizi se?*
- S: *Turayizi.*
- T: *Tuvuge* (drawing a spring on the blackboard). *Ahangaha nshobora kuza nkazirikaho ...five newton. Bikaza hano; hano nta kintu kiziritseho. Si byo? Nyuma ... ninongera gushyiraho five, ninshyiraho five....; bizatangira bigire gutya, bikweduze. Si byo? Usange bigeze hano; dushyizeho five newton. Si byo?*
- SS: *Umh!!!!*
- T: *Noneho kuko five newton zikuruye hano, bizongera bifate original position. ... hari igihe bizamara nshyiraho five newton, bikagaruka bigafata original position. Si byo? Na shape yayo, na size yayo ntibihinduke. Si byo? Ariko ahangaha, nshobora kuza kuri case ya kane ya, gatanu...; case ya gatandatu maze gushyiraho twenty, ugasanga iragarukira hano, ino size na shape si imwe; kino gihe nkaba narenze ikintu bita elastic limit. Si byo? Ubutah ninzagera kuri elastic limit, icyo gihe; iyo ukuyeho ya force washyizeho, cyangwa se ya tension bikongera bigafata ino shape cyangwa se ino size; icyo gihe Grook’s law izaba yubahirijwe. Ariko hano byarenze, hakabaho... deformation, icyo gihe Grook’s law ntabwo izaba yubahirijwe.*
- Ni yo mpamvu rero nababwiye nti Grook’s law ibaho, iyo stress izaba ari proportional n’iki? ...na strain. Icyo gihe bikatugeza ku kintu bita constant of proportionality; bikatugeza ku kintu bita elastic modulus.*

Judging from the general reception of the information through Codeswitching, all the students understood the notions explained. They looked all attentive and eager to hear more. And indeed, the explanations in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching were very clear; to the point; and also

detailed; and they were efficiently accessed thanks mainly to students' listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda.

When it came the time to take the English dictation of "Grook's Law" in their note books, however, the students appeared to be at a loss, even though they seemed to have perfectly understood it when the teacher was using Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. It could thus be said that **accessing** Subject Content Knowledge was perfectly served through listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda (viz. "Developmental Use of Translanguaging"); but not so well served through listening and speaking skills in English; and consequently, **expressing** the same subject content was not so well served as it rather required skills in English.

5.2.3.3 "Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring" and Subject content Knowledge Development Enhancement

(1) "Input/Output: Variations" and Delivery of, and Access to All the Four Levels Knowledge

As Anderson & Krathwohl (2001) have analyzed; "factual," "conceptual," "procedural" and "metacognitive" knowledge are the four levels of knowledge; and as knowledge has to be expressed in language, it is interesting to ascertain how integrated use of languages can serve to express the above four levels of knowledge for an understanding of how Translanguaging enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development.

Looking at the way teachers organize the evolution of their lessons; the first helpful remark about "input/output and expression of the four levels of knowledge" is that the lessons observed in this study seem to be divided into three categories: (1) Lessons mainly focusing on Exercises; (2) lessons focusing on new theories; and (3) lessons such as "group presentation" focused on students' application work.

What appears clearly then is that both lessons focused on theory and exercises contain **theories** and **explanations**, and presumably "factual" and "conceptual" knowledge would be presented as concepts and theories, and "procedural" and "metacognitive" knowledge would be presented as exercises and explanations. Therefore, looking at the language used in these parts of lessons may help in ascertaining WHETHER and HOW Translanguaging in its aspect of "Input/output:

variation” is used to deliver and access to the different levels of knowledge. For this purpose, analysis of two lessons, one focused on theories, and the other on exercises are considered here.

The first example is a lesson in Biology 5th Year. In this lesson, the teacher is discussing “population growth for pathogens.” The introductory part of the lesson firstly reviews the preceding lesson; and it gives the definition of Microbiology. Then the teacher reminds her students about the work of Louis Pasteur; and all this is done in English.

Then comes a stretch of comments (91 words long) on how the practices of microbiology are important for treating diseases; and here the teacher uses Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING; after which she enters in the core of the lesson (“The population growth of pathogens”) (about 283 words) presented in English. After this, a relatively long alternation of comments, explanations, evaluation of understanding through questions-answers follows in Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING and takes about 875 words. Finally, a kind of wind up of about 391 words closes the lesson in English-Kinyarwanda (with dominance of English).

As can be seen in this lesson, alternation of “factual” and “conceptual” knowledge on the one hand; and “procedural” and “metacognitive” knowledge on the other follow each other; and apparently, **preference for Codeswitching** seems to go to **“procedural” and “metacognitive” knowledge**, whereas **preference for English** seems to be applied to **“factual” and “conceptual” knowledge**.

In a lesson in Mathematics 3rd Year reserved to Exercises too, a similar pattern seems to emerge. The teacher gives some Theoretical explanations to prepare the students for the exercises, and in this phase; he uses English only. Then when the exercises begin; he seems to prefer Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING, interspersed with more or less long, but shorter than the introductory one, stretches in English.

On the whole, it seems that teachers use English only when delivering **“factual” and “conceptual” knowledge**; and English-Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English (rarely English) for **“procedural” and “metacognitive” knowledge**; apparently suggesting that “factual” and “conceptual” knowledge tends to be expressed **on the model of academic discourse**, whereas “procedural” and “metacognitive” knowledge need to be expressed in **rather explanatory and conversational language**.

(2) ***“Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” Delivery of, and Access to All the Four Levels Knowledge***

“Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” is another concept related to **“Translanguaging as Planning and Activity Structuring.”** Whereas “Teacher-led Translanguaging” refers to “planned and structured” Translanguaging actions by the teacher; “pupil-led Translanguaging” evokes independently carried out actions by the students (Lewis et al. 2012); and as earlier established, **no explicit planning action by teachers** was observed in the context of the present study. On the other hand, planning as an aspect of Translanguaging has a bearing on the other aspects of Translanguaging. What this lack of **“explicit” planning** on the part of the teachers, therefore, has the following implications with regard to all the other aspects of Translanguaging.

(1) *Planning and Activity Structuring in terms of “Integrated Use of Languages”*

This aspect of Translanguaging is about Codeswitching and Translation. With regard to **Codeswitching**, even though this aspect of Translanguaging is widely and usefully practiced; it is not deliberately meant by the teachers as a teaching/learning strategy. Rather, it is only used as a natural way of speaking, both from the teachers’ and the students’ point of view. On the other hand, in terms of **Translation**, this aspect of Translanguaging is also usefully practiced. However, it is so minimally applied that its impact can hardly yield any tangible outcome. Should there be some deliberate planning; Codeswitching would be “planned” to focus more on subject content understanding, and everything could be done so that Translation be practiced more and thus, better benefit the teaching/learning process.

(2) *Planning and Activity Structuring in terms of “Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language:”*

This proposed aspect of Translanguaging concerns the concepts of “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and “Developmental Use” because they are both about encouragement of the students’ use of their Home Language. More specifically, “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” is about the students’ evolution from “emergent bilingualism” to “fully-fledged Translanguaging,” and students in this study were found to use listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda to the detriment of reading and speaking skills, and they would more profitably make use of reading and writing skills in Kinyarwanda as well. Similarly, with regard to

“Developmental Use of Translanguaging,” this aspect of Translanguaging has been found to be practiced widely in the context under study. However, it also primarily resorts to listening and speaking skills. If some planning was put into it; even the reading and writing skills acquired in Kinyarwanda would be harnessed, and again, the practice of Translanguaging would be the more useful.

(3) *Planning and Activity Structuring in terms of “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring:”*

“Input/output: Variations” as an aspect of Translanguaging is practiced and the variation to the official English/English input/output recommended by the language in education policy is English-Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. This variation helps Subject Content Knowledge Development because of extensive use of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. However, at the same time, it is also compromised since one of its fundamental patterns, namely: input in **one language** and **output in another language** is missed out. If more planning was put into the practice of Translanguaging, this basic characteristic of the “Input/Output: Variations” aspect wouldn’t be missed out, and thus, Translanguaging would be practiced more usefully.

(4) *Planning and Activity Structuring in terms of “Appraisal and Monitoring:”*

“Subject-determined Translanguaging” has been proposed to belong to this wider aspect of Translanguaging because it bears a sense of observing what is happening in different subjects of study in terms of Translanguaging (“Subject-determined Translanguaging”). In the context of this study “Mathematics & Science” area of study has been found to practice Translanguaging more than the other areas of study. If some planning was put into it, the “Humanities” and “Arts” areas of study would also more profitably make use of Translanguaging.

On the whole, therefore, Translanguaging is widely practiced; but for not being planned; the way it is practiced leaves much to be desired. With regard to **Subject Content Knowledge**, therefore, the practice allows for its **Development** as has been persistently documented; but even better outcome would be achieved if Translanguaging was **more explicitly planned** and if Translanguaging activities were **systematically structured**.

5.2.3.4 Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” and Subject Content Knowledge Development Enhancement

(1) *“Subject-determined Translanguaging” and Delivery of, and Access to the four Aspects of Knowledge*

“Factual,” “Conceptual,” “Procedural” and “Metacognitive” Knowledge refer to Anderson & Krathwohl’s (2001) classification of “knowledge” into different levels. When these levels of knowledge are applied to the domain of Mathematics & Science with regard to Translanguaging; the question seems to be one of WHICH level of knowledge in this area of study is fit for multilingual practices and which is not. Indeed, whereas “factual” and “conceptual” knowledge would, as earlier indicated, tend to be expressed through English which has developed the language of Academic Discourse; the “procedural” and the “metacognitive” knowledge would rather tend to use integrated Kinyarwanda and English; mainly through English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING. In other words, “Mathematics and Science” subjects with their concepts, definitions, theorems, postulates, and theories which abound with rather “rigid” knowledge formulations appear to be difficult for teachers to present, and for students to grasp.

This might be the reason for “Mathematics and Science subjects’ predilection in the context of the present study for Translanguaging. And precisely, teachers and students in the context examined in this study tend to resort to Translanguaging (or integrated use of Kinyarwanda and English) in the “procedural” level of knowledge (which is about “how to do things”) and the “meta-cognitive” level (which concerns descriptions, discussions, and explanations about the subjects) (Anderson & Krathwohl (2001) in order to overcome the difficulties of “factual” and “conceptual” language formulations.

5.3 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON HOW TRANSLANGUAGING ENHANCES SUBJECT CONTENT KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT: *EVIDENCE FROM INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS*

As hitherto analyzed, the practice of Translanguaging has been found to be crucial for Subject Content Knowledge Development in the particular secondary school multilingual context examined in the present study. In this context, virtually all teachers and students share the same

languages, namely: (1) Kinyarwanda spoken by 99.4% of the population; (2) English, the language currently used as the Medium of Instruction; (3) French, the former Medium of Instruction, and (4) Kiswahili, the language used as the lingua franca in the whole of East African Community. The practice of Translanguaging involving these languages has hitherto been examined from the point of view of how they are actually used for teaching/learning in the classroom; and thus, “The Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development” was examined in Section 5.2 of this chapter, based on the analysis of the corpora data from 22 lessons recorded and transcribed verbatim.

In this Section, “The Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development” is further assessed from the point of view of teachers’ perspectives for corroboration, and this will be followed in Section 5.4, by an assessment of the same “role” from the point of view of students’ perspectives.

5.3.1 Perspectives on Translanguaging as “Integration of Languages”

Integration of languages in the classroom is primarily realized through the practices of Codeswitching and Translation. Therefore, what teachers think on HOW Translanguaging as “Integration of Languages” in the classroom enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development is firstly examined by considering their views on the role of Codeswitching in the classroom.

5.3.1.1 Codeswitching and Subject Content Knowledge Development

During in depth interviews with teachers, the concept of Codeswitching was not discussed under the appellation of “Codeswitching,” but rather in terms of how languages are used in lessons; both by the students and by themselves. Thus, the first information they contributed in this regard is that languages are extensively “mixed in the classroom.” In reality, they explained; “it is a mixture, but basically Kinyarwanda and a bit of English.” Indeed the language used in the classroom is “rarely English because if we tried to teach in English, they [the students] “wouldn’t like the lesson,” and thus, “it requires that we mix the languages.” These are different descriptions from different teachers. More specifically one teacher gives this information:

“For example, I teach literature, it is only English and there is difficult vocabulary. What is used [there, viz. in that lesson] is figurative language. If you only speak in English, they

will not like it; and they wouldn't understand anything. Therefore, sometimes I give them the gist in Kinyarwanda; then I base on that to explain."

More evidence that Codeswitching is much used is that, according to teachers, students themselves ask the teachers to switch to Kinyarwanda when they face difficulties in understanding lessons in English. In this regard, two teachers complete each other in the following terms

"Then whatever seems to be difficult they say: "Tell us in Kinyarwanda!"

"Yes; even myself; that is what they tell me in French. I write one sentence ... and they ask me to tell them in Kinyarwanda first!

Apart from these specific testimonies, general comments also confirm that Codeswitching is extensively used in the classrooms. Indeed, one teacher affirms this: "You can't teach English, Geography, etc. in English, without using Kinyarwanda." Another reiterates this, adding that in fact; even higher hierarchy Education authorities are aware of the necessity for Codeswitching use. As a teacher of English, he even explains that one of the instructions they have about the use of languages in the classroom is to have at least 20% of talk in Kinyarwanda while teaching English; which he explains refers to what is referred to as "language in the classroom" as distinguished from "language classroom."

To conclude on this question of Codeswitching and Subject Content Knowledge Development then, one positive point as one of the teacher respondent remarks is that, putting all these languages together to teach proves to be useful. He puts it thus:

"Just as teachers teach different subjects, students have problems with scientific terms, and they don't understand what these terms mean. Then the teacher switches to Kinyarwanda, which makes the children understand.

In sum then, what seems to come out of teachers' evaluation of the role of Codeswitching in Subject Content Knowledge Development is that certainly there are problem when one attempts to teach in English only, but thanks to Codeswitching, Subject Content Knowledge Development is enhanced. That said, however, some other teachers don't seem to be satisfied with the way children fare with the use of different languages for learning. In this regard, for example, one of them, in a rather defeatist tone says: "Even when you tell them in Kinyarwanda, they don't

understand.” In view of the many other assertions to the contrary, however, it could be concluded from teachers’ views that Codeswitching in the context of this study contributes significantly to enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development.

5.3.1.2 Translation and Subject Content Knowledge Development

The concept of Translation was reported along with Codeswitching, and indeed, it was for the most part, taken to be part of Codeswitching; and this partly stems from the fact that it is actually used minimally in the classroom. Nonetheless, teachers reported on the use of Translation for example by referring to it as: “Giving a sentence in English and ‘telling’ it in Kinyarwanda on students’ request”; or “giving the meaning of vocabulary in Kinyarwanda.” Or still, Translation is done as for example a teacher of French explains:

“If I speak in French they will not understand. So I use Kinyarwanda and I tell them, do you know this or that (in Kinyarwanda)? Then, I tell them: ‘In French, we call it like this.’”

These are the few examples of how teachers resort to Translation, and what seems to be clear is that indeed Translation is very rarely used, even though it proves to be useful each time it is used.

5.3.1.3 Conclusion on Integrated Use of Languages and Subject Content Knowledge Development

How then the teachers view **Codeswitchng** and **Translation** as enhancement of Subject Content Knowledge Development is paradoxically visible in their complaints about their own difficulties to convey Knowledge; about students “failure” to understand what they are taught in English, and about their generally limited competence in languages. Thus from the point of view of difficulties; teachers see themselves working to **deliver knowledge** amid complaints charged with a feeling of frustration stemming from the demands of using English in an academic context to express “factual,” “conceptual,” “procedural,” and “metacognitive” knowledge in a merger of “Conversational” (BICS) and “Academic’ (CALP) English which they don’t master. As one of the teachers observes in this regard with a sting of humor; some of the teachers’ struggle with the use of languages to teach is understandable. This is how she understands them:

“Even those teachers, I understand them; sometimes they want to speak English, they make mistakes and notice is too late...

On the other hand, teachers also seem to converge on the complaints that “students don’t know these languages,” that “they don’t understand English,” and that “they wouldn’t like a lesson in English only.” At the same time, however, they agree on the following:

(1) From the point of view of the teacher, “integration of the languages in lessons” is the solution. As one of them explains

“[...], rather than always struggling with those notes which they even have to look for here and there ... with all these difficulties [of expression], they choose to explain in Kinyarwanda.

(2) On the other hand, as two other teachers explain from the point of view of the students, “integration of languages” in a lesson is not only a solution for the teacher, it is also helpful for the students. They say it thus:

“Just as teachers teach different subjects, students have problems with scientific terms, and they don’t understand what these terms mean. Then the teachers switch to Kinyarwanda which makes the children understand.

“Even in English, children may not understand a word, then teachers bring in Kinyarwanda and thus children understand. [Using] many languages, therefore, is likely to be useful in teaching these children, and knowledge is being transmitted.

Briefly, these are the teachers’ perspectives. In conclusion, the core of teachers’ views on “integration of languages” in lessons is that in fact, integrating languages for teaching in the present context can’t be superseded. Thus, as presented here; it is paradoxically amid a mixture of desperate complaints and hopeful comments about the possibility of Subject Content Knowledge Development that teachers struggles and work to **deliver Knowledge**, and that students struggle and work to **access** it; and indeed “knowledge is still being transmitted” as affirmed in the above quotes. This, however, leaves perplexity looming out of hope in Subject Content Knowledge Development through integration of languages in lessons, and doubts in the face of uncertain competences in those languages. This leads to information from teachers on “implicit” arrangements of languages in lessons in the context under study.

5.3.2 Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language”

Throughout the whole study of the practice of Translanguaging; the recurrent theme at the core of discussions has always been the use of at least two languages in the classroom for teaching/learning (Lewis et al. 2012); and one of these languages is normally the Home Language of the student. This is because the student's Home Language is actually the most appropriate language for teaching and learning (UNESCO 1953, Brock-Utne 2007, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Thus, in the context of Translanguaging, it is no wonder that this "Home Language" should occupy what I have termed the "Centre Stage" of the practice; and the concepts of "Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding" and "Developmental Use" resonates with this role of the student's Home Language.

5.3.2.1 Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding and Subject Content Knowledge Development

"Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding" as an aspect of Translanguaging is premised on the idea that, rather than viewing the practice of Translanguaging as unfit for pupils with a low level Language Competence (Lewis et al. 2012), the practice may rather accompany students from "emergent bilingualism" throughout "fully-fledged bilingualism." Consequently, a continuum of scaffolding actions is hypothesized to span the students' evolution to "fully-fledged bilingualism" (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010). It thus represent a whole range of actions consisting in encouraging students' use of 'their Home Language to think, reflect, and extend their inner speech (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010 in Lewis et al. 2012: 661)', and for that reason, it would be argued that it encompasses the whole series of other aspects of Translanguaging such as "Codeswitching," "Translation."

In the data collected from interviews with teachers for the present study, most of the testimonies pertain to encouragement to students' use of Kinyarwanda. Such encouragements are for example the use of Kinyarwanda when teachers in different subjects notice that students "have problems with scientific terms;" the fact that teachers "can't teach English, geography, etc. 'in English' without using Kinyarwanda;" the frequent decisions to explain English or other language such as French vocabulary by translating it into Kinyarwanda; etc. all these are encouragement to students use of their Home Language to learn; and thus, they can well be considered as belonging to the Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding.

Concerning, the way in which Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development on the other hand, it is noteworthy that, whereas this aspect of Translanguaging primarily focuses on Language Competence Development since it is meant to scaffold the evolution from “emergent bilingualism” to “fully-fledged bi/multilingualism;” all the actions cited by the teacher respondents as taken to help students’ understand their lessons happen to be likely to enhance not only Language Competence Development; but also, pertinently for the present Chapter; it enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development.

5.3.2.2 Developmental Use and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As already elaborated, Developmental Use of Translanguaging is about the students’ use of skills developed in their Home Language through integration of languages to make sense of the subject content (Garcia 2009c in Lewis et al. 2012: 662). In this regard, this aspect of Translanguaging concerns students primarily, and thus; the data collected from interviews with teachers don’t bear much information on the way in which students make use of skills developed in their Home Language for Subject Content Knowledge Development.

Nonetheless, it is worth noting that teachers continually refer to students’ reliance on their Home Language in the classroom in an attempt to make sense of subject content. Thus, again as earlier mentioned, teachers highlight the fact that students almost invariably ask them to explain to them in Kinyarwanda whenever difficulties of understanding arise. In this regard, one teacher reports that in all subjects of study including English, teachers can’t teach in English “without using Kinyarwanda as well.” Another teacher remarks that with the difficulty of understanding scientific terms, teachers have “to switch to Kinyarwanda, which makes students understand.” Still in similar vein, another teacher notes that when a lesson is taught in English only, students “may not understand a word, then the teacher brings in Kinyarwanda.” In a word, when teachers describe their students’ competence; at the same time they also produce evidence that they resort to Kinyarwanda for studying; from the fact that when they attempt to understand the content in the classroom they request the teachers to use Kinyarwanda.

From yet another perspective (viz. observation of students’ actual use of languages); teachers also attest to students’ Developmental use of Translanguaging by informing on how they regularly mix languages (including Kinyarwanda their Home Language) to speak. Thus, as they

report, students regularly “mix languages when they speak” or “request their teachers to mix the languages.” Furthermore, when not asking the teachers to mix the languages for them to understand, they copy notes in English, and then receive explanations in Kinyarwanda, or still, they often participate in lessons (asking or answering questions) in Kinyarwanda.

5.3.2.3 Conclusion on “Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

To conclude; as teachers report about their students, using languages by referring to their Home Languages helps them; be it in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching or in Kinyarwanda only. In all this, however, it is important to note that, all of these comments refer to students’ listening and speaking skills. Indeed, none of the teachers makes any mention of students’ reading or writing in Kinyarwanda. It could be concluded then, that Kinyarwanda the students’ Home Language occupies the center stage in their use of Translanguaging for learning. However, the practice of this aspect of Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Translanguaging” would serve Subject Content Knowledge Development better if it also used reading and writing skills developed in Kinyarwanda. On this note, following are data on what I have proposed to refer to as **“Multilingual Practices Planning and Activity Structuring”** in the practice of Translanguaging.

5.3.3 Translanguaging as “Multilingual Practices Planning and Activity Structuring”

As analyzed above, teachers informed on Translanguaging as “Integration of Languages” and “Centre Stage to Home Language” in the classroom. Further, they also provided information on Translanguaging as ideally “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring.” In this Sub-section I report on this last point, relating how teachers tackled this aspect of Translanguaging through comments on the languages they use to teach (Input/Output: Variations) and through explanations on what seems to prompt multiple language use in the classroom (“Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging”).

5.3.3.1 “Input/Output: Variations” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Information on the languages used for “Input/Output: Variations” was obtained mainly as teachers discussed the overarching theme of **students’ competence** in languages. In teachers’

views, students “don’t know any language,” be it English, French, or even Kinyarwanda. As a corollary, the teachers stressed; there is no way to teach them in “English only,” and as earlier mentioned, students request that the teachers use Kinyarwanda. As the teachers report, therefore, the language of Input is not English, but rather English (or French and Kiswahili in case of these languages as subjects) and Kinyarwanda. The way these two languages are integrated in the lesson then is described as follows:

“Just as teachers teach different subjects, students have problems with scientific terms, and they don’t understand what these terms mean. Then the teacher switches to Kinyarwanda, which makes the children understand.

“[You] can’t teach English, geography, etc. in English without using Kinyarwanda.

“If we did that [taught them in English only] they wouldn’t like that lesson [...] It requires that you mix the languages.

“If you only speak in English, they will not like it; and they wouldn’t understand anything; therefore, sometimes I give them the gist in Kinyarwanda.

“Then, whatever seems difficult they say: ‘Tell us in Kinyarwanda.’

“Yes, even myself; that is what they tell me... I write a sentence ... and they ask me to tell them in Kinyarwanda first.

All these testimonies speak for themselves: Input is not in English; it is in “English and Kinyarwanda,” and the way the two languages are integrated is by starting with English (or French and Kiswahili for French and Kiswahili as subjects) and switching to Kinyarwanda on students’ request. And what is not explicitly said also is that not only these languages are “alternated” for Input, but also they are “mixed” as attested to by the very way in which the teachers used these languages in the interviews.

Concerning now the Output; teachers also informed that students use mainly the above two languages; and the way they use them is through Codeswitching, and more specifically through “Codemixing” as they persistently highlight that students neither know English nor Kinyarwanda, that the language they know is

- “A mixture... Basically it is Kinyarwanda: A bit of English, but in reality, a mixture.

- “[...] basically they all use Kinyarwanda, but it is a distorted Kinyarwanda, that kind of *Kinyafanglais* reported in *Rwanda Journal of Education*
- “[...] Kinyarwanda so mixed with French, English, and Kiswahili

Also as the teachers inform, students mix these languages everywhere and anyhow; to the extent that they “now write things mixed with English, and with unknown words (like *kuyoka*, *imyako*...)” and that “[...] *all they can do is speaking a mixture of languages.*” In a word, according to the teacher respondents in this study, students don’t use any language; they use a mixture of languages in all circumstances, and judging from the way they present it they are not happy about it.

From this rather gloomy picture, therefore, the information is clear: The language of Input is English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching (either intrasententially or intersententially) and the language of Output is Kinyarwanda-English and other languages like Kiswahili (mainly - or rather only - intrasententially). Notwithstanding the complaints mentioned above, this describes an **English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING pattern** “imposed,” as it were, by the Language Competence situation in the context under study: It is a pattern tailored to meet the requirements of this context; and it is likely to be beneficial to the teaching/learning process in that particular context. And indeed, the teacher respondents in this study describe the benefits of it as compared to the original English/English pattern. However, for a report on their perspectives on the role of English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English “Input/Output” in Subject Content Knowledge Development; a recall on the 2009 Language in Education Policy is in order.

As the policy instructs, the language of Input/Output should be English/English in all subjects of study, including language and other subjects. This Input/Output pattern, the teacher respondents suggest, is untenable in the context under study from the point of view of both teachers and students. Indeed, with regard to the teachers; they seem to be concerned about the use of English only in the classroom; and in fact the issue is their own limited competence. One of the respondents explains this as follows:

“Though we teach English, it hasn’t taken hold so much because most of the teachers had been trained in French; then they shifted to English; had a few trainings, ... and like that they started teaching in English. [...] Even the young teachers who [recently]

graduated were also trained in French in Secondary school, and English is just a course. English is not their second language: A course is not enough to master a language.

In substance, what this teacher means is that, for a sizeable number of his colleagues, competence in the language of instruction is not enough for them to contribute “Input” efficiently. On the other hand, students’ understanding of English (and of languages in general) is also limited. And this is what some teacher respondents describe when they declare that “[...] children don’t know any language at all. Not even one! Not even English!” ... that “Even Kinyarwanda, they don’t know it; children don’t know any Kinyarwanda!”

Briefly that is, according to the teacher respondents, the situation of competence both from the point of view of teachers for efficient contribution of INPUT, and from the point of view of students for OUTPUT production. And yet, notwithstanding this Language Competence situation, what this situation rather comfortingly implies is that teaching/learning is occurring. This is because, in any case, teachers **do know** Kinyarwanda and many know English; and, on the other hand, students **do know** some Kinyarwanda and some English. These “assets” together can save the situation; and Subject Content Knowledge can develop, thanks to the English-Kinyarwanda Input and Kinyarwanda-English Output. This, the teacher respondents report, is what is done; and it works quite satisfactorily. As reiterated here, therefore, for **Subject Content Knowledge**,

“Just as teachers teach different subjects, students have problems with scientific terms, and they don’t understand what these terms mean. Then the teachers switch to Kinyarwanda, which makes the children understand.

And this is not only for subject content lessons only, also for language subjects; the situation is not any different. Indeed, “Even in English, children may not understand a word, then teachers bring in Kinyarwanda and thus children understand. There is no doubt then, “Knowing many languages, [...], is likely to be useful in teaching: **Knowledge is being transmitted.**”

That said, however, teacher respondents make it clear that the language arrangement they described either results from students’ requests, or from teachers’ awareness of students’ difficulties of understanding. In other words, that **language arrangement** is predominantly adopted in an *ad hoc* fashion depending on the occasion, the teacher’s mood, the students’

prompt, etc. It is not the result of a plan to use the languages that way; and this **lack of deliberate** use of the languages was also commented by the teacher respondents. Following is a consideration of the pitfalls resulting from the fact that the practice of Translanguaging in the context under study might not be a sustainably **planned and structured** teaching/learning strategy, indeed; not a “**Teacher-led** strategy.”

5.3.3.2 “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Another concept considered in this study as connected to the idea of Translanguaging as a concept of “Integrated Language Use **Planning**” is *Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*. In substance, what this concept entails is that Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice is primarily a ‘deliberate and systematic use of two languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 664)’ in the classroom; that it requires some planning efforts on the part of the teacher. On the other hand, however, another mode of Translanguaging is led by the students, and in this case; Translanguaging activities are independently undertaken (Ibid. 2012: 664).

In connection with this concept, what this implies as I want to argue in this study is that; beyond specific one-off activities like the ones that could be independently undertaken by students; long term Translanguaging strategies would be the responsibility of the teacher, and in this respect; **planning** would concern the practice of Translanguaging as a whole. Thus for example, starting from the concept of “**Input/Output: Variations**” discussed above; “Teacher-led Translanguaging” would make it possible to go beyond the identified tendency in the context of this study to vary Input/Output pattern in an *ad hoc* fashion depending on the circumstances of the moment, and to plan a more sustainable and productive pattern. “Teacher-led Translanguaging” as I would like to submit here, therefore, would act on all aspects of Translanguaging.

Following is a sketch of examples of HOW “Teacher-led Translanguaging” as “deliberate and systematic use of two languages” would augment the likelihood of Translanguaging better enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development in view of the way it is actually practiced in the context under study.

Table 24: Teacher-led Translanguaging Potential for Enhancing Subject Content Knowledge

Aspect of Translanguaging	Potential for the Practice to Enhance Subject Content Knowledge
- Codeswitching	- Possibility to encourage the use of different forms of Codeswitching
- Translation	- Possibility to encourage wider practice in all levels of study and in all subjects
- Input/Output: Variations	- Possibility to vary from English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING pattern and alternate with another pattern like English/Kinyarwanda and/or vice versa
- Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging	- Possibility to encourage students to resort to reading and writing skills in Kinyarwanda and not limit to listening and speaking skills
- Developmental Use	- Possibility to encourage reading and writing skills in addition to Kinyarwanda listening and speaking skills
- Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding	- Possibility to encourage reading and writing skills in addition to Kinyarwanda listening and speaking skills
- Subject-determined Translanguaging	- Possibility to encourage more adherence to the practice of Translanguaging even in other domains than “Mathematics and Science”

As suggested here, “Teacher-led Translanguaging” can apply to the whole concept of Translanguaging in all its aspects; and this would be likely to further enhance Subject Content Learning. During interviews with teachers, some actions on the part of the teachers bearing some similitude to “Teacher-led Translanguaging” were mentioned. These are: (1) To give students subject content notes in English and follow them with explanations in Kinyarwanda, (2) Teaching vocabulary by first giving the concepts in Kinyarwanda and thence introduce the term in the language being taught, and (3) giving the gist of texts in Kinyarwanda before teaching the texts themselves. These are useful strategies adopted by some teachers to solve problems of understanding regularly observed, but they are relatively limited in scope, and again; they are often prompted by the situation of the moment (e.g.: students asking the teacher to explain in Kinyarwanda).

In sum, teacher respondents didn’t have much to say which could be identified as “Teacher-led Translanguaging,” and indeed; they didn’t have much to say which would show that they **deliberately and systematically** plan their use of languages in the classroom. As earlier argued, therefore; from the teacher respondents’ perspectives too; “Teacher-led/Pupil-led

Translanguaging” as a concept of the “Planning and Activity Structuring” aspect of Translanguaging leaves much to be desired in the context examined in this study.

5.3.4 Translanguaging as “Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring”

The last broader aspect of Translanguaging proposed in this study is **Translanguaging as “Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring”** and it corresponds to “*Subject-determined Translanguaging*” which is not so much about “integration of languages” *per se*, but rather; bears evaluation of the extent of the practice of Translanguaging among the different subjects on the curriculum; and seems to be of a “fact-finding” nature.

5.3.4.1 Subject-determined Translanguaging and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As Lewis et al. (2012) explain, “Subject-determined Translanguaging” relates to the idea that some subject areas may lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than others. Thus, with regard to this idea as elaborated in the present study; predilection for the practice of Translanguaging was noticed in “Mathematics and Science” subjects more than in “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study.

What this “predilection” represents for Subject Content Knowledge Development in the context of this study can be speculated from a teacher’s mention of “scientific terms” as follows:

“Just as teachers teach different subjects, students have problems with scientific terms, and they don’t understand what they mean. Then the teacher switches to Kinyarwanda, which makes the children understand.

What this quote seems to suggest resonates with the nature of “Mathematics and Science” language which typically features “scientific terms” perhaps more than other areas of study. Thus, as appears in this quote, the crucial role of Translanguaging in enhancing Subject Content Knowledge Development in all subject areas of study is reaffirmed. And even more; it is suggested that the practice of Translanguaging is helpful in resolving special problems such as the ones inherent in “Mathematics and Science” jargon. Therefore, that “Mathematics and Science” subjects should be found to practice Translanguaging more than the subjects in other areas of study is good; and perhaps it would be desirable that the practice be refined and

extended further to the other areas of study as well. In that way, the practice would bear more fruit for education in the context under study.

5.4 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON HOW TRANSLANGUAGING IS LIKELY TO ENHANCE SUBJECT CONTENT KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT: EVIDENCE FROM INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS

For collecting students' ideas on HOW Translanguaging enhances their Subject Content Knowledge Development, focus group interviews were conducted in 12 classes (viz. 6 in each of the two schools investigated, and 2 in each grade from 1st Year to 6th Year). Four to six students for each group were interviewed; and the semi-structured interviews were conducted in a way to enhance in-depth discussion of the question of multilingual practices in the schools and their role in teaching/learning.

Through these interviews the students contributed rich and detailed information on the way Kinyarwanda, English, French, and Kiswahili are taught and used in their schools, and the way these languages contribute to their education. Like in the preceding Section, this information is reported successively below under the banners of Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages” (5.4.1); “Center Stage to Home Language” (5.4.2); “Multilingual Practices Planning and Structuring (5.4.3); and “Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring” (5.4.4).

5.4.1 Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages”

Reported under this title are students' perspectives on *Codeswitching* and *Translation* in their schools. When students report on their use of languages, one feels that they are aware of the language in education policy which instructs that the language of teaching/learning is English. Hence, when they report on their “integrated use of the languages” in their repertoire, they do accompany their report with an expression of apology, suggesting that they feel they shouldn't integrate them. And yet, they strongly testify to their constant use of Kinyarwanda, their “home” language, and positively laud the benefits of the practice. Following are some of their perspectives on their use of *Codeswitching* and *Translation* to learn.

5.4.1.1 *Codeswitching and Subject Content Knowledge Development*

The first information obtained from students concerning **Codeswitching**, is that the languages involved in the process are mainly Kinyarwanda and English, sometimes French, and very rarely Kiswahili. On the other hand, the **occasions for Codeswitching** as students informed are practically all the time they use Kinyarwanda since, as students say, it is currently becoming more and more impossible for them NOT to mix it with English. In this regard, following are some testimonies on how often Kinyarwanda is reported to be involved in CODESWITCHING:

- (1) Currently we can't speak Kinyarwanda only: It is a mixture; when we speak, words from other languages come in.
- (2) When we have for example a debate in French, we try to constrain ourselves by avoiding Kinyarwanda; but to say that when you are speaking Kinyarwanda and stick to it; it is impossible, if you are speaking Kinyarwanda it is impossible not to put in English words.
- (3) Currently, we can't speak Kinyarwanda without putting in other languages
- (4) When you are used to speaking English for example, you can't speak Kinyarwanda without putting English words.

As can be seen from these extracts, students seem to suggest that speaking Kinyarwanda without mixing it with other languages is becoming impossible for them.

Still concerning the **occasions for Codeswitching**, students indicate that wherever they are, except perhaps when they are aware that they are addressing people who only know Kinyarwanda (e.g.: Their elderly parents), they mix Kinyarwanda with other languages, and they don't do it deliberately. Furthermore, even when they are **in class**, more particularly, they use English and Kinyarwanda.

With regard to **who "codeswitches"** then, there too, students seem to stress that the practice has been adopted even by teachers, insinuating that it has somehow become an inexorable practice. This transpires in expressions cited above like: "we can't speak Kinyarwanda without putting in other languages" or "if you are speaking Kinyarwanda it is impossible not to put in English words"; or still in the following general description that one student gives of Kinyarwanda.

“Currently we can’t speak Kinyarwanda only: It is a mixture, and words from other languages come in.

Apart from the “**inexorability;**” the “**omnipresence;**” (viz. even in the classroom which supposed to use English); the “**all embracing character**” (viz. including even teachers) of the practice; the students interviewed in this study seem to recognize the usefulness of Codeswitching with a **sense of mixed guilt and apology** in the back of their mind since they know they have to study in English; and they surreptitiously justify their use of Kinyarwanda along with English thus:

(1) We need Kinyarwanda because we don’t know English well.

(2) In science, we don’t need Kinyarwanda so much; rather what is needed is to understand and it is easy for those who know English.

(3) When you know English, you find it easy for you to learn other subjects. (understood you don’t need Kinyarwanda).

(4) When you know English, French, Kiswahili, you can understand what you are asked to answer. (understood you don’t need Kinyarwanda).

At the same time, however, they can’t but affirm that after all; Kinyarwanda is everywhere in everyday life; even though the other languages have become necessary. Thus, the comments on the use of Codeswitching can conclude on the following remark by one student respondent that, though Kinyarwanda is mixed with other languages, it is still used everywhere:

“[...] where necessary we can use English, for example in classroom, or when the teachers teach us, we can use other languages. But many times we use Kinyarwanda in our societies.”

5.4.1.2 Translation and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Having reported on the above, notwithstanding the mentioned **sense of guilt and apology**; the student respondents elaborated on an aspect of Translanguaging earlier reported in this study as occurring minimally; but which they present as frequently resorted to and exceptionally useful to them, namely: **Translation**. This practice, the students assert, occurs in practically all the work they do together; in revising notes from lessons; in answering exam and quiz questions; and in many other activities which require them to engage with texts written in English. Some of the testimonies are as follows:

- (1) He can say this, this, this Explain for them in order to help them because, as we said before, they are not at the same level of speaking English. That's why we speak Kinyarwanda trying to explain for them; it's why many times we use Kinyarwanda.
- (2) When they give us for example an exercise in English, we first try to understand it Kinyarwanda.
- (3) Kinyarwanda is important for understanding because when for example you are doing a homework, you ask somebody to tell you in Kinyarwanda. So you first understand in Kinyarwanda, then you put it in English;
- (4) When we review our notes, we explain to each other in Kinyarwanda;
- (5) Sometimes when I review my notes I try to understand in Kinyarwanda, even when I am doing a test I try to understand the question in Kinyarwanda;
- (6) When you know English you can understand other subjects in Kinyarwanda;
- (7) when we are answering questions in English, we first try to understand in Kinyarwanda before answering: In fact, that is the only way we go about it; we first try to make sure we understand what it means, if you don't understand in Kinyarwanda you can't actually answer;
- (8) You read your notes and you try to understand what they mean in Kinyarwanda;
- (9) Before answering you first reflect on your notes in Kinyarwanda;

As can be seen from reading these quotes from interviews with students; they all, in substance, point to the idea that whatever input students receive through English is understood by translating it in Kinyarwanda. They don't utter the word "Translation," but they all describe the process of Translation; mainly done either orally (e.g.: "you ask somebody to tell you in Kinyarwanda"; "we explain to each other in Kinyarwanda") or even more often mentally (e.g.: "we first try to **understand** it in Kinyarwanda"; "I try to **understand** the question in Kinyarwanda"; "you try to **understand** what they mean in Kinyarwanda"; "before answering you first **reflect** on your notes in Kinyarwanda"). Thus, the students in this study seem to refer to the process of **Translation** when they use expressions such as "understanding in Kinyarwanda," "knowing what it means in Kinyarwanda," and "explaining to each other in Kinyarwanda."

Contrary to what was observed in the different lessons, therefore, the student respondents in the present study informed that they extensively use **Translation** as an aspect of Translanguaging in

their everyday attempt to make sense of the Subject Content Knowledge conveyed in the lessons they are taught.

5.4.1.3 Conclusion: Students' Perspectives on the Role of "Integrated Language Use" in Subject Content Knowledge Development

In recounting how they use the different languages in their repertoire, students also commented on the usefulness of the process of **"Integrated Use of Languages"** (viz. Codeswitching and Translation) itself; mainly stressing the fact that the use of all the languages in their repertoire has become ineluctable; that it is no longer possible to use "Kinyarwanda only"; that when they speak Kinyarwanda, the other languages naturally come in the talk.

This appeared particularly in comments related to **Codeswitching** which they referred to as "mixing" languages with a slight tone of reprobation in remarks like "we use Kinyarwanda (in class) because we don't know English" or "it is rare for us to have a conversation in English only" or "when we speak Kinyarwanda, English words just come in"); but they all converged on its usefulness. Thus comments like the following abound in the students' contribution to the interviews

- (1) When we use different languages, we gain knowledge in other subjects and in those languages.
- (2) Many languages help understanding other subjects.
- (3) When you know different languages you are able to understand for example science, geography,... because these subjects are written in those languages.
- (5) We even need Kinyarwanda, because sometimes you read in English but you don't understand.

In addition to this account of the usefulness of Codeswitching, even more assertive were the comments about **Translation**. Indeed, while speaking about this aspect of Translanguaging to which they mainly referred to as **"(trying) to understand (text) in Kinyarwanda"**; students in this study highlighted the invaluable role of translating from English to Kinyarwanda in understanding lesson content. Following is a sample of ways in which they rendered their idea of the usefulness of Translation, both in the way they personally deal with the content of their lessons and the way they help each other to cope with the lessons.

- (2) Sometimes when I review my notes I try to understand in Kinyarwanda; even when I am doing a test I try to understand the question in Kinyarwanda.
- (3) When you have put it in Kinyarwanda, you are sure you understand it.
- (6) Your read you notes and you try to understand what they mean in Kinyarwanda.
- (9) When we review our notes, we explain to each other in Kinyarwanda.
- (10) After the teacher has explained in class, you go out and another student who has understood in English explains to you in French or in Kinyarwanda.

As can be seen from these testimonies and many more which cannot be cited here, in both the cases of **Codeswitching** and **Translation**, the students seemed to affirm the usefulness of “integrated use of languages” in Subject Content Knowledge Development, even though they seemed to see the crucial role of Translation better than they could see the role of Codeswitching.

Still of importance, though, is the fact that each time students talked of the process of “integrated use of languages,” they almost invariably also referred to Kinyarwanda. Indeed, just as for them Codeswitching is Kinyarwanda and elements from other languages coming into it; Translation is also from other languages (mainly English) into Kinyarwanda. This signals awareness of not only the role of “integrated use of languages” in Subject Content Knowledge Development; but also, the **central position of Kinyarwanda** in the whole process which I discuss next.

5.4.2 Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language”

“Center Stage to Home Language” as I reiterate here is about precedence due to students’ Home Language as an aspect of Translanguaging proposed in this study. As such, it refers to “*Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding*” and “*Developmental Use*” which; in essence, are both about students’ use of skills developed in their Home Language for learning.

5.4.2.1 “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

It will firstly be recalled that “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” refers to the range of scaffolding actions extending from students’ evolution from ‘emergent bilingualism (Garcia 2009)’ to fully-fledged Translanguaging. It is practiced by the teacher to support students

through encouragement of their Home Language use for learning. In this regard, students informed that they widely benefited from their teachers' "scaffolding" by recounting the way in which they themselves use Kinyarwanda to help them understand the lessons, and thus encourage them to use it as well as a resource. And indeed, as conveyed in the following testimonies, students affirm that teachers are willing to give them explanations in Kinyarwanda (1); that they don't hesitate to resort to it for understanding (2, 3, 4, 5); that in fact, many languages are useful for learning, and that among these languages, their Home Language in the most important resort, even in different evaluations such as quizzes.

(1) When we explain things to each other, we use Kinyarwanda, but when we are in class, we use English unless you tell the teacher that you don't understand; then he tries to find a way to explain to you in Kinyarwanda.

(2) When I don't understand well in English, I try to understand in Kinyarwanda.

(3) When I want to understand I resort to Kinyarwanda.

(4) You read your notes and you explain them in Kinyarwanda.

(5) We use English but when there are difficulties in understanding we use Kinyarwanda.

(6) Many languages help us: For example you don't have the word in Physics, so you use English, but when you have the word in Kinyarwanda, you use Kinyarwanda....

(7) Kinyarwanda is important for understanding because when for example you are doing a homework, you ask somebody to tell you in Kinyarwanda. So you first understand in Kinyarwanda, then you put it in English.

From reading all these quotes, it appears that students seem to make the most of Kinyarwanda and that they seem to appreciate how it helps them. Finally, it is also noteworthy that, as earlier mentioned, this scaffolding spans all the levels of study, which guarantees the continuity of the scaffolding "continuum."

5.4.2.2 "Developmental Use of Translanguaging" and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As earlier mentioned and reiterated quoting the literature on Translanguaging; the central idea in **Developmental Use** is that students constantly resort to their Home Language to make sense of the subjects they learn (Lewis et al. 2012), and this establishes the relation between this aspect of Translanguaging and the preceding one. Like in the case of "Continuum of Emergent

Scaffolding,” therefore, students unequivocally informed during the interviews in this study that their teachers encourage them to resort to Kinyarwanda, and that they themselves, from their own natural initiative, constantly use Kinyarwanda to learn their lessons even though they are, in principle, delivered in English. Indeed, all the students’ assertions to the effect that they “**try to understand in Kinyarwanda**” when dealing with their lessons were used to account for their use of Translation, but in fact; the same assertions can serve to explain how they ‘pass through Kinyarwanda [their Home Language] to understand [since it is, as one of them puts it] the bridge to the content of’ knowledge in their lessons.

More particularly, however, since the above mentioned **constant resort to their Home Language** is mainly through the use of the skills acquired in their Home Language (listening, speaking, reading, writing) to make sense of subject content (Garcia 2009c in Lewis et al. 2012); the student respondents also gave some details on how they use skills developed in Kinyarwanda to learn other lessons as in the following testimonies:

- (1) He can say this, this, this Explain for them in order to help them because, as we said before, they are not at the same level of speaking English. That’s why we speak Kinyarwanda trying to explain for them. It’s why many times we use Kinyarwanda.
- (2) Kinyarwanda is important for understanding because when for example you are doing a homework, you ask somebody to tell you in Kinyarwanda. So you first understand in Kinyarwanda, then you put it in English.
- (3) After the teacher has explained in class, you go out and another student who has understood in English explains to you in French or in Kinyarwanda;
- (4) Also when presenting you hesitate on a word, then you say it in Kinyarwanda and they tell you how to say it in English, so it is an advantage;

It is noteworthy, however, that almost invariably they report using **listening** and **speaking** skills. Indeed, resort to skills developed in Kinyarwanda seems to be limited to **explaining** (see quote 1 and 3), to repeat to you the content in Kinyarwanda (see quote 2), or to say in Kinyarwanda what you want to express in English as a way to solicit suggestions on how to say it in English (see quote 4). It looks as though students mean that they only use listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda; and other testimonies to their use of Kinyarwanda like:

- (1) Sometimes when I review my notes I try to understand in Kinyarwanda, even when I am doing a test I try to understand the question in Kinyarwanda;
- (2) You read your notes and you explain them in Kinyarwanda;
- (3) We even need Kinyarwanda, because sometimes you read in English but you don't understand.

are not explicit about the skills they use, apart from confirming that Kinyarwanda is widely used in the process of making sense of the content of the lessons, and thus; reading and writing skills are not explicitly accounted for. And should this suggest that these skills are not used at all; this would suggest that there is a need for purposeful **planning and structuring** in the integrated use of languages in the context investigated in this study.

5.4.2.3 Conclusion: Students' Perspectives on the Role of "Center Stage to Home Language" in Subject Content Knowledge Development

In concluding this discussion on students' perspectives on the central role of Kinyarwanda in their learning, I find nothing more expressive than their own words when they imagine a situation when it should happen that they don't resort to Kinyarwanda. Indeed, when I asked whether it never happens that they deal with lessons without resorting to Kinyarwanda, one student respondent admitted that it may happen but directly added:

"Sometimes when we use English only, some students are able to answer correctly without understanding what it means, and have good marks; but if other languages are used as well, then they understand; (Here "to understand" really means "to get the idea in Kinyarwanda")

Still another said,

"We can't say that you may not know if you don't put in Kinyarwanda, you may know it but you don't understand, in any case you don't understand the same way as when you put it in Kinyarwanda.

What is particularly noteworthy in this response is the use of the words "know" and "understand." Indeed, from the way this student uses these words, he rightfully stresses the (big) difference between "knowing" and "understanding," and for him, through other languages you learn and "know" the content, and through the Home Language you learn and "understand." And

even if it happens that you learn and understand in another language, you don't understand in the same way as if it were in your Home Language. This perfectly explains the essence of the concept of **“Developmental Use of Translanguaging.”** It also confirms the reality of the assertion that students ‘use their Home Language to think, reflect, and extend their inner speech (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010 in Lewis et al. 2012: 661); which is why, as another student says, “before answering [a test question] you first reflect on your notes in Kinyarwanda.” And finally, as still another student respondent affirms, resorting to one's Home Language is not optional; it is the only way to go about learning. He says it thus:

“When we are answering questions in English, we first try to understand in Kinyarwanda before answering: In fact, that is the only way we go about it; we first try to make sure we understand what it means: If you don't understand in Kinyarwanda you can't actually answer.

5.4.3 Translanguaging as “Multilingual Practices Planning and Structuring”

Through “Multilingual Practices Planning and Structuring,” two aspects of Translanguaging, namely: *“Input/Output: Variations”* and *“Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging”* are understood in the context of this study. This is justified by the fact that; whereas “Input/Output: Variations” concerns the various possible arrangements of the languages in a lesson, “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” is about ‘deliberate and systematic use of two languages (Lewis et al. 2012: 664)’ for teaching/learning. In other words, both these aspects of Translanguaging are about “planning and activity structuring” for multilingual practices.

In this Sub-section, I present student respondents' ideas on these aspects of Translanguaging to argue that not much Translanguaging “planning” and activity “structuring” seems to be occurring in the context under study.

5.4.3.1 “Input/Output: Variations” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Through *“Input/Output: Variations”* as an aspect of Translanguaging, it is suggested that an original input/output pattern serves as reference for variations. In view of the language in education policy as earlier explained, this Input/Output reference in the context of Rwanda, is English/English input/output. In the data collected through interviews, students indicated that this “official” pattern is not always followed. Following are some testimonies to this.

- (1) “We are allowed to speak all languages
- (2) “We are not limited in our use of languages
- (3) “But in the classroom when you speak another language they sometimes correct you leading you to English.
- (4) “Normally we must use English, but sometimes (out of will) we find ourselves using other languages.

As can be seen in these extracts; students use the languages, especially Kinyarwanda and English, just as they occur to them (1, 2); and particularly as already noted, they use them through Codeswitching. And similarly, the teachers also use the languages which occur to them as “handy” and generally, for the most part, they use English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching.

In the first place, this means that the original English/English Input/Output pattern is not always followed. In the second place, this also means that, in reality, there is nothing “systematic” in the input/output language choice. All that can be observed is freedom to use any language that appears to be useful for the moment. In other words, whenever a problem of understanding is detected, any other language which can save the situation is used in an *ad hoc* fashion. This, it could be speculated, is beneficial to **delivery of, and access to** Subject Content Knowledge. Students put it thus:

- (1) “We are allowed to speak all languages;
- (2) “We are not limited in our use of languages;

Obviously, freedom to use any language is perfect. However, in the conditions of language use as already described, it might be necessary to plan how to use the languages, without excluding any of them, and it might further strategically enhance **delivery of, and access to knowledge** and also take account of CALP/BICS development. Furthermore, given the different levels of knowledge (viz. Factual, Conceptual, Procedural, and Metacognitive knowledge), it might be necessary to plan language use for delivery of, and access to all levels of knowledge.

5.4.3.2 “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

“Teacher-led Translanguaging” as earlier mentioned originally referred to “**deliberate and systematic use** of two languages” in the same lesson (Lewis et al. 2012). However, in the interviews conducted in the present study, student respondents indicated clearly that their teachers don’t deliberately use the languages in their repertoire; that rather, they use them in an

ad hoc fashion. Following are some of their testimonies with regard to their teachers' use of languages in the classroom.

- (1) In class teachers speak Kinyarwanda and English;
- (2) When teachers teach different subjects, they also use Kinyarwanda;
- (3) When we ask a question in Kinyarwanda, they answer in Kinyarwanda and then they repeat in English;

As appears from these testimonies, teachers mainly use **English and Kinyarwanda** in the classroom; and indeed, this was noticed in virtually all the lessons observed. Moreover, an additional piece of information obtained here is that this use of English and Kinyarwanda is rather an *ad hoc* one. Indeed, whereas it was clearly explained that “teachers speak Kinyarwanda and English” in class (see quote 1); they also suggest that primarily, the language supposed to be used is not Kinyarwanda, though teachers “also use Kinyarwanda” (see quote 2); and finally, they suggest that teachers are often prompted by students to use Kinyarwanda (see quote 3).

Basically then, students implicitly confirm that the rule is normally to use English only; that the teachers don't necessarily follow this rule since they also use Kinyarwanda; and that they often use Kinyarwanda on students' request. In other words, the information from the student respondents is clear: the teachers don't really plan their use of languages; and thus the languages are **not used in a “planned and systematic”** way.

Moreover, when asked whether there were any “instructions” about how different languages should be used in the classroom; the students asserted that there were no instructions, even though there might be a request. One student reports:

“In class? Yea. It's a request not an order. Our teachers used to ask us, you have to use English in order to improve. Because you know that you can be deceiving yourself if you ... you can think you know English without speaking it. So, **they advise us to use them.** To use the languages in order to improve.

“Mainly, apart from the fact that we don't know these languages, the language they try to encourage us to use is English.

And yet, other students inform that whichever language seems appropriate for the moment is the one they use, apart from the fact that some teachers and school authorities have their own attitudes toward students' language use. Students expressed this in the following terms:

(1) “In Mathematics on the other hand, to make sure that [the lesson] is understood and to make sure that everybody feels at ease, the teacher could use a language that he finds is understood, be it English or Kinyarwanda; depending on what the teacher and students together find manageable.

(2) “Bitewe n’aho muri, ushobora kuzikoresha uko zije, ariko mu ishuri **ntabwo umwarimu yaba ari kwigisha igiswayire cyangwa icyongereza** ngo ujye gushyiramo Ikinyarwanda.

(= Depending on where you are, you can use them as needed. But in class, you may not speak Kinyarwanda if the teacher is teaching Kiswahili or English.)

To summarize then, the core of the information on “Teacher-led Translanguaging” is that there doesn’t seem to be any “deliberate and systematic” use of languages. Teachers basically use English, but depending on the need of the moment, they also use Kinyarwanda; and similarly, the students also use whichever language is appropriate for the moment; even though more particularly in language lessons the respective teachers tend to request the students to use the relevant languages; either English, French, or Kiswahili only. All in all then, the information obtained in this context is that “Teacher-led Translanguaging” is not applied in the context under study.

5.4.3.3 Conclusion: Students’ Perspectives on the Role of “Multilingual Practices Planning and Structuring” in Subject Content Knowledge Development

“Planning and Structuring” of Multilingual Practices as presented in the literature normally occur through two aspects of Translanguaging, namely: “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” and “Input/Output Translanguaging.” As has transpired from the above analysis of students’ testimonies, however, there doesn’t seem to be any Translanguaging planning by the teacher. Also there doesn’t seem to be any clearly defined Input/Output pattern since both teachers and students use the languages in their repertoire, following the needs of the moment. What this entails then is as follows: Firstly, whatever the language uses adopted either by the teachers or by the students; these uses are geared to better Subject Content Knowledge delivery and learning since they are normally motivated by the need for better understanding. Secondly, all things considered, “Input/Output: Variations” and “Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging” don’t seem to be properly practiced in the context under study. The fact that students Subject Content

Knowledge Development is occurring, therefore, can be explained by the fact that the lack of language use planning is likely to be compensated for by usefully harnessing the students' skills developed in Kinyarwanda which, under the form of CODESWITCHING, seem to replace any other uses of languages. Delivery of, and access to Subject Content Knowledge in **Academic Context**, and in all its four forms, therefore, remains problematic in the conditions described by the context under study.

5.4.4 Translanguaging as “Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring”

As has been proposed in this study, “Appraisal and Monitoring of Multilingual Practices” includes the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” which relates to the research observation that certain subjects tend to practice Translanguaging more than others; an observation which puts this concept in the domain of activity “evaluation and monitoring.”

5.4.4.1 “Subject-determined Translanguaging” and Subject Content Knowledge Development

As extensively explained above, student respondents in the context of the present study informed that their use of languages doesn't follow any regulations; that whatever language or language combination they find helpful for Subject Content Learning is allowed. On the other hand, still as has been established in the present study, “Mathematics & Science” area of study appears to adhere to the practice of Translanguaging more than the other areas of study. In the first place; what this entails is that this area of study benefits from the practice of Translanguaging more than the other areas of study. At the same time, however; given the fact that Translanguaging in the particular context of this study has been found to be lacking in “deliberate and systematic” planning; Subject Content Learning in this area of study might also be impacted more than the other areas of study by the likely pitfalls of “unplanned” and “unsystematic” use of languages.

In the second place, as the student respondents inform, the other areas of study might be at a disadvantage from the fact of not so much adhering to the practice of Translanguaging as the following testimonies suggest:

- (1) In a lesson of English or Kiswahili, you couldn't answer or ask a question in Kinyarwanda while the teacher is teaching in English or Kiswahili;

(2) [...] It depends on who you are addressing, you couldn't speak to the teacher of English in Kinyarwanda, but sometimes they put in Kinyarwanda when we don't understand;

As suggested in these quotes, some subjects don't allow Translanguaging to occur so freely. At the same time, however, this doesn't mean that what it would take to benefit from the practice would be to just allow free reign to any language use "as it comes." Indeed, the key to benefitting from the practice of Translanguaging would be "deliberate and systematic planning" of the Translanguaging activity.

5.5 HOW TRANSLANGUAGING IS LIKELY TO ENHANCE SUBJECT CONTENT KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The role of Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice was examined in this Chapter with reference to *Translanguaging*. For ease of analysis and presentation of the data, the 7 concepts related to translanguaging were logically regrouped into four "wider concepts" proposed in this study, namely: (1) "Integrated Use of Languages" logically regrouping *Codeswitching* and *Translation*; (2) "Centre Stage to Home Language" comprised of *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* and *Developmental Use of Translanguaging*; (3) "Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring" regrouping *Input/Output: Variations* and *Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*; and (4) "Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages" corresponding to *Subject-determined Translanguaging*. Following is a summary of the findings.

5.5.1 Translanguaging and Subject Content Knowledge Development: Summary

5.5.1.1 "Integrated Use of Languages" and Subject Content Knowledge Development

Analysis of the data to ascertain how "Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Languages" is likely to enhance Subject Content Learning was done by identifying and examining instances of *Codeswitching* and *Translation* in the classroom with a view to determining what they entail in terms of **delivery of, and access to** knowledge. On the one hand, identified instances of English-Kinyarwanda *Codeswitching* showed that integrated use of these languages allows teachers to express themselves free of constraint to use English only, and made it possible for students to follow what their teachers say to them. On the other hand, analysis of identified examples of *Translation* showed that the practice offers students richer content information in two languages,

including information in their Home Language. From the point of view of the concept of Translanguaging, therefore, “Integrated Use of Languages” proved to be a useful practice for delivery of and access to content knowledge.

Further, the practice of Translanguaging in the context under study was also examined in terms of Cummins’ (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency in academic contexts. The analysis of the data showed that extensive use of English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching certainly facilitates delivery of and access to subject content knowledge. At the same time, however, it was also found that, in academic contexts where CALP/BICS are necessary for efficient use of language, the difficulty to develop these skills through English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching is likely to **mitigate** the otherwise good enhancement of Subject Content Knowledge Development by integrated use of languages through Codeswitching.

Finally, the practice of Translanguaging was also analyzed with reference to Anderson & Krathwohl’s (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing. In terms of “Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Languages,” it was firstly noted that the lessons observed generally featured different parts which correspond to different levels of Knowledge. Thus for example “exercises” might correspond to **Procedural Knowledge** whereas “theories” preparing for these exercises would correspond to **Factual Knowledge**. Examination of the lessons observed then showed that **Factual** and **Conceptual Knowledge** tended to be expressed through **English**, whereas **Procedural** and **Metacognitive Knowledge** tended to be conveyed through **English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching**; and this proved to be efficient for delivery of and access to Knowledge.

5.5.1.2 Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language

The data in this study were also examined to determine how “Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language” is likely to enhance Subject Content Learning, and this was done by analyzing instances of *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* and *Developmental Use of Translanguaging* in the context under study.

In terms of the former concept (*Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding*), it was ascertained that teachers’ extensive encouragement to students’ use of Kinyarwanda, their Home Language,

occurred not only through “group work” and “group presentation” but also through all language integrated uses by the teacher; and that such encouragement facilitated delivery of, and access to knowledge. Concerning the latter concept (*Developmental Use of Translanguaging*) on the other hand, it was also found that students extensively and usefully resort to their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda for learning. Owing to encouragement to the use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda, therefore, both the two concepts were found to considerably contribute to facilitating **delivery of, and access to Subject Content Knowledge**.

The role of “Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language” was also examined with reference to Cummin’s (1979, 1999) theory of Language Proficiency in academic contexts. It was found that, whereas precedence to Home Language entails that “Centre Stage” is reserved to Kinyarwanda developed only in terms of BICS in association with English mainly developed in terms of CALP, it is likely that the type of BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching rather than in English and Kinyarwanda respectively might mitigate facilitation of delivery of and access to Subject Content Knowledge.

With reference to Anderson & Krathwohl’s (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing also, it seems necessary to remind again that “Centre Stage to Home Language” is precisely about the students’ use of Home Language (both in terms of Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding, and in terms of Developmental Use). And yet, use of Kinyarwanda also entails use of Codeswitching in association with English. Centre Stage to Home Language generally, therefore, is likely to facilitate **delivery expression of procedural and metacognitive Knowledge** through English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching.

5.5.1.3 Translanguaging as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring”

Data in this study were examined to establish how *Input/Output: Variations* and *Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging* contribute to Subject Content Knowledge Development in their **planning** capacity. All the examples considered showed that the practice of Translanguaging in this context was lacking in terms of planning, and that teachers didn’t actually effect any deliberate language arrangements planning. Nonetheless, the English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English input/output pattern naturally and extensively adopted proved to be efficient for delivery of, and access to Subject Content Knowledge, though better facilitation would be achieved if teachers could judiciously plan language arrangements in the classroom.

With reference to Cummins' (1979, 1999) theory of Language Proficiency in academic contexts, it was also examined how "Integrated Language Use" planning and structuring facilitates delivery of and access to Subject Content Knowledge Development. It was found that the lack of deliberate and systematic planning of language arrangements in the classroom could mitigate the usefulness of integrated use of languages, and that Subject Content Knowledge would be better enhanced if such deliberate planning was effected.

"Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring" was also analyzed with reference to Anderson & Krathwohl's (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing. As the input/output pattern observed to be widely used is English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching; and also because there is no "deliberate" and "systematic" planning of language arrangements; Translanguaging as "Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring" as practiced in the context under study appears only to facilitate delivery and expression of **Procedural** and **Metacognitive Knowledge**.

5.5.1.4 Translanguaging as "Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages"

Finally, data were also studied to determine the role which predilection for the practice of *Translanguaging* plays in Subject Content Knowledge Development. In this regard, it was speculated that the fact of "Mathematics & Science" subjects to practice Translanguaging more than other areas of study helps offset the difficulty to deliver and access knowledge through the complex Mathematics & Science jargon in English, and that in that way; **delivery of and access to** knowledge is facilitated in that area of study.

Data on "Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages" were also considered with regard to Cummins' (1979, 1999) theory of Language Proficiency. It was analyzed that whereas CALP tends to be developed in English and BICS in Kinyarwanda in the context under study; predilection for Translanguaging in "Mathematics & Science" might signify that the use of a blend of CALP/BICS in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching might still be better than English only or Kinyarwanda only.

Data were finally analyzed with reference to Anderson & Krathwohl's (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing; with the finding that "Mathematics and Science" subjects practice Translanguaging more than other areas of study, which entails that the levels of

Knowledge facilitated as per the concept of Subject-determined Translanguaging are **procedural** and **metacognitive** levels of knowledge.

5.5.2 Conclusion

In this Chapter, the practice of Translanguaging was examined to ascertain the extent to which it enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development in two secondary schools in Rwanda. For this endeavor, three theories, namely: The concept of Translanguaging itself (Lewis et al. 2012); Cummins' (1979, 1999) theory of Language Proficiency; and Anderson and Krathwohl's (2001) Taxonomy of Teaching, Learning and Assessing, were proposed as guidance for the study. On the other hand, with regards to Translanguaging, four "broader aspects" were proposed for ease of analysis and presentation, namely: (1) 'Integrated Use of Languages;' (2) "Centre Stage to Home Language;" (3) "Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring;" and (4) "Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages." Through these frameworks, the following overall findings were reached.

With regard to the language integration aspect of Translanguaging, it was established that the schools investigated extensively make use of "language integration" through English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching; and this "integrated use of languages" facilitates Subject Content Knowledge learning considerably. On the other hand, concerning the role of the students' Home Language in facilitating their learning, it was found that the listening and speaking skills acquired in this Home Language were used extensively; mainly through English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching, and this also contributes to enhance delivery of and access to knowledge.

With regard to the planning aspect of the practice of Translanguaging, it was found that no deliberate planning by the teacher was occurring, and this is likely to mitigate the outcome expected from the practice in terms of Subject Content Learning. Finally, the last aspect of "Appraising and Monitoring" was also examined, and through the concept of Subject-determined Translanguaging which it is comprised of; it was found that; whereas Translanguaging is most widely practiced in "Mathematics & Science" subjects, it is also practiced in the two other areas of study, though to a lesser degree. In this regard; given more planning of the practice; all the

areas of study would benefit on the same level; from the learning enhancement that the practice is likely to offer.

Finally, to close the Chapter, two more dimensions of Subject Content Learning, namely: Language Proficiency in the academic context and Knowledge under its four identified levels were considered. As was observed through this analysis, the lack of “Integrated Language Use Planning” mentioned above is neither likely to facilitate Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS) nor Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and, along with the Translanguaging planning defect; this is likely to mitigate the results expected from the practice of Translanguaging. Nonetheless, in terms of delivery of and access to the different levels of Knowledge; the way Translanguaging is practiced in the context investigated can still cater for delivery of and access to knowledge under its four identified levels, namely: Factual, conceptual, procedural, and metacognitive.

In conclusion then, given the concept of Translanguaging as actually practiced; with its strengths and alleged inadequacies; Subject Content Knowledge is still learnt efficiently. However, with deliberate planning and activity structuring, the practice would better serve to deliver and access knowledge and thus, Subject Content Knowledge Development would better be fully enhanced.

CHAPTER 6:

THE ROLE OF TRANSLANGUAGING IN ENHANCING LANGUAGE COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding Chapter, Translanguaging in the two secondary schools investigated in the present study was examined to ascertain the extent to which, as a teaching/learning practice, it is likely to enhance students' Subject Content Knowledge Development. This followed the examination of the same practice in Chapter 4 to determine its NATURE as actually practiced in the context under study; and in Chapter 5 to examine the extent to which Translanguaging can enhance Subject Content Learning. In this Chapter, the study of **Translanguaging** is pursued with another but related objective: To examine the way in which the practice enhances students' **Language Competence Development**.

In pursuit of this objective, Section 6.1 draws on the findings of Chapters 4 and 5 to present the frame of data analysis and presentation. Section 6.2 then proceeds with the analysis of the data *per se*; followed by Section 6.3 with an interpretation of the said data, and finally; Section 6.4 draws on the information obtained to describe how Translanguaging is likely to enhance students' **Language Competence Development** in the two Secondary schools investigated and thus; marks the end of the Chapter.

6.1 FRAME OF ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

By “Frame of Analysis and Presentation of the Data,” reference is made to the Theoretical Framework earlier proposed in Chapter 2 of this study. As proposed in this Theoretical Framework, three theories serve as guidance for the analysis of the “Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Language Competence Development.” These theories are: **Translanguaging** (Lewis et al. 2012) as a teaching/learning theory; **Language Proficiency** (Cummins 1979, 1999) as a Theory of Language Proficiency in academic contexts, and **Multicompetence** (Franceschini 2010) as a Theory of Language Proficiency in multilingual contexts.

In this Section, these theories are discussed in turn to show how they are used in this Chapter to analyze and present the data on the role of Translanguaging in enhancing **Language Competence Development**.

6.1.1 Analysis and Presentation of the Data on the Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Language Competence Development as Informed by *Translanguaging*

As mentioned above, **Translanguaging** is the first theory guiding the analysis of the data in this Chapter. Like in the preceding two chapters, the theory is firstly analyzed in this Sub-section for ease of data presentation, as comprising four “broader aspects” having a bearing on students’ Language Competence Development. Then, with its recognized “qualities” and alleged “shortcomings,” it is presented as the first guide into the investigation of the way in which students’ Language Competence Development is likely to be enhanced; the overarching principle being that for this enhancement; (a) model(s) of language use has (have) to be availed to the students, and opportunities to practice the model(s) have to be offered.

6.1.1.1 Translanguaging as “Integrated Language Use,” “Centre Stage to Home Language,” “Language Integration Planning,” and “Appraisal and Monitoring”

(1) *“Integrated Use of Languages”*

As has been explained in Chapters 4 and 5, this “broader aspect” of Translanguaging regroups the two concepts of *Codeswitching* and *Translation*; the rationale for this regrouping being that the two concepts refer to the very **act of using** different languages in the same activity of language

use. Thus using elements from different languages in the classroom is **Codeswitching**, and rendering the same content in two different languages is **Translating**.

In this Chapter, therefore, I propose to begin the investigation of HOW Translanguaging might enhance **Language Competence Development** by firstly focusing on HOW “integrated use” of English and Kinyarwanda (and French and Kiswahili eventually) is likely to provide the students with (a) model(s) of language use, and allow for opportunities to practice language use.

(2) “Center Stage to Home Language”

In the literature on the process of teaching/learning in formal education the recurrent question is related to identifying the appropriate “linguistic variety” for teaching/learning. To this question, different teaching/learning paradigms give a clear cut answer by suggesting (rightfully) that the Home Language (Mother Tongue, First Language) of the learner is the “appropriate” language of teaching/learning (UNESCO 1953, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Brock-Utne 2007). Without denying this privileged role of the Home Language; **Translanguaging** as a teaching/learning process argues that the answer is not merely the ***Mother Tongue*** (Home Language, First Language) of the learner; that rather the answer is that **all the languages** in the teacher’s and students’ repertoire are “appropriate” for teaching/learning. In other words, all the languages in the students’ repertoire have to be harnessed, with the student’s Home Language occupying the “Centre Stage” in the process.

In the present study, therefore, I consider it convenient to treat the concepts of *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* and *Developmental Use* as belonging together because, as aspects of Translanguaging, they too are about integration of all the students’ languages for learning, but more specifically they pertain to encouraging students’ use of their Home Language for learning.

Drawing on this “broader aspect” of Translanguaging, therefore, I propose to further investigate HOW Translanguaging might enhance **Language Competence Development** by ascertaining how the use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda, the students’ Home Language in the context of this study, is encouraged by the teacher (*Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding*) and is effectively used by the students (*Developmental Use*) to enhance opportunities for **experiencing** and **practicing** “appropriate” language use.

(3) “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring”

In the particular formal education context of teaching/learning, there are necessarily educational goals to be attained. For the attainment of these goals, the practice of **Translanguaging** necessarily features an aspect of **Planning**. A broader aspect of the construct is thus proposed which includes the concepts of “*Input/Output: Variations*” and “*Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*.” Of these concepts, the former is about deciding on the “linguistic variety (Francheschini 2010)” to be used to contribute knowledge to the process of teaching/learning (by the teacher or any other source); and on the “linguistic variety” to be used by the student to exteriorize the product of the teaching/learning process. In the present study, therefore, I submit that **some planning** must be put into the choice of the “linguistic varieties” to be used for Input and Output for the attainment of desired results.

On the other hand, the latter concept (“*Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*”) is about whether some **planning** occurs at all; and if so, WHO actually **plans** for the choice of these linguistic varieties to be used for Input and Output. Thus, I further submit in the present study, that for the attainment of desired teaching/learning goals, the choices are made by the teacher (*Teacher-led Translanguaging*) for “deliberate and systematic (Lewis et al. 2012)” use of languages in the classroom. In other words; drawing on the two broader aspects of Translanguaging described above (viz. *a) Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Teachers’ and Students’ Languages”* and *b) Translanguaging as “Center Stage to Home Language”*); integration of languages for teaching/learning need to be deliberately and systematically thought out (1) to include all the languages in the teachers and students’ repertoire, and (2) to heed the central role of the students Home Language for the attainment of desired results.

Investigation of HOW Translanguaging might enhance **Language Competence Development**, therefore, is geared to ascertaining whether the languages of Input and Output are judiciously chosen by the teacher to ensure availability of opportunities for **experiencing** and **practicing** “appropriate” language use.

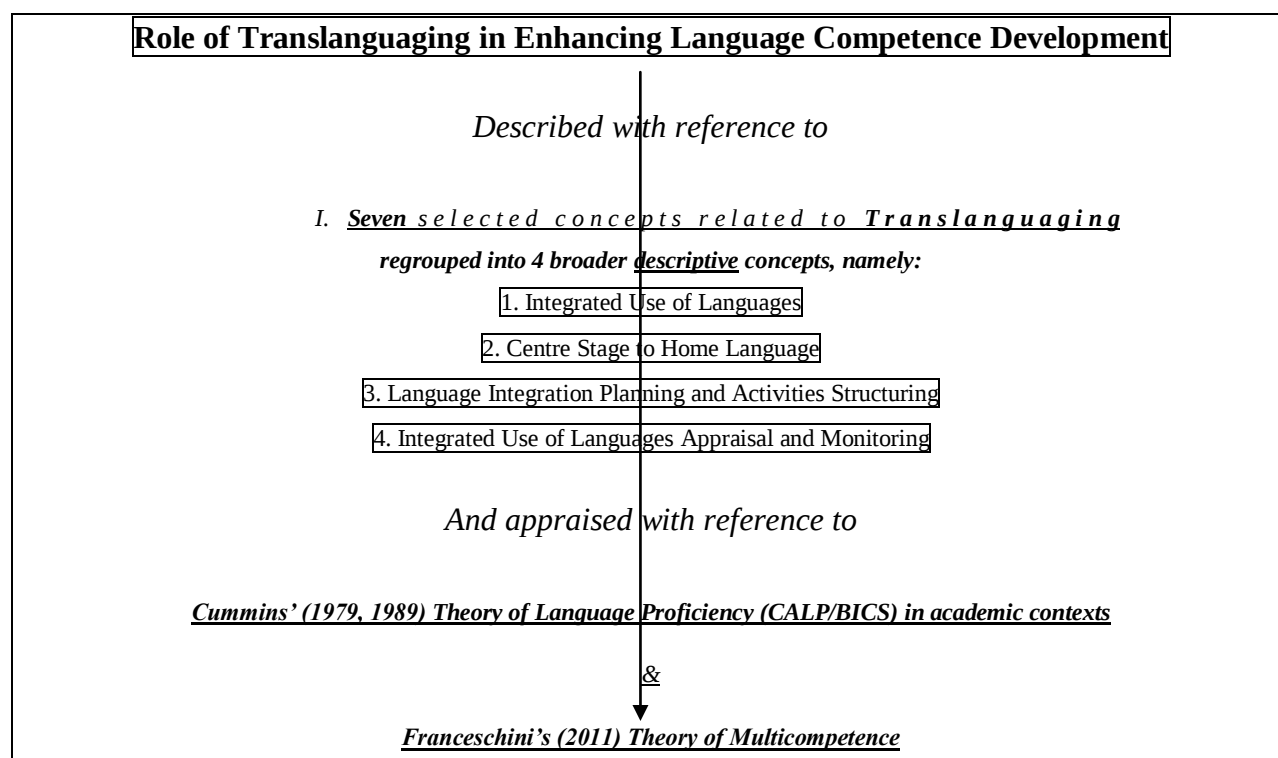
(4) “Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring”

Finally, like in any enterprise, attainment of desired results in the process of teaching/learning in formal education is conditional on appraisal and monitoring of the process. Therefore, the

practice of Translanguaging needs to be evaluated and monitored; both in terms of “Integration of Languages” itself and in terms of the way this language integration profits all the “different areas of study” on the curriculum.

Drawing on the three broader aspects of Translanguaging discussed above, therefore, I submit that investigation into HOW Translanguaging enhances **Language Competence Development** in Formal Education further focus on the WAY in which “linguistic varieties” are chosen for Language Competence Development Input/Output, and on WHO plays the role of this choice; and that these choices be judiciously made for **availability of opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use in all subjects on the curriculum** to include all the languages in the students’ repertoire without forgetting the central role of their Home Language. For ease of reference, following is a Chart showing the above perspectives and their interrelatedness between the different parts of this Chapter.

Chart 14: The Frame of Analysis for Chapter 6



As can be seen in this Chart (and as has been the case in the preceding Chapters), the order in which the above mentioned Theories are used to investigate the role of Translanguaging in enhancing Language Competence Development is clear. Starting from Translanguaging

downwards, these theories are taken up in turn with a view to explaining how they are used in this Chapter, to explore Language Competence Development enhancement.

6.1.1.2 Translanguaging as a Guide into the Analysis of the Data on HOW the Practice in the Context under Study Enhances Language Competence Development

In view of the above proposed “broader” aspects of Translanguaging, also taking account of the concept as actually practiced in the context under study (see Column 1); the questions implied in the investigation of the role of Translanguaging in enhancing students’ Language Competence Development are as presented in the following Table (see Column 2).

Table 25: Role of Translanguaging in Language Competence Development

<i>Translanguaging as observed in the context under study (1)</i>	<i>Questions Implied in the Investigation of HOW Translanguaging Enhances Language Competence Development (2)</i>
(1) Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Teachers’ and Students’ Languages	
- Extensive use of English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in all levels of study & in all subjects; but more so in upper levels of study and in Math & Science area of study	Q1. HOW is extensive integration of English and Kinyarwanda through Codeswitching likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use?
- Limited use of Translation , and even so; almost exclusively in lower levels of study; and particularly in the 1 st year	Q2. HOW is limited Translation of English and Kinyarwanda likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use? And to what extent?
(2) Translanguaging as Center Stage to Home Language	
- Extensive Emergent Scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching in all levels & in virtually all subjects, but more so in upper levels of study & in Math & Science area of study	Q1. HOW is extensive encouragement of students’ use of skills developed in Kinyarwanda likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use? And which skills are tapped?
- Extensive “Developmental Use” of listening & speaking skills in Kinyarwanda in all levels & in all subjects, but more so in Math & Science area of study	Q2. HOW is extensive resort by students to skills developed in Kinyarwanda likely to contribute to enhancing availability of opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use? And which skills are tapped?
(3) Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning & Activities Structuring	
- Predominant “input/output” pattern: Input = English-Kinyarwanda, Output = Kinyarwanda-English.	Q1. HOW is the Input/Output pattern of English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use? And which skills are tapped?
- Significantly Limited input/output pattern as English/Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda/English;	Q1. HOW is <i>limited Input/Output pattern of English/Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda/English</i> pattern likely to contribute to <i>hampering</i> opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use? And which skills are tapped?

- No such a thing as “deliberate planning and activity structuring” observed in the context under study. - In some lessons, however, “group work” and “group presentations” represent some form of “implicit planning.”	Q2. HOW is the lack of deliberate planning and activity structuring likely to contribute to hampering opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use? And which skills are tapped? Q3. HOW is “implicit planning” in “group work” and “group presentations” likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use?
(4) Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”	
- Mathematics & Science-determined: Translanguaging observed more in “Mathematics & Science” subject area than others. - Furthermore, more in upper than lower levels of study. Hence, practice opposite to the one observed in Lewis et al.’s (2012) context	Q1. HOW is “Mathematics & Science-determined Translanguaging” likely to contribute to opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use in all subjects on the curriculum? Q1. HOW is “Mathematics & Science-determined Translanguaging” in upper than lower levels of study likely to contribute to opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use in all subjects on the curriculum?

As can be seen in this Table, column (1) shows how the analysis of the data in this Chapter capitalizes on the findings about the nature of Translanguaging as practiced in the context under study. The questions in Column (2) on the other hand are indications of how the data are interrogated to ascertain HOW Translanguaging might enhance Language Competence Development; and this represents the first aspect of the investigation. For the second aspect as proposed in the Theoretical Framework, the investigation is guided by the Theory of Language Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1999) in the academic context as discussed next.

6.1.2 Analysis and Presentation of the Data on Language Competence Development as Informed by the Theory of Language Proficiency

As appears to be most logical; investigation into the role of Translanguaging in students’ Language Competence Development needs to refer to a Theory of Language Proficiency in the academic context; and Cummins (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency appears to be appropriate in this Chapter. As Cummins (1979, 1999) pertinently proposes in this theory, adequate Language Competence in academic contexts comprises two important constructs, namely: “Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency” (CALP) and “Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills” (BICS) (Cummins 1979, 1999). In this Chapter, analysis of HOW Translanguaging is likely to enhance Language Competence Development draws on Cummins’ Theory (1979, 1999) as presented in the following Table.

Table 26: Translanguaging and Language Competence Development in academic contexts

<i>Characteristics observed in the context under study</i> (1)	<i>Language Competence Situation with regard to CALP & BICS</i> (2)	<i>Anticipated questions with reference to Language Competence Development</i> (3)
(1) Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Teachers' and Students' Languages		
- Extensive use of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in all levels of study & in all subjects; but more so in "Math & Science" area of study and in upper levels of study - Communication facilitated. (speaking & understanding easier) - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . CALP undeveloped in Kinyarwanda . BICS undeveloped in English . Uncertain about the nature of BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING	Q1. HOW is extensive use of Kinyarwanda English CODESWITCHING likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda, English, and English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING?
- Limited use of Translation; almost exclusively in lower levels of study & more particularly in 1st year - Two versions of the same Subject content in both English and Kinyarwanda	However; . Limited BICS in English; and - Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . Little use of Translation	Q1. HOW is limited use of Translation likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda, English, and English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING?
2) Translanguaging as Center Stage to Home Language		
- Extensive scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING in all levels of study and mainly in upper levels of study. - Understanding facilitated by taking advantage of Home Language knowledge. - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda	Q1. HOW is extensive scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING in all levels of study likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda, English, and English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING?
- Extensive "Developmental Use" of listening & speaking skills in Kinyarwanda in all levels and more in upper levels of study - Students taking advantage of Home Language as resource - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . Use of Kinyarwanda limited to listening and speaking skills	Q1. HOW is extensive Translanguaging Developmental Use likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda, English, and English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING?
(3) Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning & Activities Structuring		
- Predominant "input/output" pattern: English-Kinyarwanda Input, Kinyarwanda-English Output. Limited input/output in Kinyarwanda/English or English/Kinyarwanda - Input/output Variation possible: Not limited to English as per language in education policy.	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . Lack of original Input one language and Output another	Q1. HOW is predominant English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda, English, and English-

- Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication		Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING?
- No such a thing as “ deliberate planning and activity structuring .” However, group work and group presentations represent some form of implicit planning -Only implicit teacher-led and thus, mainly pupil-led Translanguaging - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda . Planning Defect exacerbating (1) little Translation use (2) and original Input/Output pattern ignorance (3)	HOW is Integrated Language Use planning defect likely to contribute to hampering opportunities for experiencing and practicing BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda, English, and English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING?
(4) Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”		
- Translanguaging observed more in “Mathematics & Science” subject area than in other areas. - First beneficiaries of Translanguaging: Maths & Science students - Likely enhancement of use of all the languages for communication in “Math & Science”	However; . Limited BICS in English & Limited CALP in Kinyarwanda	HOW is predominance of Translanguaging practice likely to contribute to enhancing opportunities for experiencing and practicing BICS/CALP in Kinyarwanda, English, and English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING?

As can be seen in this Table (see Column 1), Translanguaging as observed in the context under study is persistently presented as likely to enhance the use of all the languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire for **communication**. In view of the situation of Language Competence in English and Kinyarwanda with regard to **limited CALP and BICS** (see Column 2), however, questions on HOW Translanguaging is likely to enhance **Language Competence in the academic context** are prompted. Analysis of the data in this respect is an attempt to answer these questions, and thus, it represents another aspect of HOW Translanguaging enhances Language Competence Development.

6.1.3 Analysis and Presentation of the Data on Language Competence Development as Informed by Franceschini’s (2011) Theory of Multicompetence

Once mention of “Language Competence” is made, many concepts come to mind (e.g.: ability, aptitude, skill etc.), and very often relate to the person possessing these “linguistic capabilities.” This focus on the language user’s capabilities is important in discussions of “Language Competence” but, even more important to the present study, is a focus on the question of “linguistic capabilities FOR WHAT PURPOSE.” Many scholars (e.g.; Cook 1995, Hall et al. 2006a, Altpekin 2010 etc.), have highlighted the above language user’s capabilities. However, interestingly for the present study, Franceschini (2011) combines the aspect of **capabilities to use**

language and the question of “*language use for a clear communicative purpose,*” especially in the case of multilingual speakers.

This appears in her definition of a “multicompetent person” as

‘... an individual with knowledge of an extended and integrated linguistic repertoire who is able to use the appropriate linguistic variety for the appropriate occasion (Franceschini 2011: 351)’.

This description resonates with the purpose of developing Language Competence in the context under study. Indeed, whereas students in Rwanda learn languages in a basically monolingual context, they primarily need to be able to use the “appropriate variety” of Kinyarwanda to communicate with monolingual users of that language. However, they also need to use the “appropriate varieties” of English, French, Kinswahili to be able to use these languages in occasions where they must be used monolingually; and they must know how to use the “appropriate multilingual variety” in contexts where it is appropriate to do so.

In this Chapter, therefore, analysis of the data on Language Competence Development is geared to appraising HOW Translanguaging is likely to enhance students’ “multicompetence” involving mainly Kinyarwanda and English. In the following Table, reflections on the question of how Translanguaging as actually practiced in the context of this study are presented as a basis for discussion.

Table 27: Questions related to Translanguaging and “Appropriate Linguistic Variety” in Different Multilingual Contexts

<i>Characteristics observed in the context under study</i> (1)	<i>Language Situation Likely Resulting from Described Translanguaging Practice</i> (2)	<i>Anticipated questions with reference to Multicompetence</i> (3)
(1) Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Teachers’ and Students’ Languages		
- Extensive use of Kinyarwanda-English of CODESWITCHING in all levels of study & in all subjects, but more so in “Math & Science” area of study and in upper levels of study	Communication facilitated. (speaking & understanding made easier through CODESWITCHING) - Hence, likely better practice of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING	However; Target to communicate with: . Kinyarwanda and English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions . Kinyarwanda-English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions - Hence, question how language for Kinyarwanda and English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions is likely to be learned

	“linguistic variety”	
- Limited use; almost exclusively in lower levels of study & more particularly in 1st year	Two versions of the same Subject content in both English and Kinyarwanda - Hence, likely comparison of two academic language texts in Kinyarwanda and English	However; Target to communicate with: . Kinyarwanda and English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions . Kinyarwanda-English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions - Hence, question whether language for multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions is likely to be learned - Hence, question of critical Translation impact attainment to acquire language for monolinguals
2) Translanguaging as Center Stage to Home Language		
- Extensive “Developmental Use” of listening & speaking skills in Kinyarwanda in all levels & in all subjects but more so in Math & Science area of study	Students taking advantage of Home Language as resource - Hence, likely better practice of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING “linguistic variety”	However; Target to communicate with: . Kinyarwanda or English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions . Kinyarwanda-English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions - Hence, question how language for Kinyarwanda or English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions is likely to be learned
- Extensive scaffolding through English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING in all levels and in all subjects but more so in “Math and Science” area of study and in upper levels of study	Understanding facilitated by taking advantage of Home Language knowledge. - Hence, likely better practice of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING “linguistic variety”	However; Target to communicate with: . Kinyarwanda or English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions . Kinyarwanda-English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions - Hence, question how language for Kinyarwanda and English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions is likely to be learned
(3) Translanguaging as Language Integration Planning & Activities Structuring		
- Predominant “input/output” pattern: Input = English-Kinyarwanda, Output = Kinyarwanda-English. Limited input/output in Kinyarwanda/English or English/Kinyarwanda	Input/output Variation possible: Not limited to English as per language in education policy. - Hence, likely better practice of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING “linguistic variety”	However; Target to communicate with: . Kinyarwanda or English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions . Kinyarwanda-English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions - Hence, question how language for Kinyarwanda and English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions is likely to be learned
- No such a thing as “ deliberate planning and activity structuring .” However, group work and group presentations represent some form of implicit planning	Only implicit teacher-led and thus, <u>mainly</u> pupil-led Translanguaging - Hence, likely better practice of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING “linguistic variety”	However; Target to communicate with: . Kinyarwanda or English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions . Kinyarwanda-English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions - Hence, question how language for Kinyarwanda and English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions is likely to be learned
(4) Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”		

- Translanguaging observed more in “Mathematics & Science” subject area than in other areas	First Translanguaging beneficiaries: Maths & Science students - Hence, better practice of Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING “linguistic variety” in “Math & Science”	However; Target to communicate with: . Kinyarwanda or English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions . Kinyarwanda-English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and occasions - Hence, question how language for Kinyarwanda and English monolinguals in monolingual contexts and occasions is likely to be learned
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As analyzed in this Table, the practice of Translanguaging in the context under study might lead to **certain gains** in students’ linguistic “**Multicompetence**” **development**. However, the **defect of “Teacher-led Translanguaging” (hence, lack of Translanguaging planning and structuring)**, is likely to mitigate these gains as listed in Column 4. Indeed, the fact that teacher-led defect impinges on the practice of Translanguaging is likely to result in diminished performance of the practice, and hence, the desired Multicompetence Development is likely not to be fully achieved. In what follows, analysis of the data is geared to documenting these likely adverse developments with regard to Language Competence Development in the context under study.

6.2 TRANSLANGUAGING AND LANGUAGE COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT: EVIDENCE FROM CLASSROOM LANGUAGE PRACTICES

6.2.1 Analysis and Presentation of the Data with Reference to the Concept of Translanguaging

As proposed in the above “Frame of Data Analysis and Presentation,” for ease of analysis and presentation; the Concepts identified in the literature as related to Translanguaging are regrouped into four broader concepts, namely: Translanguaging (1) as “Integrated Use of Languages,” (2) as “Centre Stage to Home Language,” (3) as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring,” and (4) as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages.” In this Sub-section, these “broader concepts” are taken up in turn for guidance into the analysis of classroom data on how Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice contributes to enhancing Language Competence Development.

6.2.1.1 “Integrated Use of Languages” and Enhancement of Language Competence Development

The two concepts related to Translanguaging examined in association with the broader concept of “Integrated Use of Languages” are “Codeswitching” and “Translation.” In the data collected for this study in the classroom, these concepts were found to be used differentially, Codeswitching being extensively practiced, whereas Translation is practiced minimally. In the following paragraphs, Codeswitching is examined first; and instances of the practice are identified in the data and commented in terms of their likely contribution to Language Competence Enhancement.

(1) Codeswitching and Language Competence Development

The first example used to comment on the likely contribution of Codeswitching to Language Competence Development is from a lesson in Mathematics 1st Year. In this lesson the teacher is correcting exercises done by the students at home as homework. Throughout the first half of the lesson, the students seem only to limit their participation to the lesson by uttering monosyllable words such as “c,” “two,” “yes,” etc. as can be seen in this extract:

T: The set is beginning with what? The first number, the first...
[...]
T: Negative?
SS: C!
T: *Ukurikiyeho?* (= the number that comes next?)
SS: Teacher! Teacher!
T: Negative?
SS: Two
T: *Hakurikiyeho iki?* (= What comes next?)
SS: Two!
T: Zero! (*Meaning that the answer is wrong*)
SS: Teacher! Please teacher! Teacher!
T: Positive?
SSS: Two!
SS: Teacher! Teacher! Please teacher!
T: Have.... Have we answered the question?
SS: Yes!

As appears from this extract, the exercise is smoothly going on, the teacher is correcting the exercise, but the talk doesn't seem to significantly offer the students opportunities to really

experience and practice language use. Indeed, the teacher and the students are communicating the content, but the talk doesn't offer much in terms of "competent multiple language use." Even from the point of view of understanding, some students might be saying "Yes!", "Two" etc. without really understanding what is going on in the exercise, especially when they are answering "in chorus" like they like to do in lower classes. In the second part of the lesson, however, the type of language used seems to have changed. As the extract below shows, the teacher has now started using Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, and the teacher-students talk that ensues appears to be "richer" in language use and communication.

- T: *Mukorere hamwe mwerekane iyo set yanyu. Turumvikanye?*
(=Work together and show your number set) Are we together?
- S: *Kubera iki muri set zeru mutayishyizemo kandi kuri number line mukaba mwayishyizemo?*
(=Why did you put zero on the number set, and not on number line?)
- T: Umh? *Uwasubiza, uwamusubiza? ... Kubera iki?, yavuze ati: Kubera iki, ku number line twashyizeho zero? ... kandi ku set ntutuyishyireho?*
(= Umh? Who can answer? Who can answer him? ... Why? He asked why we put zero on the number set, and not on the number line.)
- SS: Please teacher! Please teacher!
- S: *Kubera ko kuri number line hariho zero?*
(= Because there is zero on the number line) [...] [...]
- T: On the number line, there must be zero, and there must be negative 1. We are dealing with integers. And sets of integers *zinkludinga* negative numbers and positive numbers. *Si byo se? Mwabyumvise?* So zero must be there, and negatives must be there. *Ariko nta mpamvu twajyaga muri za negatives zoseeee; byaba endless; byaba ubuziraherezo. Ariko dufite positive numbers.... (?) dufite...?*

(= Is not that so? Have you understood? [So zero must be there, and negatives must be there.] But there is no reason we should go into aaaall the negatives; it would have been endless; it would be endless. But we have positive numbers...(?) we have...?)

As can be seen in this extract, the use of Codeswitching has empowered the student to ask an interesting question, and this has led the teacher to further explain certain notions like "number line," "set of numbers," etc. and this has made it necessary for him to use English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching; the result being that the students have participated more substantially by using Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching as well; so that informative exchanges have become

possible. Indeed, what seems to be the case here is that, not only the teacher appears to feel at ease using Kinyarwanda-English because it is easier than using “English only” even for him; but also he knows well that the students understand his explanations better through Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching.

Visibly then, with the use of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching the talk in the lesson contains more contributions from students, and some are venturing interesting questions and answers because of the “new multilingual talk” which makes “COMPETENT multilingual use” of language possible. This might seem to indicate that their Language Competence in the sense of “multiple language use” is developing, thanks to the use of Codeswitching (and to the use of Translanguaging for that matter).

(2) Translation and Language Competence Development

As earlier mentioned, apart from Codeswitching, Translation is the second concept related to Translanguaging which is viewed in this study as directly concerned with the very act of integrating languages for use in the classroom. For a discussion of how it might be contributing to enhancing Language Competence Development, the first idea that comes to mind is that the practice itself consists in rendering the meaning conveyed in one language in another language. In other words, Translation is basically about the same content expressed in two languages; and thus, using the same content; two models of texts representing **different “appropriate linguistic varieties” for monolingual contexts** are compared: This, in itself, attests to the undisputable worth of Translation in enhancing Language Competence Development in the languages involved.

In the data collected for the present study, this invaluable worth of Translation appeared most clearly all the time Translation was used. In a lesson in Entrepreneurship 1st Year (O’ Level) for example, the teacher asked students to form groups and to discuss about “The importance of saving money in a bank.” The students first expressed this importance in English, and translated their sentences in Kinyarwanda. During the presentation, they also gave the Kinyarwanda and English versions of their contribution. At this early stage, the sentences were short and needed to be readjusted; but the exercise proved to be excellent not only for Subject Content Learning (as

established in Chapter 5), but also, for Language Competence Development in both Kinyarwanda and English.

Similar beneficial use of Translation was observed in a lesson of “History and Citizenship” in 1st Year (O’ Level). During this lesson, the teacher had a number of key terms which in fact constituted the core of the lesson. As the lesson was in English, each time he came to these terms, he would ask the students to translate them in Kinyarwanda. Again, this proved to be a good way to help students understand the lesson; but also it was a good exercise in Language Competence Development, and indeed; it has even been recommended in other contexts as an excellent strategy for vocabulary teaching (Creese & Blackledge 2011); and what is more; it is about teaching vocabulary, not in one language, but in two languages.

The last example which clearly shows that Translation is a good way to support students not only in Subject Content Learning (see Chapter 5), but also in Language Competence Development is from Mathematics 1st Year. In this lesson, the teacher is doing exercises with students on “sets of numbers on a number line.” Interestingly, the teacher doesn’t limit himself to seeing to it that the students do the exercise correctly, which they do: Rather, he also wants to make sure that they understand what the concepts “number line,” “illustrate,” “sets of numbers” etc. mean. He thus asks the students to translate these terms in Kinyarwanda, and as there are no exact terms for them in Kinyarwanda; the students end up paraphrasing the ideas of these concepts in Kinyarwanda.

This kind of exercise proved to be good not only to support students’ learning (Levis et al. 2012) subject content, but most importantly for vocabulary learning (Creese & Blackledge 2011), and even more for ‘meaning making and literacy development (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010)’ in both Kinyarwanda and English.

6.2.1.2 “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Language Competence Development Enhancement

As earlier proposed in the “Frame of Data Analysis and Presentation” for the present study; “Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language” is the second “broader aspect” of Translanguaging as a teaching/learning process; and “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and

“Developmental Use” are the two concepts which are perceived as embodying the necessary precedence due to Home Language in the teaching/learning process.

In this Sub-section; HOW Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” contributes to Enhancing Language Competence Development is discussed by firstly considering the concept of *Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding* before turning to *Developmental Use*.

(1) “Continuum of Emerging Scaffolding” and Language Competence Development

As a concept related to Translanguaging, **Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding** is about **support to students’ learning** consisting in facilitating their use of Home Language to ‘think, reflect, and extend their inner speech’ (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010). Such support can take myriads of forms ranging from using the students’ Home Language to teach, to allowing them to work on their own on a topic to be discussed in class. To discuss the data on Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding, therefore, is not so much about examining specific multilingual practices labeled “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding.” Rather, it is about looking at other actions in the classroom like **Codeswitching** and **Translation**, which are likely to result in students’ encouragement to use skills developed in their Home Language to learn.

In what follows, therefore, by way of discussing HOW Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding contributes to enhancing Language Competence Development, an attempt is made to account for the range of support actions under various forms which can be discerned as “encouraging students to use their Home Language to ‘think, reflect, and extend their inner speech’ (Garcia & Kleifgen 2010).

The account firstly bases on an example drawn from a lesson in Physics 5th Year. In this lesson, the teacher is explaining notions related to the “Theory of Matter,” and visibly he succeeds in capturing and maintaining the students’ attention by using Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. One of the episodes of the lesson is as follows:

- T: [...] *Si byo? Ibyongibyo bikaba byaratumye tubona ikintu bita* “strain” [...] [...] *Ikintu bita strain ni* extension over original form. [here follows an example of calculations of strain] *aha rero turasigarana...?*
- S: *Zeru.*
- T: *Oya, ntabwo ari zeru ni ikintu kitagira unit.*
- S: *Nonese twamenya ari igiki? Tuzakivumbura rero!*
- S: *Tuzakivumbura!*

T: *Nonese, reka nkubwire [...]*

As appears clearly in this extract, the teacher's use of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching has not only succeeded in capturing the students' attention, but also, it has supported them in using their listening and speaking skills; and the result is that communication about the content is facilitated through Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching.

And this is not the only example of such support: Similar uses of Codeswitching initiated by the teacher which have succeeded in involving students in their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda are also found notably in Mathematics 3rd Year where the teacher's persistent use of Codeswitching during exercises on 'Similar Triangles' leads the students to intense participation in the lesson. The same happens in Chemistry 4th Year in discussions of "complex ions," in Biology 5th Year where the teacher's judicious use of Codeswitching results in students' apparently wanting to hear more about "Population Growth of Pathogens." In all these examples and in practically all the lessons observed in this study, students are encouraged mainly through Codeswitching to listen and eventually participate in the lessons by using their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda; and thus, they have an opportunity to develop their Language Competence, albeit almost through English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English only.

(2) "Developmental Use of Translanguaging" and Language Competence Development

The concept of "developmental use" as an aspect of Translanguaging whereby emergent bilinguals draw on the skills developed in their Home Language for learning (Garcia 2009c) is of paramount importance. This is, as has been widely highlighted in the literature, because the student's Home Language (or Mother Tongue, First Language etc.) plays a central role in learning, and indeed; it is normally the best indicated medium of teaching/learning (UNESCO 1953), and it is no wonder that its role is central to the process of Language Competence Development (Cummins 1979, 1999).

In a bid to describe HOW "Developmental Use of Translanguaging" is likely to contribute to enhancing Language Competence Development, therefore, the case of lessons earlier identified as typically having students use skills developed in their Home Language are called upon again here. In these lessons which feature "group work" and "group presentation," namely: Entrepreneurship 1st Year, History & Citizenship 2nd Year, Literature in English 4th Year, and

Geography & Environment in 5th Year; students discuss in Kinyarwanda and write their report in English. In reality, however, owing to the fact that the topics they discuss pertain to their lessons in class; the Kinyarwanda they use is integrated with **subject specific terms**, and thus; the model of language available to them and which they use is a relatively COMPETENT multilingual use mainly featuring the practice of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. In other words, owing to the topic they discuss in their “group work” and when they prepare their “group presentations,” the language they use is characterized by their knowledge of Kinyarwanda and the subject-specific language terms they use in class. In addition, when they try to write their report they use their reading and writing skills in English; which means that they combine their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda with their reading and writing skills in English, so that finally; they develop their Language Competence in Kinyarwanda-English.

How “Developmental Use” as an aspect of Translanguaging is likely to enhance their Language Competence, therefore, is by making them produce the model they use to study, and that model is predominantly Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching.

6.2.1.3 “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” and Language Competence Development Enhancement

As has been proposed in this study, “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” concerns the concepts of “*Input/Output: Variations*,” and “*Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging*.” Indeed, whereas the idea of “Input/Output: Variations” concerns language arrangements in the lesson, “Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging” is about the question WHO makes the arrangements. In this Sub-section, instances of language arrangements (“*Input/Output: Variations*,”) and who takes on the task to “plan” these arrangements (“*Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging*”) are examined to discuss how such plans contribute to enhancing Language Competence Development.

(1) “Input/Output: Variations” and Language Competence Development

Originally, as Lewis et al. (2012) has pointed out, the Input/Output pattern in Wales was “planned” to be INPUT in one language and OUTPUT in another language. As the practice of Translanguaging has been extending to other contexts, however, varied input/output patterns

obtain, depending on different curricula and teachers' and students' creativity (Lewis et al. 2012; Garcia 2009a). Thus, input can for example be simultaneously presented in two or three languages as for example when a text is presented to students in both English and Spanish (Garcia 2009a).

In the context of Rwanda, an input/output pattern was implicitly expected to be “Input” in English and “Output” in English (viz. English/English) as per 2009 language in education policy which instructed that the sole language of teaching and learning be English from 4th Year Primary school throughout University. However, in spite of the official input/output pattern; the Input/Output pattern actually followed in secondary school classrooms is more complex and varied. Indeed, **two variants** seem to be the most frequent as has been established in Chapter 4 of this study. These are (1) English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING and (2) English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda; and some other variants like Kinyarwanda/English or English/Kinyarwanda Input/Output were found, but they were all rather rare.

In this Sub-section, I pick out some examples of input/output patterns to illustrate (1) HOW Translanguaging contributes to enhancing Language Competence Development through **planning multiple language use** in the classroom (viz. Input/Output patterns); (2) WHAT it does in the classroom to contribute to enhancing it; and (3) WHAT shows that it does contribute to enhancing it.

The first example I use to discuss HOW “Input/Output Pattern” contributes to enhancing Language Competence Development is drawn from a lesson in Physics 1st Year.

Example 1: (Input/Output: (1) English/Kinyarwanda-English; (2) Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING)

- T: Number b. [...] You know that application of Archimedes principle, said that the upthrust is equal to the density times volume times acceleration due to gravity. As you know, the factors affecting the upthrust is density and volume. The upthrust to find it is very easy. The upthrust by using the first formula of the upper loss weight is equal to the weight in the air, minus weight in liquid. [...]
- S: *Hariya buriya centimeter tuyikoresheje, hari ikibazo?*
- T: *Ngo hari ikibazo? Haaaaa! Ikibazo se kidahari? Nonese international system unity tuzi... ya length(?) tuzi ko ari nyinshi. Wowe ugumisha muri centimeter*

byagenze gute ubwo? Ibyo simpora mbibabwira? OK ubwo wari muri centimeter byapfuye kare. Ni ukuvuga ngo bigipfira hano, ubwo byari byapfuye! Byose ubwo byapfuye! OK. Write quickly and we do other activity. Clean here!

In this example, there are 2 input/output patterns rather than one (a. English/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING; b. Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING). Firstly, the Teacher is explaining the process used to answer a question in Physics after the class has corrected an exercise. He goes through the whole process, and reminds the theorems and principles applied to do the exercise (viz.: The Archimedes Principle); and he does this in English; meaning that the **input** is in English. As discussed in Chapter 5, this “input” is useful for “Subject Content Learning” in the first place.

In the second place, however, even though this is not a language lesson of English, it is also a **contribution to Language Competence Development** in English. Indeed, the teacher is teaching a Physics content, but at the same time (deliberately or not; but often NOT); he is teaching language by offering his students a model of English use in the Physics discourse. This is an important contribution to students’ Language Competence Development since learning a language is mainly about practicing its use by developing listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. In this case, therefore, the teacher is indirectly (viz. it is not his prime intent) helping the students to develop their listening skills in English.

And the practice proves to be successful in this case because at least one student in the class reacts to what the teacher has been saying by asking a question:

S: “*Hariya buriya centimeter tuyikoresheje, hari ikibazo?*”
(=There, if we used “centimeter” would it be a problem?).

Here the student’s output is in Kinyarwanda-English: He uses this Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching to react to input delivered in English; and this also contributes to the student’s Language Competence Development because he has an opportunity to practice his speaking skills, though in a different “linguistic variety” (Kinyarwanda-English).

Next, as if to acknowledge this last linguistic variety; the teacher pursues his Physics content input by reacting to the students’ question **using the same “linguistic variety”** as the one used by the student to ask the question. This achieves two results at the same time: Firstly, it makes

the student understand better. Through his question, he has indicated to the teacher that it is the “linguistic variety” he understands better; and the teacher, having understood this, has attended to the student’s need by using the “linguistic variety” requested through the student’s act of asking his question. Secondly, and more importantly for **Language Competence Development**, the teacher has given the student another opportunity to develop his Language Competence: In asking his question in Kinyarwanda-English, he was practicing his speaking skills in that “linguistic variety,” and now through the teacher’s answer, he is practicing his listening skills in the same Kinyarwanda-English “linguistic variety.”

All in all then, in this extract, the student has advanced his **Language Competence** by practicing his listening skills in English and his listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda-English. The **English/Kinyarwanda-English** language pattern in this extract has thus contributed to enhancing the student’s Language Competence in two “linguistic varieties”: English and Kinyarwanda-English. And it could be argued that the whole class profited from this Input/Output pattern since they were all attentively listening to the talk.

Two more examples I would like to use to discuss HOW “Input/Output Pattern” might contribute to enhancing Language Competence Development are from two lessons: Geography in 4th Year and French in 6th Year. Whereas the first example is from a lesson which is not focused on language teaching, the second one is specifically for teaching language, but I use both in the same way for a discussion of the likely contribution to Language Competence Development of “Input, one language and Output, one language.”

Example 1: T: [...] Who can tell us why Canada is an example in North-West Atlantic Ocean? Who can try? Yea!

S: Because Canada it’s located on the fishing territory may ... the fishing activity.

Example 2: T: D’où viens-tu? OK? (writing) D’où viens-tu? OK? Qui peut nous exprimer cette phrase? Qui peut nous expliquer cette phrase? D’où viens-tu? Pourquoi c’est une phrase interrogative?

S: Parce que cette phrase est terminée par un point d’interrogation.

In these two extracts both teachers and students are using the same language (English in the first example and French in the second): The teachers’ input is in one language, the students output is in the same language as the one used for input. In this kind of input/output pattern, it seems

straightforward that the students' listening and speaking skills in one language are developed through the same language. Therefore, this kind of input/output contributes to enhancing Language Competence in one language, that is; the "language variety" of input which is the same as the "language variety" of output. It does so by providing the student with a model of language use; and in this case, the student follows the model by also using the language used for input to produce his own output.

(2) "Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging" and Language Competence Development

Another concept related to Translanguaging which is directly related to **Classroom Language Planning** is Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging; and it resonates with Lewis et al.'s (2012) remark that the practice as a teaching/learning strategy can be a 'deliberate and systematic use of two languages'. In other words, the use of languages in the classroom can be deliberately planned to achieve desired results, and in that case; the practice is referred to as "teacher-led Translanguaging." On the other hand, rather than being a **consciously thought out plan of language use** in the classroom; Translanguaging turns out to be **unplanned** and, from the point of view of the students; it is independently carried out, in which case it is referred to as "Pupil-led Translanguaging."

In the present study, the investigation of the nature of Translanguaging as actually practiced has shown that there is no such a thing as "deliberate planning and activity structuring" in the secondary schools investigated (see Chapter 4). However, this doesn't mean that the data don't contain episodes that can serve to illustrate the usefulness of "deliberate planning and activity structuring." Thus, in what follows; without contradicting the finding that generally the practice of Translanguaging in the context of this study is **unplanned**; I pick out some of such episodes from different lessons to show HOW "Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging" as an aspect of Translanguaging could enhance Language Competence Development.

For a start, it will be recalled that the idea behind the question HOW Translanguaging might enhance Language Competence Development is that normally; the practice of Translanguaging acts by availing to the students, models of COMPETENT multiple language uses featuring such practices as Codeswitching and Translation. With this in mind, a consideration of some episodes identified in different lessons shows the possibility for "deliberately planned" Translanguaging likely to furthering Language Competence Development in the context under study.

Example 1:

T: [...] *Ryangombe?* OK. What you said... You are in the way. But it is not all true. So the traditional ***Banyarwanda***, the Rwandans used to believe, believed in... the *Banyarwanda* believed in one Supreme Being, one Supreme Being. And that Supreme Being in which ***Banyarwanda*** believed in was called ***Imana***. OK? And ***Imana*** was Supreme Being called ***Imana***. And ***Imana*** in which ***Banyarwanda*** used to believe in was not ***Nyabingi***. [...]

This extract is from a lesson in History & Citizenship 1st Year. What strikes directly from looking at the extract is that the teacher seems to have a clear plan of language use. On the whole, he is using English, but for the key terms pertaining to the content of the lesson, he is using Kinyarwanda. Most likely, the idea behind this use might be that if the students are given the key terms which constitute the gist of the lesson in Kinyarwanda, content delivery will be facilitated; and this indeed happens to be true.

At the same time, however, what appears clearly is that the students are likely to also gain much in terms of Language Competence Development. Indeed, even though this might not be the teacher's aim since he is not a language teacher; the integrated English-Kinyarwanda "linguistic variety" resulting from the systematic use of Kinyarwanda words for the key concepts in the lesson seems to open the possibility to have access to the English version of these key words. In other words, it is not sure that the teacher had planned to develop students' Language Competence, but his "**unplanned**" and **yet systematic** use of Kinyarwanda terms in an English talk is likely to augment students' Language Competence in English. Indeed, if for example he had followed this use of terms with their English Translation, this would have provided a good straightforward opportunity to learn the equivalent of these Kinyarwanda terms in English and thus, efficiently fostered students' Language Competence in English (and in fact in both languages).

Another similar possibility was also observed from the point of view of Kinyarwanda as the following example shows.

Example 2

T: [...] *Kubera iki? Kubera forces muri ions zose ziri hano; zikaba zose zifitemo calorific energy; calorific energy yongereza temperature; bityo calorific energy igakomeza kongereza temperature..(?).. Siko nababwiye?*

As this extract is taken from a lesson in Physics 5th Year, it is again understood that the aim is not to teach language. Hence, this example is somehow similar to the preceding one in the sense that; like it, it achieves the effect of presenting the students with an integrated Kinyarwanda and English competent use; the difference being that one is basically English with History & Citizenship key terms in Kinyarwanda; and the other, basically Kinyarwanda with Physics key terms in English. What is likely to happen then is that, given a text in Kinyarwanda with key terms in English, the quest for an understanding of these terms in Kinyarwanda is open. Should there be possibilities to find ways to express the concepts contained in these terms, therefore, this way of presenting the content might enhance Language Competence in Kinyarwanda.

Another example to show possibilities for “Teacher-led Translanguaging” to foster Language Competence is from a lesson in Biology.

Example 3

T: The culture of microorganisms. He has done how we can culture microbiology; or pathogens. And we have seen how we can culture microorganism and paramecium. Now after seeing that, we are going to see the population of pathogens. Or microbe. Pathogens is also known as microbes where we find there; virus, bacteria, microscopic fungi, and so on. We have seen here how we can culture paramecium. After seeing that we are going to see how the... the population,... how the growth of those microorganisms.

Ngira narababwiye ko bishobora gukoreshwa nko kwa muganga; si byo? Iyo umuntu afite umurwayi runaka .. kugira ngo babashe kugira gute? ...kumenya the cause, the agent cause of the disease bakora iki? the culture of a sample. Narababwiye ko bashobora gukoresha urine, saliva and so on ... bakabasha kumenya iki? the cause of the disease. Hari igihe bashobora kureba muri microscope ntibabashe kugira gute? Kwidentifayinga the cause, bagakoresha icyo bita ahangaha culturing. Twari twabonye ubushize culturing of paramecium. Noneho tugiye kureba how the population can grow through the culturing of pathogens.

As can be seen in this extract, whereas the two preceding examples integrated languages mainly focusing on subject-specific terms, this one integrates them by alternating the languages, using English for presenting “factual knowledge,” and Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING for explanations. This use of English and English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING might enhance Language Competence in the sense that, having presented “factual information” in English and followed it with explanations in English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING; the teacher has helped the students understand the text in English, and by so doing; she has also facilitated

Language Competence Development since after all, learning a language is among other things, understanding it (or understanding content expressed in it). In other words, while this episode of the lesson was not meant to teach language, it is nonetheless likely to have added to students' Language Competence through this arrangement of "linguistic varieties" for the purpose of content teaching. Should such a strategy and others like it be adopted more deliberately and systematically, Language Competence Development would be the more enhanced.

In sum, all the three extracts have been chosen to show HOW "Teacher-led Translanguaging" can contribute to enhancing Language Competence Development. In all these examples, the teachers are using English, Kinyarwanda, and English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING for the sake of efficacy in content presentation, and at the same time; their integrated use of these "linguistic varieties" is such that it could contribute to enhancing Language Competence Development. If language use was generally deliberately and systematically **planned**; also if all **activities were structured** in a way that language arrangements within lessons are such as to achieve Language Competence enhancement (viz. if Translanguaging were teacher-led); the practice of Translanguaging in this particular context could be sure to lead to the desired language learning goals.

6.2.1.4 "Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages" and Language Competence Development Enhancement

Having hitherto discussed Translanguaging as (1) "Integrated Use of Languages" in the Classroom, (2) "Centre Stage to Home Language" for learning, and (3) "Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring" for teaching; the logical "broader aspect" of Translanguaging to consider in closing this analysis is "Translanguaging as Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages." This broader aspect as earlier proposed is comprised of "Subject-determined Translanguaging." HOW this aspect of Translanguaging contributes to enhancing Language Competence Development; WHAT it does to do so, and WHAT shows it does are discussed in turn.

(1) "Subject-determined Translanguaging" and Language Competence Development

As has been described in the literature “Subject-determined Translanguaging” is related to the observation that some subjects lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than others. Thus, as observed in the context of this study, Translanguaging was found to be practiced more in “Mathematics & Science” subjects than in both “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study.

In this Sub-section, how this aspect of Translanguaging contributes to enhancing Language Competence Development is captured by speculating on the above finding about Translanguaging in “Mathematics & Science” area of study; and by reflecting on the essence of the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” itself.

Concerning the finding that Translanguaging in the context under study is practiced more in “Mathematics and Science” subjects than in other areas of study; what this situation entails for Language Competence Development might be that the identified benefits of the practice of Translanguaging as well as the observed imperfections are likely to have more impact in that area of study than in other areas of study. Thus for example, as established in Chapter 5, if the practice of Translanguaging is likely to **facilitate delivery of, and access to knowledge** by the teachers and the students respectively; the implication is that “Mathematics and Science” knowledge might be being learnt better than in other areas of study.

Conversely, however, with regard to Language Competence Development which is concerned in this Chapter; Translanguaging as practiced in the context under study might not be likely to offer students in “Mathematics and Science” areas of study good **opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate language use”** in the multilingual context under study. Thus for example;

(1) if as has again been established in this study, Codeswitching is extensively used to the point of tending to be the only “linguistic variety” used for teaching/learning, and if there is rather rare parallel models of texts in two languages on the same content availed for comparison through Translation for example (*see “Translanguaging as Integrated Use of Languages”*);

(2) if extensive encouragement by teachers and extensive use by students of listening and speaking skills developed in Kinyarwanda through Codeswitching prevails to the detriment of other linguistic varieties (*see “Translanguaging as Centre Stage to Home Language”*);

(3) if there has never been any purposeful choice by teachers of the languages of Input/Output in lessons (see *“Translanguaging as Integrated Language Use Planning and Activity Structuring”*); if indeed language use in the classroom is only subject to the whims of every moment of misunderstanding of the subject content; then, still as established in this study; the likelihood is that English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching is the “linguistic variety” that the students might be developing to the detriment of Kinyarwanda and English “linguistic varieties.”

With regard to the essence of the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” itself on the other hand, it could be speculated that the whole point in appraising and monitoring any activity is to be able to know whether the enterprise one is engaged in is yielding the expected results. Thus, if for example Translanguaging occurs in an unplanned and unstructured manner; it might not be really Translanguaging in the proper sense because it would be lacking in the essential aspect of its practice; if some areas of study such as “Languages area of study” are reluctant to practice it though they would benefit from it for Language Competence Development if they did; then the likelihood is that the complaints that students are not developing the expected Language Competence, and that they are even losing their competence in Kinyarwanda would be likely to last. Overall then, HOW “Subject-determined Translanguaging” might contribute to Language Competence Development might be through continual appraisal, monitoring, and eventually readjustment of the practice in a way to enhance competence in all the linguistic varieties contained in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire.

6.2.2 Analysis and Presentation of the Data with Reference to the Theory of Language Proficiency in Academic Contexts

From the fact of dealing with the issue of “language competence development” in the classroom, reference to “Language Proficiency” **in Academic Contexts** can’t be superseded. Indeed, whereas attention to development of language proficiency is necessary for all “emergent bilinguals,” the kind of language proficiency necessary **in Academic Contexts** is special. In this sub-section, therefore, reference is made to Cummins’ (1979, 1999) distinction between two interrelated constructs (CALP and BICS) defining language proficiency for teaching and learning.

6.2.2.1 “Integrated Use of Languages” and Language Competence Development Enhancement in the Classroom Academic Context

(1) Codeswitching and Language Competence Development

Whereas the comments made in Sub-section 6.2.1 were focused on multilingual talk in general, the focus now is more pointedly on multilingual talk for teaching and learning. Indeed, the argument in the preceding Sub-section is that, generally, students seemed to be empowered to express themselves by the possibility to use Kinyarwanda and English together. However, an additional aspect of the competence they need for academic work is the one which enables them to display both Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS) (Cummins 1979, 1999) in their talk.

Instances of multilingual talk displaying these manifestations of competence abound in the data. Following is one of such instances where the teacher displays both CALP and BICS through Codeswitching in a model of integrated use of Kinyarwanda and English.

T: [...] Aaaa... I think you know *Ni iki kindi ushobora kongeraho kuri iki tumaze gukora? Turi gushaka area y'iki?... y'aka gatriangle. Si byo?*
(=What else can you add on this question we have resolved? We are looking for the area of what? ... of this small triangle. Right?)

So, we have just found the base. Base is equal to hypotenuse minus the height square under all square; meaning that we have 15, we have just found the area. Yes, OK? You needed to find the area. First of all, *biriya,... ibi urimo urambaza ngo biriya bya* similar. First of all what we need is the area. *Ikintu wakagombye kumenya ahangaha; dufite izi triangle ziri* similar. [...]

(= First of all, that,... this you are... you are asking me about “similar.” First of all what we need is the area. The thing you should know here; we have these triangles which are similar.)

In this extract, the teacher is freely drawing on Kinyarwanda and English, and his talk shows both his Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS) and his Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). Indeed sentences like

“So, we have found the base. Base is equal to hypotenuse minus the height square under all square; meaning that we have 15, we have just found the area.”

uttered in English visibly display “Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) in English. In fact, while demonstrating how to resolve the Mathematics problem, the teacher uses the appropriate Mathematics jargon in English. However, in sentences like

“Ni iki kindi ushobora kongeraho kuri iki tumaze gukora? Turi gushaka area y’iki?... y’aka gatriangle. Si byo?”

(=What else can you add on this question we have resolved? We are looking for the area of what? ... of this small triangle. Right?)

uttered in Kinyarwanda, he is trying to find out whether the students understood his explanations on how to resolve the Mathematics problem; and in so doing, he is also displaying “Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS); and because both CALP and BICS are displayed in the same talk and in different languages; they show that Codeswitching in the data collected for this study is likely to facilitate the coming together of both these aspects of language proficiency. It is noteworthy that, as mentioned earlier, Codeswitching was found to be extensively used in the data for the present study, and hence; one could say that this practice in the particular context of this study, is the multilingual practice which provides students with the most opportunities to experience multiple language use featuring CALP and BICS.

(2) Translation and Language Competence Development

To explore WHAT Translation does to enhance Language Competence Development in the context under study, it is important to firstly recall that generally; as Cummins (1979, 1999) has clearly shown; Language Competence in academic contexts is basically about Basic Interactional Conversation skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language proficiency (BICS) which, though interrelated, are distinct; the former being about phonological skills and basic fluency, and the latter; about literacy and vocabulary knowledge. What then Translation does to enhance Language Competence Development as observed in the context under study is that; whereas students’ knowledge of Kinyarwanda tends to be limited to BICS since it is not used to teach/learn; English tends to be limited to CALP because it is used for teaching, and rarely for everyday conversation. As a corollary, subject-specific terms don’t exist in Kinyarwanda or, if they do, they tend not to be known to the students and, conversely; subject-specific terms are available in English, and students “may” know them without understanding the concepts they represent, or they may not know them altogether; in which case they are given an opportunity to learn them.

WHAT Translation does to enhance Language Competence Development in this context, therefore, is that it offers students an opportunity to comparatively experience the lack of either CALP or BICS in the two languages respectively; and eventually; once aware of this reality, to be given an opportunity to work as best as they can to remedy it.

This was observed in the example in a Mathematics 1st Year lesson already evoked under (4) above. Indeed, students in this lesson were challenged with the lack of equivalent terms for “number line,” “number set,” “natural number.”.. in Kinyarwanda; and even with the lack of equivalent terms for words like “illustrate” which seem to rather belong to the ordinary Mathematics jargon in English and not in Kinyarwanda. Following is the extract for this example.

- T: Number 2. Illustrate each of the following sets of numbers...?
 S: On the number line.
 T: Eh! ... Number ... number line. *Bishatse gusobanura iki?* (=What does it mean?)
Bishatse gusobanura iki? Reka mbyoroshye. Mbwira mu Kinyarwanda! (=What does it mean? Let me make it easy for you. Tell me in Kinyarwanda) Illustrate...
 illustrate each of the following sets of numbers on the number line!
 S: *Shyira imibare iri hasi... ku m...* (=Put the numbers which are down “hasi”-
 incorrect Translation) on the...
 T: Inh?
 S': *Shyira imibare ku rutonde.* (= Put the numbers on a list)
 S: *Shyira imibare iri hasi ku murongo.* (= Put the numbers which are down on a line)
 T:(difficult to hear what he says)... Illustrate, illustrate illustrate *ni ryo jambo ryabananiye?* (= « illustrate » is it the word you are failing to translate?)
 SS: *Yego!* (= yes)
 T: Illustrate.... *erekana* illustrate.... *erekana* ; illustrate, illustrate each of the
 following sets of numbers on the number line. ... number line *ntabwo twayibonye?* (= didn't we see this?)

In this example, students are struggling to find a good Translation of: “illustrate,” “each of the following sets of numbers,” “on the number line”; and they are offered an opportunity to be aware of the difference between the two languages. Also some of the Translations requested by the teacher particularly relate to BICS and others, to CALP; and this is likely to help develop Language Competence in both languages.

6.2.2.2 “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Language Competence Development Enhancement in the Classroom Academic Context

(1) “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and Language Competence Development

With the question of WHAT Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding does **in the classroom** to enhance Language Competence Development, the idea of language in the academic context comes to the fore; and thus, as mentioned above, the question points to Cummins’ (1999) characterization of Language Competence as implying the notions of CALP and BICS. Also, while ***Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding*** is about encouragement of students’ Home Language use for learning; the fact that the said students’ Home Language in the context under study is not well developed in terms of CALP comes into play. Indeed, as the following extract shows, Kinyarwanda is only likely to contribute BICS to the talk in the classroom, and thus; the CALP aspect is necessarily drawn from English which is used as official MoI.

- T: *So hano dushobora kuba dufite one ligand, ariko ifite six molecules ... cyangwa se ligands.*
 (= So here we may have one ligand, but it might have six molecules ... or ligands)

As can be seen in this short extract, the CALP contribution to the talk is derived from English; and it doesn’t seem possible to be otherwise since the terms concerned do not have their equivalents in Kinyarwanda. Consequently, it could be said that all that Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding can do to enhance Language Competence Development as befits the academic context of the classroom is to contribute to BICS to Codeswitching through the students’ Home Language.

(2) “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” and Language Competence Development

To the question of WHAT “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” does in the classroom to enhance Language Competence Development; what would be firstly reminded is that language in the school context relates to CALP and BICS (Cummins 1979, 1999). On the other hand, Developmental Use is about the way in which students draw on the skills developed in their Home Language (in this case Kinyarwanda) to perform their tasks in the classroom. Therefore, what seems to be the case about “WHAT Developmental Use does to enhance Language Competence Development in terms of BICS and CALP is that; while using their skills in Kinyarwanda is not enough to perform their tasks in class because the content they are dealing with is not expressed in Kinyarwanda; students integrate Kinyarwanda mainly featuring BICS;

and thus for CALP they use English; the end result being that they are using an integrated language which is part English featuring CALP, and part Kinyarwanda featuring BICS.

One example to illustrate this is from a “Group Presentation” in Geography and Environment in 5th Year. In this presentation a group of 4 students had prepared their presentation; and each had a portion of the talk to present. As the presentation was about “Women’s Rights,” one of the group members started her contribution to the presentation by citing an ancient Kinyarwanda saying which goes as follows:

Nta nkokokazi ibika isake ihari. (= The hen will not crow when the cock is there).

From this ancient popular saying, the student could contrast the women’s privileged status in Today’s Rwanda and their social condition in Ancient Rwanda; blending principles of equal rights prevailing today and outdated practices regarding women in society. With regard to the language she actually uses, however, she mainly uses English because presentations must be made in that language; but, in order to write the text she was reading to the class during the presentation, she and the other group members had drawn on discussion in Kinyarwanda to compose it and thus, the whole exercise, during the presentation in a visible manner in the classroom, and in an invisible manner while still preparing for the presentation; represents an important way in which both BICS in Kinyarwanda is reinforced, and CALP in English is enhanced. In this way, the resulting “integrated variety of Kinyarwanda-English” features integrated BICS and CALP use.

With regard to Language Competence in English and Kinyarwanda separately, however; the following can illuminate the way in which “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” can enhance Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching without necessarily improving Kinyarwanda BICS or CALP, and without advancing English CALP or BICS either. The extract is from Mathematics 1st Year and Mathematics 6th Year respectively.

S: “Teacher! *Hariya buriya* centimeter *tuyikoresheje hari ikibazo?*
(=Teacher, would it be a problem if we used “centimeter” there?)
or

S: “Eh! *Ahubwo nari nibeshye ! Ubwo “a” iraba ingana na negative two; kubera ko “b” ingana na negative one. “A” equal two.*
(=Eh! I was rather making a mistake! This means that “a” will be negative two; because “b” is negative one. “a” equal two.)

As can be seen in these two short examples, the students have used both Kinyarwanda and English, and the result is a blend of the two languages in which Kinyarwanda still displays the students' acquired BICS and English still displays the students' developing CALP. Thus, it might be understood how “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” can further enhance Kinyarwanda in terms of BICS without bringing any gain to CALP in that language, and augment CALP in English without benefiting BICS in that language; so that the beneficiary of “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” would be Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching; and students would at best gain a bit more in Kinyarwanda and English in terms of BICS and CALP respectively, and not likely in both BICS and CALP simultaneously in both the languages.

6.2.2.3 “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” and Language Competence Development Enhancement in the Classroom Academic Context

(1) “Input/Output Pattern” and Language Competence Development

In proceeding with the same discussion started above, another aspect of Language Competence Development in the classroom is the dual importance of the concepts of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS). This aspect is of crucial importance and owing to this importance, WHAT “Input/Output Pattern” does in the classroom to enhance Language Competence Development is precisely by helping students to acquire both academic language proficiency (CALP) and basic conversational skills (BICS) through the language of input and the language of output. To illustrate how input/output contributes to Language Competence in this sense, I again use the example from Physics already used above.

Example 1:

- T: Number b. [...] You know that application of Archimedes principle, said that the upthrust is equal to the density times volume times acceleration due to gravity. As you know, the factors affecting the upthrust is density and volume. The upthrust to find it is very easy. The upthrust by using the first formula of the upper loss weight is equal to the weight in the air, minus weight in liquid. [...]
- S: *Hariya buriya centimeter tuyikoresheje, hari ikibazo?*
- T: *Ngo hari ikibazo? Haaaaa! Ikibazo se kidahari? Nonese international system unity tuzi... ya length(?) tuzi ko ari nyinshi. Wowe ugumisha muri centimeter byagenze gute ubwo? Ibyo simpora mbibabwira? OK ubwo wari muri centimeter*

byapfuye kare. Ni ukuvuga ngo bigipfira hano, ubwo byari byapfuye! Byose ubwo byapfuye! OK. Write quickly and we do other activity. Clean here!

In this extract, the teacher as already mentioned, is teaching a Physics subject content, not language. Even so, however, his use of language in the first part of the extract displays academic discourse in Physics. This can be seen from the subject specific vocabulary in Physics he uses (density, upper loss weight, Archimedes principle, upthrust etc.); by the form the expressions particularly appropriate for explaining the process of resolving problems in Physics (density times volume times acceleration, the factors affecting the upthrust, use first formula of the upper loss weight etc.) etc.; and all are elements of **Input** through which students are exposed to Physics discourse in this part of the extract. Therefore, listening to them and understanding them is a valuable contribution to students' Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP); and this in part, explains HOW Input/Output in the classroom can contribute to enhancing Language Competence Development.

On the other hand, Input/Output also contributes to Basic Interactional Conversation Skills (BICS) as can be seen in the second part of the extract. In this part, whereas the teacher has been using academic discourse in the first part of the extract to discuss the Physics content; the conversation on the same content is initiated by a student in a different kind of discourse, the conversational discourse; and the teacher shifts from his initial use of academic discourse to conversational discourse. This discourse the teacher and the students orient to happens to use Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, and it is marked by Kinyarwanda conversational terms like *buriya* (Term used to mean that you are wonder... "say...", "I wonder..."); *hari ikibazo?... (Is there a problem if...?; does it matter...?)*. Even the whole style is conversational in tone: *Ngo hari ikibazo?! (Are you asking whether it matters...?!)*.

As can be seen from this extract, therefore, this alternation of not only linguistic varieties used, but also academic and conversational discourses displaying respectively CALP and BICS, contributes to enhancing students Language Competence Development. And this also shows HOW Input/Output patterns of language use is likely to contribute to Language Competence Development in the particular contexts of the classroom which necessitates CALP and BICS use.

(2) "Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging" and Language Competence Development

Coming now to the question of WHAT “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging” does in the classroom to enhance Language Competence Development; it is necessary to bear in mind that “what it does in the classroom” refers to the necessity to develop both students’ Basic Interactional Conversation Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) in the languages they learn. Indeed, as Cummins (1999) rightfully argues, the appropriate language in the classroom must feature these aspects; and precisely Teacher-led Translanguaging should, among other things, aim to planning and structuring integration of languages for teaching and learning in order to foster these aspects of language proficiency in the classroom.

To illustrate WHAT “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” would do in the classroom to integrate the languages in the students’ repertoire to enhance Language Competence Development, I use the following extract, again from a lesson in Physics 5th Year.

- T: Anha! **Solids** *kandi twabonye n’ikintu bita* property. [... ...] *Tubona ikintu bita elasticity. Kuri iyo elasticity twabonye ko hari ikintu bita strain* and...?
- SS&T: Stress.
- T: *Si byo? Anha!! Ibyongibyo bikaba byaratumye tubona ikintu bita strain. ... Duhereye kuri ya diagram yacu twashushanyije ejo; ahangaha hari.... Stress ... ahangaha hakaba strain... aha hari elasticity twavuze ko hari stress ahangaha tukongeraho strain(?). Ahangaha ni ho twakuriyeho kuvuga ikintu bita Grook’s Law. Birumvikana?*

First of all, to comment on WHAT “Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging” would do in the classroom to integrate the languages in the students’ repertoire to enhance Language Competence Development, it would be reiterated that language proficiency for efficient work **in the classroom** refers both to academic language and everyday conversational language as related to Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS). As can be seen in this extract, these two types of skills are displayed thus:

Firstly, subject-specific terms related to the topic are in English. These are: Solids, elasticity, stress, diagram, Grook’s Law, original form, regular shape, size, etc. and they are all crucial to understanding the content of this lesson. These specifically are the kinds of terms required for a person to develop CALP since they belong to the academic discourse. On the other hand, there are other terms, more common to everyday conversation. These are for example, *Ibyongibyo; byaratumye; tubona; ikintu, duhereye; twashushanyije; ahangaha; etc.* and these are in

Kinyarwanda. From point of view of integration of the two languages, the content is most efficiently conveyed, and for sure; this integrated use of language achieves the desired result of Subject Content Knowledge Development.

However, for Translanguaging to enhance **Language Competence** in a way to develop BICS and CALP in English and BICS and CALP in Kinyarwanda seems to be difficult since the model of integrated use of Kinyarwanda and English seems (paradoxically) to keep the two kinds of language proficiency separate and confined in their respective languages; even though put together in the same integrated Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING use.

What “Teacher-led Translanguaging” would do then would be to deliberately **plan** language arrangements and **structure** activities in a way for example to allow for the subject-specific terms to be available in Kinyarwanda; and to enable expression of everyday life conversation to be known by both teachers and students, so that **Language Competence in the classroom** includes not only CALP and BICS combined in Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING like in the above example; but also CALP and BICS combined in Kinyarwanda, and CALP and BICS combined in English. And this desirable triple enhancement of Language Competence leads to the way one would know whether “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging” enhances Language Competence Development, to which I turn now.

6.2.2.4 “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” and Language Competence Development Enhancement in the Classroom Academic Context

(1) “Subject-determined Translanguaging” and Language Competence Development

WHAT “Subject-determined Translanguaging” does in terms of CALP/BICS to enhance Language Competence Development is again marked by the fact that Translanguaging occurs more in “Mathematics and Science” subjects; suggesting that the extensive use of Codeswitching in this area of study is likely to result in the tendency to integrate BICS associated with the Kinyarwanda contribution to the multilingual talk and CALP associated with the English subject-specific Mathematics and Science terms which are used as the English contribution to multilingual talk.

Owing to the extensive use of Translanguaging manifested through Codeswitching therefore, there is likely to be neither CALP development in Kinyarwanda nor BICS development in English; but rather, elements of CALP in English terms contributed to the Codeswitching talk, and elements of BICS in the Kinyarwanda talk contributed to the Codeswitching talk.

WHAT then “Subject-determined Translanguaging” does in the classroom to enhance Language Competence Development would be to give a “**special cachet**” to the Mathematics & Science talk whereby the language used in that area of study is likely to be characterized by elements of CALP in English “Mathematics & Science” terms contributed to the Codeswitching talk; and BICS in the Kinyarwanda talk contributed to the Codeswitching talk. In other words, there would be likely to develop a way of communicating in the classroom which would be likely to be the privilege of the people educated in that area of study and in the particular context under study, which would not be easy to understand in other contexts. As a corollary, the science people educated in this particular context wouldn’t be able to communicate with other scientists in other contexts; not with people who are not trained in that area of study.

6.2.3 Analysis and Presentation of the Data with Reference to the Concept of Multicompetence

As Franceschini (2011:351) has defined it, “multicompetence” is the characteristic of ‘an individual with knowledge of an extended and integrated linguistic repertoire who is able to use the appropriate linguistic variety for the appropriate occasion.’ In this Sub-section, reference is made to this characteristic in the classroom, and thus the discussion of the role of Translanguaging in enhancing Language Competence Development in the classroom context refers in fact to enhancement of “Multicompetence Development” as well.

6.2.3.1 “Integrated Use of Languages” Multicompetence Development Enhancement

(1) *Codeswitching and Multicompetence Development*

Having argued that Codeswitching contributes to developing students’ Language Competence and established that “the said Language Competence” which is developed features CALP and BICS aspects; the other important question is whether the developing Language Competence is

also likely to enable the individual to use “the appropriate linguistic variety” (Franceschini 2011) for different contexts and occasions he/she might find him/herself in.

To gauge development of this “added quality” of Language Competence, I again draw on an example from the lesson in Mathematics 3rd Year already referred to.

T: [...] *Hari ikintu mutagomba gukonfyuzinga. Nzi ko hashobora kuza kuba confusion. Mu wa kabiri mwize, muri guconfuzinga* how could we find an angle when two lines intersect. OK? The angle here is equal to that one. And the angle here is equal to that one. If there are lines... So if you have the other angle like that one. *Ntabwo ahangaha twari twamenya ko; ntabwo turi kugendera kuri* postulate *ngo tumenye ko uyu murongo n’uyunguyu bifite...*

As can be seen in this example, the explanations and comments are facilitated by the fluent use of Kinyarwanda and English; and this enhances students’ understanding. Also, more importantly for Language Competence Development, this is a good model of multiple language use availed to students; and this is likely to help their own Language Competence Development **for integrated language use in multilingual contexts, and for multilingual occasions.**

For monolingual occasions, on the other hand, it seems that there is a lack in the data for the present study, of ‘extended and integrated multilingual use (Franceschini 2011)’ models likely to enhance Language Competence for “appropriate language use” in “appropriate monolingual occasions,” especially for monolingual use of Kinyarwanda; simply because they are rarely produced in the classroom where the medium of instruction is English.

For this contention, the first examples I use shows that even a Kinyarwanda predominant “Kinyarwanda-English” Codeswitching model of language use is not suitable for monolingual occasions use. Indeed, in this example which is drawn from a lesson in Physics 5th Year, English is used minimally. Still, for monolingual speakers of Kinyarwanda, it is difficult to understand despite the small number of English words in the extract. The extract goes as follows:

T: *Ubwo byumvikanye, turabona icyo bita “plastic modulus,” plastic modulus cyangwa se ... modulus; nk’ahangaha twastretchinze, si byo? cyangwa se aha twakoze* compression; applied force *izaba ari* proportional *n’iyingiyi; na change iyi, niba nabikuye hano nkabigeza hano; ni ukuvuga nuko* force *waplayinzeho* hano ari proportional *na* stress. *Iyi* constant of proportionality *ni yo twise iki? ni yo bise iki?* spring modulus constant. *Ubwo rero izaba ingana n’iki? na minus kx. Ino “k” ikaba ari yo* spring modulus constant. *Si byo? Twashyizeho minus, kubera ko kuri iyi* force, *izaba* against *ya* applied force. *Birumvikanye?*

S: liiii!! (= yes)

As can be seen in this extract which, in my view, features successful uses of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching to help students understand a visibly tough topic (viz. Theory of Matter); the integrated use of Kinyarwanda and English gives the impression that for being predominantly composed of Kinyarwanda, it can be easily understood by monolingual speakers of Kinyarwanda. Yet, owing to the key English subject specific terms in the extract; it rather represents a good model of language use which is an “appropriate linguistic variety” for multilingual users of Kinyarwanda and English. Thus, it is not an “appropriate linguistic variety” for monolingual users of Kinyarwanda and even less, an “appropriate linguistic variety” for monolingual users of English; and should students follow this integrated language use model, their Language Competence would be likely to be developed only for Kinyarwanda and English multilingual uses.

That said, then, the question of WHAT SHOWS that Codeswitching can serve to enhance Multicompetence is to know whether the data contain “extended and integrated multilingual use” of “an appropriate variety” of Kinyarwanda and “an appropriate variety” of English to serve as models of Kinyarwanda and English monolingual use respectively. In this regard, it is firstly necessary to figure out how “Integrated Multilingual Use” of language can produce a model of “appropriate linguistic variety” for monolingual use.

How this kind of monolingual use can be understood is by recalling that Codeswitching can be “intrasentential” or “intersentential” (Myers-Scotton 1993): When “intrasentential,” Codeswitching is within the sentence and when “intersentential,” it is between sentences, or indeed; it applies to the whole discourse, suggesting that “switch” of languages might occur between large chunks of talk.

From the point of view of Kinyarwanda as appears from a scrutiny of all the 22 lessons observed in the present study, it would be said that, strictly speaking, such models of “appropriate variety” of Kinyarwanda use for monolingual Kinyarwanda is really hard to find in academic contexts. Indeed, as has appeared in all uses of Kinyarwanda in different lessons (and actually most of the lessons used Kinyarwanda), as the example given above from Physics 5th Year shows; teachers would start an explanation in Kinyarwanda, and would end up “switching” to English; mainly because of “subject specific terms” which are not available in Kinyarwanda; and the result is that

nearly all stretches of text in Kinyarwanda not only contain subject-specific terms in English, but also are generally very short.

Concerning models of the “appropriate linguistic variety” of English use in monolingual English contexts on the other hand, there too, models were found to be rare, but at least two of the 22 lessons observed could be found to use long stretches of monolingual use of English. Thus in Biology 3rd Year and Mathematics 3rd Year the lessons were conducted almost exclusively in English (only 3 Kinyarwanda words in Biology and only 31 in Mathematics³⁶); but the point really is not one of “exclusive use” of English or not as I argue below, using an extract from the lesson in Biology 3rd Year mentioned above.

- T: [...] You remember at level of the cell... who can show us at level of the lung and at the level of the cell. Yes...
- S: (Student shows without speaking.)
- T: We have at level of the lung; ...show us at level of ... Unhu! OK. Now we have at one level, lung level, you remember, carbon dioxide go out... of the blood; because this one is it what? This one...
- SS: Capillary, Blood Capillary,
- T: Blood Capillary. Blood Capillary. And the blood circulate, this is the blood which is circulate here; now, you see, remember that we use red color; and this blood show us, after that the blood, get oxygen. Oxygen enter in the blood. And, this blood which coming from the body is poor or *riche* (sic) in carbon dioxide, after now we have... of gases, and the blood continue with oxygen. Ok? This blood, where is going this blood?
- SS: In... to the cell. To the heart.
- T: OK. To the heart. After it... to where? To the cell. Show us at cell level now. At cell level. I need you show us the movement of carbon dioxide... and this movement of carbon dioxide, it will be an example of removing of waste product,... in the cell.
- S: (Shows silently.)
- T: Umhu! This also is blood capillary. Where is the blood capillary? Where is the blood capillary, and where is the cell?
- S: (Shows silently.)
- T: This is the blood capillary; and the cell? Where is the cell? and where is the blood capillary?
- S: (Shows silently.) [...]

³⁶ Two lessons in Mathematics 3rd Year were observed, one using English minimally, the other using Kinyarwanda maximally.

To comment on this extract, the teacher's skill in having the students understand the lesson is firstly to be acknowledged. Indeed, in spite of limited receptive skills in English, it could be seen that the students were acquiring the content of the lesson judging from the way they looked interested and the way they were involved in the lesson. However, from the point of view of contribution to the talk; it could be seen that most of the students' answers were either "showing silently" what the teacher was asking, or giving answers like: "Blood capillary," "Carbon dioxide," "To the heart" etc..., which don't really seem to be indicative of "Language Competence Development" in English, at least from the productive skills point of view. In other words, this use of language being designed to help students' understand subject content is an excellent "pedagogic device," but only basic as a model of "appropriate linguistic variety" for appropriate English monolingual contexts.

How Codeswitching could feature integrated "appropriate linguistic variety for the appropriate occasion," then, can be imagined from considering the kind of integrated language use as illustrated by the following extract from a lesson in Biology 5th Y.

- T: The culture of microorganisms. He has done how we can culture microbiology; or pathogens. And we have seen how we can culture microorganism and paramecium. Now after seeing that, we are going to see the population of pathogens. Or microbe. Pathogens is also known as microbes where we find there; virus, bacteria, microscopic fungi, and so on. We have seen here how we can culture paramecium. After seeing that we are going to see how the ... the population, ... how the growth of those microorganisms.

Ngira narababwiye ko bishobora gukoreshwa nko kwa muganga; si byo? Iyo umuntu afite umurwayi runaka .. kugira ngo babashe kugira gute? ...kumenya the cause, the agent cause of the disease bakora iki? the culture of a sample. Narababwiye ko bashobora gukoresha urine, saliva and so on ... bakabasha kumenya iki? the cause of the disease. Hari igihe bashobora kureba muri microscope ntibabashe kugira gute? Kwidentifayinga the cause, bagakoresha icyo bita ahangaha culturing. Twari twabonye ubushize culturing of paramecium. Noneho tugiye kureba how the population can grow through the culturing of pathogens

In this extract, the teacher is freely using both English and Kinyarwanda. However, in this particular extract, she uses Codeswitching (in this particular extract) in a way that provides a model of text which can serve in English monolingual contexts (first part of extract), and a

model of text which can serve in Kinyarwanda-English multilingual contexts (second part of extract).

As can be seen from this extract, therefore, (overlooking the grammar of the text), Codeswitching can serve the purpose of providing models of integrated language use featuring different “appropriate linguistic varieties” for different appropriate contexts and occasions. A final note that could be reiterated about Codeswitching (to which I will come back later), however, is that for Kinyarwanda used in academic contexts, it is difficult to find an example of “appropriate linguistic variety” for Kinyarwanda monolingual contexts and occasions.

(2) Translation and Multicompetence Development

Now coming to the question of WHAT shows that Translation enhances Language Competence Development, the concept of “Multicompetence” (Franceschini 2011) comes to the fore; and it would be said from the outset that Translation appears to be among the best (if not the best) ways to foster Language Competence in this sense. Indeed, as already mentioned, Multicompetence is about the ability to use “appropriate linguistic varieties” in “appropriate contexts and occasions” (Ibid. 2011); and this is important because multilingual contexts are likely to offer “multilingual occasions” where integrated use of different languages would be appropriate; as well as “monolingual occasions” where monolingual use of languages would be appropriate.

In view of the scarcity of lessons which used Translation as a strategy for teaching/learning, not many examples could be found for this enhancement of Language Competence Development; but a lesson in History and Citizenship in 1st Year can well illustrate this.

In this lesson, the teacher is explaining the “Political Organization of Ancient Rwanda,” and each time he comes to a key term pertaining to this “political organization”; he gives the students the term in English and asks them to give the equivalent term in Kinyarwanda. Here is an extract from the lesson.

- T: The king, yes. The king was the head of the country. And he was assisted by who and ...? Who assisted the king to rule over the territory of Rwanda?
- S: The queen mother.
- T: The queen mother, and ...?
- SS: *Abiru*.

- T: *Abiru*. They were also called custodians of esoteric code. OK? They called them *abi...?*
- S: *Abiru*.
- T: And the king of Rwanda was called?
- S: *Umwami*. And the queen mother was?
- S: *Umugabekazi*.

As can be seen in this extract, while the students are learning the content, they are at the same time empowered to deal with this content not only in English which is the language of learning, but also in Kinyarwanda, their Home Language. Or even more, supposing they knew the terms in Kinyarwanda, they are given an opportunity to know their equivalent in English, and this is very important for Language Competence Development; particularly in the sense of “Multicompetence.” In other words, for their Language Competence Development, they are simultaneously given two models of the text (or rather elements of the model), and in that way; their Language Competence is being developed in a way that they will be able to express this content in both English and Kinyarwanda. Arguably then, through Translation which is in fact one form of integrated use of English and Kinyarwanda; the students’ Language Competence is being enhanced in the sense of “Multicompetence,” because they are being empowered to use English, Kinyarwanda, and English-and-Kinyarwanda.

6.2.3.2 “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Multicompetence Development Enhancement

(1) “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and Multicompetence Development

Coming now to WHAT shows that “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” enhances Language Competence Development calls upon Franceschini’s (2011) theory of Multicompetence which is about the ability of a person to use the “appropriate linguistic variety” for the appropriate occasion whether multilingual or monolingual. In a sense, this defines clearly what would be required of would be secondary school laureates in terms of **Language Competence Development** as they evolve from their initial situation of “emergent multilinguals” to a consequential situation of “fully-fledged multilinguals.” Indeed, in view of the linguistic fabric of the particular context under study, “fully-fledged multilinguals” should be able to use at least three kinds of “appropriate linguistic varieties” (Franceschini 2011: 351), namely: (1)

Kinyarwanda as an “appropriate linguistic variety” for monolingual or multilingual speakers of Kinyarwanda in a monolingual or multilingual context for **monolingual occasions**; (2) English as an “appropriate linguistic variety” for monolingual or multilingual speakers of English in a monolingual or multilingual context for **monolingual occasions**; and (3) Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching as an ‘appropriate linguistic variety’ for multilingual users of Kinyarwanda and English in a monolingual or multilingual context for **multilingual occasions**. As has hitherto appeared from virtually all the analyses of the data collected for the present study, however, the only “appropriate linguistic variety” which seems most likely to be developed is **Kinyarwanda-English** and **English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching**. Therefore, WHAT shows that Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding enhances Language Competence Development is likely to be limited to the fact that it may be contributing to enhancing Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching as an ‘appropriate linguistic variety’ for multilingual users of Kinyarwanda and English in a monolingual or multilingual context for **multilingual occasions**. Consequently, the other “linguistic varieties” (notably Kinyarwanda and English) still have to be catered for in schools for their development.

(2) “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” and Multicompetence Development

Basically, WHAT shows that “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” enhances Language Competence Development is **what students are likely to be able to do** in terms of language use in multilingual contexts, following their learning experience. As Franceschini (2011) has pertinently explained, what a competent multilingual user can do is to use the “appropriate linguistic varieties” he/she has acquired; both in appropriate multilingual contexts and occasions, and in appropriate monolingual contexts and occasions. WHAT shows that “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” enhances Language Competence Development in the context under study, therefore, is twofold.

Firstly, as has been argued above, in the occasions where they have to do some kind of work independently (for example in group work), students draw on Kinyarwanda, their Home Language, and at the same time; draw on specific terms learnt in the relevant subjects through English. Therefore, the kind of variety most obviously enhanced is likely to be Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching which is appropriate for communication with multilingual users in multilingual occasions.

On the other hand, even though they draw on both Kinyarwanda and English; they use their listening and speaking skills in Kinyarwanda during discussions, and rarely hold any discussions in English. Also due to the necessity to express in English certain subject-specific realities which don't exist in Kinyarwanda; they would still practice them in English through Codeswitching.

To conclude then, WHAT would show that “Developmental Use of Translanguaging” in the context under study enhances Language Competence Development is merely that Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching would be developed for communication with Kinyarwanda and English multilinguals in multilingual contexts and multilingual occasions, and not necessarily Kinyarwanda and English for respective monolingual uses in monolingual occasions.

6.2.3.3 “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” and Multicompetence Development Enhancement

(1) “Input/Output: Variations” and Multicompetence Development

In considering WHAT shows that “Input/Output Pattern” enhances Language Competence Development in the sense of “multicompetence”, the useful idea is that languages are learnt for use in various contexts and for different occasions (Franceschini 2011). Thus to gauge Language Competence Development would see whether the acquired Language Competence allows for successful communication between people in different contexts and in different occasions.

In the present study, it has appeared from previous analyses, that the Language Competence developed in secondary school classrooms mainly orients to communication with multilingual speakers of the “integrated Kinyarwanda-English linguistic variety” in multilingual contexts for multilingual occasions; to the detriment of English for monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions; and Kinyarwanda for monolingual contexts and for monolingual occasions.

In the investigation of WHAT shows that “Input/Output Pattern” enhances Language Competence Development too, the same result obtains, as it clearly appears that this aspect of Translanguaging too orients to development of Language Competence for communication with multilinguals in multilingual contexts for multilingual occasions (Franceschini 2011).

To document this Language Competence Development orientation, I use the following example as drawn from a lesson in Entrepreneurship 5th Year.

S: Interest on loan (...?...) *ntabwo ijyamo?*

T: *Ku kwezi gukurikiraho. Ukwezi kwa karindwi. Biratangirana n'ukwezi kwa karindwi bishyira ukwezi kwa munani. Ni ukuvuga ngo turacyari mu kwezi kwa gatandatu, turi kureba amafaranga yinjira* for the month of June, and cash outflow for the month of... June. OK. Interest on loan per month, starting on July also...

In the lesson from which this extract is drawn, the class is working on the establishment of “cash flow statements,” and one student asks the above question (Interest on loan (...?...) *ntabwo ijyamo?*) to know whether interest on loan should not be included in the statement.

As can be seen in the extract, the student asked his question in Kinyarwanda-English, and in reality; it would be argued that the student could have as well used the expression “*inyungu ku nguzanyo*” (=interest on loan) to ask his question. However, probably because the lesson was (officially) supposed to be conducted in English; also probably because he was in the context of the classroom, he used the English expression “interest on loan,” and thus, by using this expression in a basically Kinyarwanda utterance, he used the “Kinyarwanda-English linguistic variety.”

What this succeeded in doing is that the lesson which had been being conducted in “English only” shifted directly to Kinyarwanda-English up to the end. In other words, the “Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching linguistic variety” that the student introduced through his question proved to be the “appropriate linguistic variety” for this multilingual classroom in this multilingual occasion which is the Entrepreneurship lesson. One would then wonder whether Kinyarwanda and English varieties might not be the “appropriate varieties” for this particular multilingual context.

What can be said about this is that **firstly concerning English**, it is clear that many instances of input/output pattern represent an attempt to obey the rule of using English as the only Medium of Instruction (thus English/English pattern). However, like in the example given above, (1) whenever an opportunity presents itself; (2) most of the time when students want to ask a question; (3) when the teacher realizes that the students are not following his explanation; (4) when there is some difficulty of expression both on the part of the teacher and the students; in all

these occasions and many more, the input/output shifts from “English/English” to “English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING.” And, it is important to say, it is not a shift to “Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda” as one would expect!

Thus, **secondly concerning Kinyarwanda**, what appears to be the case is that whenever the Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda input/output is attempted, it soon converts into English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING because most of the utterances in Kinyarwanda in this particular multilingual context of the classroom are likely to include subject-specific terms which are always in English since all subjects are normally conducted in English. In the end, therefore, what is observed is that, considering the way Language Competence in English and Kinyarwanda is developed; **neither English nor Kinyarwanda** are “the appropriate linguistic varieties” for monolingual occasions in the particular multilingual context of Secondary school.

Finally, WHAT shows that “Input/Output” as an aspect of Translanguaging enhances Language Competence Development is that the “**appropriate linguistic variety**” for the multilingual context under study is Kinyarwanda-English because the prevalent Input/Output is **English-Kinyarwanda /Kinyarwanda-English**. Therefore, the **linguistic variety** developed for the multilingual context under study is **neither Kinyarwanda nor English**; and the reason for this is that the classroom **Input/Output pattern** is rarely **Kinyarwanda/English** or **English/Kinyarwanda**.

(2) “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging” and Multicompetence Development

The last discussion about Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging concerns WHAT shows that “Teacher-led and Pupil-led Translanguaging” does actually enhance Language Competence Development. What shows that Language Competence is indeed developed is what this competence is likely to enable one to do. In multilingual contexts as Franceschini (2011) has argued, Language Competence should enable one to use his/her capabilities to use the “appropriate linguistic variety” to communicate with multilinguals in “appropriate” occasions as well as using the “appropriate linguistic variety” to communicate with monolinguals in “appropriate occasions,” and he/she should be able to do this; not only in one language, but also in as many languages as required in a given context.

Looking at the models of extended and integrated uses of language in the context under study, therefore, what seems to be the case is that, as the prevalent models of language use in the two schools observed in this study is the extensive use of Codeswitching (see Chapter 4), it is likely that the students in the context of my study are empowered to use Kinyarwanda and English (1) **mainly** with multilingual users of English and Kinyarwanda; (2) **rather minimally** with multilingual users of Kinyarwanda, English, and French; and (3) **hardly** with monolingual users of these languages. In other words, what they are empowered to do with language is virtually limited to **communicating with multilingual users of Kinyarwanda and English in multilingual occasions**, and this is mainly because Translanguaging in this context is not “Teacher-led,” suggesting that it is neither planned nor structured.

6.2.3.4 “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” and Multicompetence Development Enhancement

(1) “Subject-determined Translanguaging” and Multicompetence Development

The question of WHAT shows that “Subject-determined Translanguaging” enhances Language Competence Development is implicitly a question of evaluation to identify how and in which area of study Translanguaging is the most practiced and in which it is less so. Therefore, it would be useful to remark that such an evaluation is best effected through observation of what people do with their acquired “Language Competence”; and in turn, what people do with their Language Competence is a function of the contexts in which they use the languages in their repertoire.

As described through the lens of Franceschini’s (2011) concept of “Multicompetence,” (which focuses on the use of the “appropriate linguistic variety” in the “appropriate context”) it seems that the only “appropriate linguistic variety” learnt through “Mathematics & Science-determined Translanguaging” in the particular case of the present study, is **Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching**. Furthermore, this particular “linguistic variety” is almost exclusively appropriate for **other science-oriented multilingual speakers** trained in the same context; and inappropriate for monolingual users of Kinyarwanda; for monolingual users of English; and for Kinyarwanda-English non-scientific multilinguals. Therefore, this Language Competence as enhanced by “Mathematics & Science”-determined Translanguaging is likely to be restricted to use in particularly limited multilingual contexts to communicate with “Mathematics & Science”

trained multilingual people. Consequently, in the long run, communication through that particular “linguistic variety” would be hermetic to other people.

6.3 HOW TRANSLANGUAGING ENHANCES LANGUAGE COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT: EVIDENCE FROM INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS

In Section 6.2 above, the way in which Translanguaging enhances Language Competence Development was examined based on evidence from **Classroom Language Practices**. This Section 6.3 turns to evidence **from interviews with teachers**, and comes before Section 6.4 which focuses on **interviews with students**.

6.3.1 Analysis and Presentation of Teachers’ Perspectives as Informed by the Concept of Translanguaging

As per the “Frame of Data Analysis and Presentation” proposed earlier in this Study, the first guide into the analysis of the data in this study is the **concept of Translanguaging**. Following this construct, the teachers’ perspectives are analyzed and presented by focusing successively on Translanguaging (1) as *“Integration of Languages,”* (2) as *“Centre Stage to Home Language,”* (3) as *“Multilingual Practices Planning and Activity Structuring,”* (4) as *“Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring”*; and finally, in a way of concluding, the presentation will lead to a discussion of (5) *“The Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Language Competence Development”* as informed by Translanguaging as a teaching/learning concept.

6.3.1.1 Teachers’ Perspectives on “Integrated Use of Languages” and Language Competence Development

Under the label of **“Integrated Use of Languages,”** “Codewitching” and “Translation” are subsumed as earlier proposed. However, as has been observed earlier, teachers in the interviews conducted for this study don’t mention these concepts as such, but rather mainly refer to “integration of languages” as **“mixing languages.”**

To report on the teachers' perspectives on the theme of "Translanguaging and Language Competence Development," therefore, I firstly present the teacher respondents' understanding of **"Language in the Classroom and Language Mixing."**

To begin with, it could be stated from the outset that generally teachers in this study view the use of languages in their schools as only **"mixing languages,"** and for them; this mixing is only **a necessary palliative to the impossibility to use languages properly** (viz. for the teacher respondents: without mixing). This overarching theme subsumes at least three arguments put forward to explain this "palliative" use of Codeswitching and Translation.

Firstly, in the teacher respondents' view, Kinyarwanda is **poor**. This theme can firstly be seen in the recurrent complaints such as "Kinyarwanda is so poor that we borrow words, and so it is mixed so much." Also, "technical words [or subject-specific terms] are not available in Kinyarwanda; [so] you have an idea, but no words in Kinyarwanda, and then the other languages come in;" and "because of coming together of many languages, there are Kinyarwanda words that we forget, and we use other words [from other languages] that we hear every day."

Apart from the alleged poverty of Kinyarwanda, another theme relates to the **reason** for "language mixing" or Codeswitching and Translation is, in respondents' views, the **habit** of using different languages and the **circumstances** of their use. Teacher respondents advanced this argument thus: "Because of the history of Rwanda, people lived in different places where different languages are spoken, so that the languages also mix with Kinyarwanda, and that using Kinyarwanda only is not easy." Also "People know English and/or French, [and] because of using these languages, they necessarily bring them in the use of Kinyarwanda," and in fact; "because of being used to different languages mixing them comes spontaneously [and] it is not linked with any intended result;" etc.

Another theme corollary to the above mentioned "palliative mixing of languages" is the impossibility to use **one language** (mainly English) to teach/learn. This theme is substantiated by teacher respondents' remarks to the effect that "students don't understand these [either English or French or Kiswahili] languages;" that "because of many languages, obviously students don't master any;" that "though we teach English, it hasn't taken hold so much because many teachers

had been trained in French [and] then shifted to English;” and that it is now impossible to “teach English, Geography, etc. in English without using Kinyarwanda;” etc.

More ideas in line with the above theme have been expressed for example to the effect that “people are investing much energy in [English] but it is not that well established” to be used alone in the classroom; and that now even “some young teachers are graduating [... but among the courses they are taught] English is just taught as a course [... a]nd a course is not enough to master a language. What these ideas all concur to affirm, therefore, is that; given the language situation in Secondary schools as characterized by vocabulary “poverty” of Kinyarwanda, by the coming together of different languages, and by poor mastery of English, the Language of Instruction; the said languages can only be used **by mixing them**. In other words, languages are necessarily **integrated** for teaching and learning even though, according to the respondents in this study, they should be used **separately**. Finally, teacher respondents in this study didn’t only express this view about language mixing with a general reference to all the languages in their schools. In addition, they also discussed what “**integrated use of languages**” entails with a focus on Kinyarwanda, the teachers’ and students’ Home Language.

6.3.1.2 Teachers’ Perspectives on “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Language Competence Development

This Title subsumes two aspects of Translanguaging as related to the crucial role of the students’ **Home Language** in teaching and learning, namely: “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and “Developmental Use of Translanguaging.” In the paragraphs below, these two aspects of Translanguaging representing respectively; “teachers’ encouragement of students’ use of their Home Language” and “students’ actual use of their Home Language for learning” are considered together.

For a start, it is noteworthy that; broadly speaking and pertinent to the “Centre Stage to Home Language” aspect of Translanguaging; one overarching theme is recurrent. This theme is the “**omnipresence**” of **Kinyarwanda** in the schools’ activities. Indeed, according to the teacher respondents in this study, there is no way they can teach without using Kinyarwanda even though the official language of Instruction is English. In other words, all teacher respondents concur to affirm that Kinyarwanda cannot be superseded in its quality as the Home Language of virtually

all teachers and students and as one of the languages used in Secondary schools to teach and learn.

This appears for example in arguments to the effect that “You can’t teach English, geography, etc. without using Kinyarwanda;” that even in English lessons “Children may not understand a word, [and] then teachers bring in Kinyarwanda and thus children understand;” and that it is recognized even officially that those who teach English are not “Englishmen 100%,” that even though they teach English they are advised to take at least “20% of the time to speak Kinyarwanda.”

Further still, what teachers actually experience is another subsumed argument. Indeed, as teacher respondents remark: When students seem not to understand what they are taught in English, they generally “switch to Kinyarwanda which makes the children understand.” When teachers speak in French, for example, “children will not understand. So [the teachers] use Kinyarwanda.” Also in order to present for example a text some teachers “firstly give the gist of the text in Kinyarwanda.” And even more; when teachers themselves “have difficulties explaining certain things in English, they choose to explain in Kinyarwanda;” and finally, students themselves often ask teachers “to tell them in Kinyarwanda what they don’t understand.”

And remarks such as these don’t only apply to individual teachers. Indeed, teacher respondents’ evaluation of the use of Kinyarwanda in their schools as a whole suggests that “generally the language used is “basically Kinyarwanda to which elements of other languages are added;” that “all the schools use Kinyarwanda, though it has rather become a kind of Kinyafanglais;” and that even some schools which strictly regulate the use of languages allow that “when [students] are not in the context of the school’s office they can use English or Kinyarwanda.”

All things considered then, teachers seem to unanimously agree that Kinyarwanda can’t be superseded if teaching/learning in Secondary schools is to occur. That is why they continually encourage their students to use Kinyarwanda to learn, either indirectly by using it themselves to teach through Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, or by directly asking them to contribute to lessons through Kinyarwanda. That also explains why students themselves constantly resort to Kinyarwanda to accomplish different learning tasks like discussing between themselves about the content of their lessons in or outside of the classroom. In a word; considering the way

languages are **actually** used in the Secondary schools investigated; Kinyarwanda plays a central role in teaching/learning. Whether such preferential use is the result of some sort of deliberate planning is examined next.

6.3.1.3 Teachers' Perspectives on “Multilingual Practices Planning and Activity Structuring” and Language Competence Development

When reflecting on the “Role of Translanguaging in Language Competence Development,” another broad aspect of Translanguaging considered is “Multilingual Practices **Planning** and Activity **Structuring**.” This aspect of Translanguaging suggests that for Translanguaging to really play a role in enhancing [language competence development, it has to be a “deliberate and systematic” (Lewis et al. 2012) process whereby the language(s) of input as well as the language(s) of output are monitored (*see “Input/output: Variations”*); and whereby the teacher plays his role of deliberately planning and structuring the multilingual practices in the classroom (*see “Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging”*).

In the interviews conducted in this study, the teacher respondents had something to say about this aspect of Translanguaging, and the overarching theme conveyed is **the necessity for some order** in the use of languages in schools. Following are the sub-themes they put forward to substantiate this overarching argument.

Inobservance of the Official English/English Input/Output Pattern

As per the 2009 Language in Education Policy in Rwanda, the language of instruction from upper primary school throughout university is English. The official Input/Output language pattern of teaching/learning is thus English/English, but the teacher respondents in this study note that this pattern is not observed, and to substantiate this alleged “**inobservance**,” teacher respondents generally indicated that Input in ““English only”” is simply **unlikely**. One example used to illustrate this is that even in English lessons, input cannot be in English 100%, that some 20% must be reserved to input in Kinyarwanda.

Apart from indicating that “English only” is unlikely, teacher respondents also described **other language arrangements** as being implemented. These arrangements are for example giving notes on subject content in English and explaining in Kinyarwanda or teaching a language using

that very language (e.g.: Teaching French using French), but then; in each case, using Kinyarwanda when students do not understand.

The Most Likely Language of Input: In view of the difficulty with ““English only”” as the language of Input, the ‘linguistic variety’³⁷ for input the respondents indicated to be most frequent is **English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching**, and its use is normally prompted by the students themselves as well as the general situation in the classroom (viz.: “When there is some difficulty, students ask us to tell them in Kinyarwanda”). In other words, the teachers basically know that they must deliver subject content input in English (or in Kinyarwanda, French, and Kiswahili depending on the respective language subjects); but it turns out that the situation of the classroom requires that they use English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching. One teacher testifies:

“For example, I teach literature. It is only English, and there is difficult vocabulary; what is used there is figurative language. If you only speak in English, they will not like it; and they would not understand. Therefore, sometimes I give them the gist in Kinyarwanda.

The Language of Output: That was about Input. Concerning the output, teacher respondents also indicated that “English only” is unlikely, that the language of output is “a mixture” of Kinyarwanda and English. Some remarks to this effect are that “Basically [the language used by students] is Kinyarwanda; a bit of English, but in reality, a mixture;” that “Basically, they [students] all use Kinyarwanda, but it is a distorted Kinyarwanda; that kind of “Kinyafranglais” reported in “*Rwanda Journal of Education*.” In other words, the language of output as the teachers indicate is **Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching**. However, whereas they seem to be resigned to using **English-Kinyarwanda** or **Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching** to teach, teachers don’t seem to accept the students’ “Kinyafranglais” or “distorted Kinyarwanda.” They thus call to some kind of **language use regulation**. Following are the themes formulated in relation to this contention.

One Language at a Time: Concerning the desirable “language use regulation” in schools, teacher respondents opine that if one language is used; let it be that language, not a mixture. Some remarks to that effect run as follows: “Normally if it is Chinese, let it be Chinese; without mixing with Kinyarwanda; if it is English, let it be English, without Kinyarwanda.” Also “If you use French, stay in French; English, stay in English; Kiswahili, the same: [...] keep the talk to a

³⁷ This term is borrowed from Franceschini (2011)

level that the children understand, but refrain from mixing the languages.” Another rather categorical view in this regard says:

“Personally, the use of many languages [in class] should be prohibited. [...] if children write exams in English; they should be taught in English. [...] perhaps try speaking in easy English; if I teach Kiswahili, I teach in Kiswahili, perhaps using easy vocabulary.”

The Language of Exams: The above view brought in an argument hitherto forgotten by the respondents, and it relates to the important theme of the language of exams. Two teachers who brought in this argument explain, as cited above that, since the language of evaluation is ““English only””; teaching should be in ““English only.””

Strict Regulation of Language Use in Schools: From the wish to see one language being used to teach/learn, teacher respondents turned to the necessary measures to ensure that it is done. One teacher expressed this necessity thus:

“People in charge should pass a rule regulating the use of languages, indicating which language to use in which circumstance. So for me there should be a rule in schools to say that children in such or such time should speak this or that language, another time this or that language ... then when they are grown up, they will use them well.

To further stress the necessity for language use regulations, another argument was brought in: That argument is about the purported “efficacy” of such regulations.

Rigor in Language Use Works Well: In suggesting the necessity for the above mentioned regulation, teacher respondents give examples of schools where such regulations rigorously prevail. Such schools are for example one which requires the students to use French. In this school, “teachers can give notes in English, but they explain in French.” [Also ...] when the children need some office service from the school, they have to use French.” Also apart from communication with school administrators using “French only,” English is used for notes on subject content, and Kinyarwanda is used for explanations. These language arrangements, one teacher respondent testified, turn out to work, and the children in these schools get really to know French.

Other schools require their students to use “English only,” and the testimony was that students really get to know English. However, no details about “which language to use when” could be

provided. Teachers also informed that there are other schools which strictly use “English only,” so that children there tend not to know Kinyarwanda. One teacher reported this thus:

“There are parents who forbid their children to speak Kinyarwanda. They enroll their children in schools which speak English or French and they speak to the children in those languages and never in Kinyarwanda. In some schools, children are even punished to speak Kinyarwanda. So, some children are forced to speak “English only”; then when they try to speak Kinyarwanda, they don’t find words.

Broadly, these were perspectives on (1) Integrated Use of the Languages in the students’ repertoire; (2) the necessary “Centre Stage to Kinyarwanda,” the students’ Home Language; and (3) the necessity for Language Use Planning in schools.

To take stock, it seems that teacher respondents in this study generally concur to affirm that “languages don’t fare well” in Secondary schools; that consequently, “language mixing” is inevitably resorted to for Subject Content Learning. Who then decides (or who should decide) the necessary Input/Output language use arrangements is also a question discussed in the interviews? This question in terms of the concept of Translanguaging is as follows: Of the two models of Translanguaging, namely “*Teacher-led*” and “*Pupil-led*” *Translanguaging*, which is actually practiced? The teacher respondents had something to say there too. And what they said points to the following themes pertaining to Classroom Language Arrangements **Planning** and Activity **Structuring** in the context under study.

Ad Hoc Decisions on Language Use: Teacher respondents reported frequent decisions to switch to Kinyarwanda when students experience difficulties understanding their lessons. As earlier cited, decisions are frequently taken as *ad hoc* measure to save situations of understanding difficulties in the classroom. Such situations are for example lessons in subjects which require good knowledge in English (ex.: Literature subject earlier evoked); and the solution as teachers reported is to switch to Kinyarwanda. In such situations, teachers have to act quickly resorting to their imagination and creativity; or they might turn to a more or less handy solution often taken each time the necessity arises. This is what a teacher earlier referred to expresses thus: “If you speak English, they wouldn’t like it; and they wouldn’t understand anything. [...] therefore I give them the gist in Kinyarwanda.” Obviously, this represents the kind of solutions often resorted to from the teacher’s own initiative.

Another kind of solution often resorted to is prompted by students. In this regard, teachers report that “Whatever seems difficult, they ask you to put in Kinyarwanda” or “I write one sentence ... and they ask me to tell them in Kinyarwanda first.” Obviously, this solution was not presented as a novelty either: Both appear to be well known and frequently used. Still, they are only *ad hoc* solutions. They are not the result of **well thought language use planning**. They are good solutions at the moment they occur, but they don’t make up for the **planning defect**. Translanguaging in the context under study, therefore, is basically an **unplanned practice**.

6.3.1.4 Teachers’ Perspectives on “Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring” and Language Competence Development

After considering Translanguaging as (1) “Integrated Use of Languages,” as (2) “Centre Stage to Home Language” and as (3) “Planning and Activity Structuring,” another important aspect is Translanguaging as (4) “Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring.” This aspect concerns the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” and it relates to the observation that some subject areas lend themselves to the practice of Translanguaging more than others.

During interviews with teachers in this study, not many remarks were made about this aspect as the tendency was rather to stress the reality that generally lessons are conducted in English-Kinyarwanda for input and Kinyarwanda-English for output; and the suggestion was that this pattern is practiced in practically all lessons. In other words, teachers generally didn’t make any comparative frequency appraisal; what they did was to note its “omnipresence” as mentioned earlier.

Besides this pervasive remark that Translanguaging was practiced in all lessons; another remark concerns the teacher respondents’ expressed **disapproval of the practice**. Indeed, while respondents persistently report that the practice is omnipresent, they also suggested that it is not good that it should be practiced. That is basically what they meant through remarks like: “So perhaps the people in charge would request that people to speak Kinyarwanda when they set out to speak Kinyarwanda; if it is English let them speak English;” or “Be sure that if you are speaking Kinyarwanda, you are using only Kinyarwanda; if you are speaking English, speak English.”

In addition, while these remarks are made in a way to suggest an alternative of how languages should be used; **failure to learn and know languages is also highlighted**, and it is **blamed on the omnipresent “mixing of languages.”** Thus, while laments about “deteriorated Kinyarwanda” among the students are expressed, teacher respondents associate the plight of the language with the students “mixing of languages.” Thus for example when asked which language students mainly use, one teacher respondents exclaimed: “A mixture! Basically it is Kinyarwanda; a bit of English, but in reality, a mixture.” In a sense, this sounded like saying “no language,” and the suggestion is that “language mixing” is to blame for this. The question was no longer of which subject practices Translanguaging more/or less than others; but rather, of how Translanguaging (viz.: “Language Mixing” for respondents) could be removed. Thus one teacher respondent strongly suggested that it should be **prohibited** right away. Thus, “Subject-determined Translanguag” as an “appraisal and monitoring” aspect of Translanguaging was out of question.

What then, by way of concluding, does attitude toward Translanguaging, along with the other aspects of Translanguaging earlier discussed (Integrated Use of Languages, Center Stage to Home Language, Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring) suggest? Simply, teachers and students find themselves practicing Translanguaging because there is no other way it can happen as long as there are many languages; **but they don’t know the pedagogic value of the practice.** Thus, the problems rightfully lamented are not due to the practice of Translanguaging *per se*; rather they are due to **uninformed practice** of the construct of Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice. As Canagarajah (2010) has pertinently suggested, Translanguaging is not an ability of which all language users are endowed; it has to be taught if teachers and students are to reap the fruits produced by that wonderful tree. On this note, I leave focus in this analysis on the concept of Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice and turn to a consideration of what the practice entails specifically for **Language Competence in academic contexts.**

6.3.2 Data on HOW Translanguaging Enhances Language Competence Development: Analysis and Presentation as Informed by the Theory of Language Proficiency in Academic Contexts

BICS (Basic Interactional Conversation Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) are the two interrelated and yet distinct concepts proposed by Cummins (1979, 1999) to characterize Language Competence in academic contexts. Here below, development of these Language Competence aspects is discussed in turn with regard to “Integrated Use of Languages,” “Centre Stage to Home Language,” “Language Integration and Activity Structuring,” and ‘Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring.’

6.3.2.1 Data on How Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages” Enhances Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

Cummins’ (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency bears definition of two constructs necessary for language use in the Academic Context, namely: Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS). In the interviews for this study, however, teachers didn’t specifically refer to these constructs in their contribution of ideas on the nature of Language Competence in the academic context of their schools. Rather, what seems to have been their preoccupation in defining this competence was what they termed **“mixture of languages”** as opposed to **“separate use of languages.”** Thus concerning “Language Mixing,” teachers described their students’ general lack of Language Competence in terms like: “All the students can do with languages is mixing them,” or for students to understand lessons, “it requires that we mix the languages,” or “students don’t know English; but even though they mix it with other languages, still English dominates that mixture; so much that they might know English.” or “Kinyarwanda is poor, so we borrow words from other languages, so that we mix a lot.”

In view of all these remarks, it seems clear that teachers hold negative ideas about Language Competence in many languages because people use these languages by mixing them. Criteria for describing Language Competence in the academic context thus seem to be encapsulated in the following quote:

“Also, when one decides to speak Kinyarwanda, let it be Kinyarwanda only: [...] if I shift to Kinyarwanda while teaching English, let it be so.

Language Competence in the context of the teacher respondents’ views in this study, therefore, doesn’t seem to be a matter of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) as opposed to

Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS). Rather, it seems that the major preoccupation in this context is “Separate Use of Languages” versus “Language Mixing,” the implication that the latter is lack of competence and the former is the desirable Competence in the context under study.

6.3.2.2 Data on HOW Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” Enhances Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

Apart from “language mixing” which was generally blamed in the present study by teacher respondents for lack of Language Competence, another alleged obstacle to this Competence in the schools investigated is overuse of Kinyarwanda, the teachers’ and students’ Home Language. Indeed, whereas, as elaborated above, Kinyarwanda is described as “**omnipresent**” in the school activities, it is not viewed as contributing to Language Competence in this particular context. Rather, teachers seem to view it as the main cause of the inability to use English, the official language of instruction. Indeed, in the first place, teacher respondents present Kinyarwanda as the “matrix language” (Myers-Scotton 1993) to which elements of other languages are added, the result being that the language students mainly practice at school is:

“A mixture! Basically it is Kinyarwanda: A bit of English, but in reality, a mixture.” Also, “basically, all [the students] use Kinyarwanda, but it is the distorted Kinyarwanda,” and “now, they don’t know any language”; “not even Kinyarwanda! They don’t know it; children don’t know any Kinyarwanda!”

What this means in substance is that teachers don’t have leisure to focus on a consideration of Cummins’ (1979, 1999) characterization of Language Competence in the academic context as a matter of Basic Interactional Conversation Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). Rather it seems, in the first place, their preoccupation is **what kind of knowledge students need, and of which language**. As one teacher explains, “in fact the problem [is not one of...] many languages: “The problem is we actually don’t know any of all of them: We don’t master any **so that we could speak without mixing it with others!**” In other words, whereas Translanguaging posits that “Integrated Use of Languages” is the ideal way of using languages for learning; in this context, it is decried as causing the perceived problems of Language Competence in Secondary school. Also whereas, Translanguaging strongly recommends that the Home Language of the students should occupy the “Centre Stage” of the

whole learning process; in this context, Kinyarwanda (“distorted!”) the Home Language of virtually all the students is viewed as being overused. Definitely, this signals some problem in the practice of Translanguaging which is otherwise and elsewhere proving promising both for Subject Content Learning (see Chapter 5) and for Language Competence Development.

6.3.2.3 Data on How Translanguaging as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” Enhances Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

Planning in any enterprise is of paramount importance. In the case of Translanguaging, the understanding in this study is that “Integrated Use of Languages” should judiciously effected; and that this needs to be harmonized with the role of the students’ Home Language. Also, it is proposed that this judicious planning might be effected through conducive “Input/Output patterns and that the teacher should play his role in this planning. *“Input/Output: Variations”* and *“Teacher-led/pupil-led”* are thus the concepts particularly concerned here. In the interviews for this study, teacher respondents informed that the predominant language of Input is English-Kinyarwanda thus:

- (1) “We can’t teach English, geography, etc. “in English” without using Kinyarwanda;
- (2) “I write one sentence ... and they ask me to tell them in Kinyarwanda first.
- (3) “Whatever seems to be difficult, they say: “Tell us in Kinyarwanda!”
- (4) “Children [may] complete their studies without being able to speak English or Kinyarwanda, because in all they were taught, they were (and their teachers were) mixing languages.

As these accounts suggest, generally the “linguistic variety” used for input is English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching (1). The way this “linguistic variety” is chosen, however, is not deliberately chosen by the teacher with a certain purpose in mind. Rather, it is prompted by the communication needs of the moment (2, 3). There is no wonder that the result is uncertain, the children may not profit (4) from the good in Translanguaging since it is practiced in an unplanned manner, judging from the way the language of input is chosen.

From the point of view of the output too, there are similar problems as the teacher respondents inform. “All [students] can do is speaking a mixture of languages!” the teacher respondents

complain. “The language they know now is a mixture.” “Currently, it seems they don’t want to tire themselves: They think that they can use whatever is handy (= *bapfa kuvuga ikibabangukiye*)” etc. Again, there doesn’t seem to be any choice of a language of output as guided by a certain purpose.

In a word, there doesn’t seem to be any clear planning, neither for the language of input nor for the language of output. This might be the major defect in the practice.

6.3.2.4 Data on How Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” Enhances Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

As research into the practice of Translanguaging has shown; some areas of study tend to practice Translanguaging more than others, and this represents the idea in the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” which has been proposed in this study as representing the “broad concept” of Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages.” Thus for example, in Wales where the concept of Translanguaging originated from, “Arts” subjects seemed to adhere to the practice of Translanguaging more than other areas of study (Lewis et al. 2012). However, in the context under study, a different tendency was observed whereby “Mathematics & Science” subjects appear to practice Translanguaging more than the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study.

In the present study, teacher respondents contributed ideas related to “Subject-determined Translanguaging” which don’t point to any area of study as more inclined to practice Translanguaging than others. Rather, generally they suggest that Translanguaging is practiced across all areas of study and in all levels of study. Thus remarks like: “Students ask you to tell you in Kinyarwanda when there is something they don’t understand” don’t seem to point to any area of study. Even more, whereas the analysis of lesson observation data has shown the tendency for the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study to practice less Translanguaging than “Mathematics & Science,” the teachers still seem to suggest that even in these areas of study it is practiced considerably since it was even recommended to them during English teacher training sessions. Even though no detailed appraisal of the practice of Translanguaging in different subject areas, therefore, it could be said that teacher respondents affirm that

Translanguaging as “multilingual practice is a common practice in all lessons and levels of study.

6.3.3 Data on HOW Translanguaging Enhances Language Competence Development: Analysis and Presentation as Informed by the Franceschini’s (2011) Theory of Multicompetence

As earlier explained Franceschini’s (2011) concept of Multicompetence is about ‘ability to use the appropriate linguistic variety for the appropriate occasion (Franceschini 2011: 351).’ In the multilingual context of this study, what this entails is that mastery of Kinyarwanda and English might be necessary for an individual to be able to use (1) Kinyarwanda with Kinyarwanda monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions; (2) English with English monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions; and (3) Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching with Kinyarwanda and English multilingual speakers in multilingual contexts and multilingual occasions. How the practice of Translanguaging is likely to help in acquiring the “appropriate linguistic variety” for these occasions is discussed below.

6.3.3.1 Data on How Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages” Enhances Multicompetence Development

In earlier analyses, it was virtually invariably established that Multilingual Practices in the context under study feature extensive use of English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching in all levels of study and in nearly all subjects³⁸. As a corollary, again all data sources appear to have concurred on the fact that the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the same context are used rather minimally in the sense that many times when they are used, the tendency is for the students to integrate these languages in the form of Codeswitching “linguistic variety.” Thus, as teacher respondents affirm, “children run the risk to complete their Secondary school studies speaking neither Kinyarwanda nor English properly”; but rather, using the two languages only in Codeswitching “because in most of the things they are taught, they are likely to mix” the two languages. In terms of “Multicompetence,” therefore, Translanguaging is

³⁸ Only three lessons out of 22 observed (one of the two Mathematics 3rd Year lessons observed, Biology 3rd Year, and History & Citizenship 3rd Year) were found to use Codeswitching minimally.

empowering students for communication through Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching with Kinyarwanda and English multilingual speakers in multilingual contexts and multilingual occasions. Conversely, the same practice might be, at the same time, doing disservice to communication through Kinyarwanda with Kinyarwanda monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions. In other words, in terms of Multicompetence; Translanguaging as practiced in this context is offering opportunities for communication empowerment only in one aspect of Multicompetence, namely: Kinyarwanda-English and English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching.

6.3.3.2 Data on HOW Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” Enhances Multicompetence Development

“Centre Stage to Home Language” in this study refers to Kinyarwanda, the Home Language (First Language, Mother Tongue) of virtually all teachers and students in this study. What this “Centre Stage” or place of choice entails in the context of Translanguaging is that; as research has widely demonstrated; the Home Language of the students happens to be the most appropriate language of Instruction (e.g.: UNESCO 1953). In the context under study, this is good news since, as has been ascertained in this study, Kinyarwanda is “**omnipresent**” in the students’ academic activities. However, the teacher respondents in this study present another side of the coin. Following are some of their comments:

“Currently when children attempt to write Kinyarwanda, they (children) now write things mixed with English, and with unknown words like *kuyoka*, *imyako*...” Also now, more and more “Kinyarwanda is so mixed with English, French, and Kiswahili,” and the “Original Kinyarwanda words are more and more replaced by English.” “More and more students don’t know how to write Kinyarwanda” and in fact, “they don’t know any Kinyarwanda,” etc.

These comments are made against the backdrop of alleged “**omnipresence**” omnipresence of Kinyarwanda in the students’ academic activities. And yet, they seem to suggest that the good in the said “**omnipresence**” in the students’ academic life is mitigated; and the whole issue is that it means still more students’ Codeswitching use; that Kinyarwanda itself is “menaced;” that it is “losing its [beautiful] feathers (=kirapfuka amababa) as one teacher respondent metaphorically put it. Some teacher respondents even purport that some schools might be forbidding the use of

the language, while others assert that some parents might be preventing their children from learning it to concentrate more on English.

In a nutshell, “students” Kinyarwanda is regressing, the teacher respondents suggest, while Kinyarwanda-English and English-Kinyarwanda is prospering. In terms of “Multicompetence;” whereas this development is good for communication through Codeswitching, it might be, in the long run, doing disservice to communication through Kinyarwanda with Kinyarwanda monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions. In other words, the Translanguaging in the context under study is a biased practice, and it is working in favor of “Kinyarwanda-English linguistic variety” to the detriment of Kinyarwanda and English. In that way, it might be preventing the development of a fully-fledged Multicompetence as befits the context under study.

6.3.3.3 Data on How Translanguaging as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” Enhances Multicompetence Development

For any enterprise to prosper, as earlier recalled, planning is a crucial prerequisite. Yet, as already established, Translanguaging as practiced in the context under study is lacking in terms of planning, and thus; the Kinyarwanda difficulties described above could be (almost) unmistakably blamed on the unpredictability of virtually all the Translanguaging activities in the classroom. Indeed, as the teacher respondents assert, they switch to Kinyarwanda whenever their students seem not to understand what they are trying to tell them; when the students don’t understand something, they often ask their teachers to stop using English and “tell them in Kinyarwanda”; when a teacher attempts to deal with difficult content through English, such endeavors are resisted by students who “wouldn’t like it,” etc. In a word, such whimsicalities and many more are likely to frustrate any English language use exemplars which would otherwise be followed for practice and Language Competence Development. In terms of “Multicompetence,” therefore, Translanguaging practiced in an unplanned manner amid unstructured Translanguaging activities might be, in the long run, doing disservice to communication through English with English monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions.

6.3.3.4 Data on How Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” Enhances Multicompetence Development

“Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” is yet another aspect of Translanguaging proposed in this study. It includes the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging,” and in the sense of this concept, it points to the necessity for efficient Translanguaging to regularly pause and ponder the best way to reach one’s educational targets through the practice.

In this regard, an appraisal of Translanguaging in different subjects on the curriculum has shown that the “Mathematics and Science” area of study in the context under study adheres to the practice more than the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study. However, what this “Mathematics and Science” preference for the practice means, should not be mistaken for a lack of influence from Translanguaging as practiced in these other areas of study. Indeed, the teacher respondents in this study, who in majority happen to be from the “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study, make the following general observation irrespective of the students’ area of study:

“Students don’t get to know them [the languages]”; “generally, languages don’t fare well;” and the guilty party is the “generalized habit of mixing the languages” [mainly English and Kinyarwanda].

What this seems to suggest is that teacher respondents making a general appraisal of “Multilingual Practices” in their schools are dissatisfied by its performance in terms of Language Competence Development.” Indeed, what they refer to as “mixing languages” is still in the dock, charged with causing damage to the “Kinyarwanda linguistic variety” among students; making it difficult for them to develop competence in the “English linguistic variety;” and contributing to a biased development of the Kinyarwanda-English/English-Kinyarwanda linguistic variety.” In terms of Multicompetence, therefore, appraisal and monitoring of Translanguaging as practiced in the context of this study is blamed for potentially (1) doing disservice to ability development for communication through Kinyarwanda with Kinyarwanda monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions; (2) doing disservice to ability development for communication through English with English monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions; and (3) favoring ability development for communication through Kinyarwanda-English and English-Kinyarwanda with Kinyarwanda and English multilingual speakers in multilingual contexts and multilingual occasions.

6.4 HOW TRANSLANGUAGING ENHANCES LANGUAGE COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT: EVIDENCE FROM INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS

As hitherto analyzed and presented, the interview data were examined with a focus on Teachers' views on the role of Translanguaging in enhancing Language Competence Development. Also, to ascertain HOW **Language Competence Development** is enhanced, the question to answer was HOW teacher respondents view the practice of Translanguaging as an opportunity for the students to **experience and practice “appropriate” language use** in all subjects on the curriculum.

In this Sub-section, the focus turns to Students' Perspectives on the same theme, and the data are interrogated with the same question in mind. Thus, HOW students view the practice of Translanguaging as offering them opportunities to experience and practice “appropriate” language use is examined. Still as laid out in the “Frame of Data Analysis and Presentation” proposed at the outset of this Chapter; the analysis is successively guided by the theories of Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012); Language Competence (Cummins 1979, 1999), and Multicompetence (Franceschini 2011).

6.4.1 Data on HOW Translanguaging Enhances Language Competence Development: Analysis and Presentation as Informed by the Concept of Translanguaging

In virtue of the concept of Translanguaging as developed in the literature and as actually practiced in the context under study, the students' perspectives are analyzed and presented by focusing successively on Translanguaging (1) as “*Integration of Languages*,” (2) as “*Centre Stage to Home Language*,” (3) as “*Multilingual Practices Planning and Activity Structuring*,” (4) as “*Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring*,” and finally; in a way of concluding; the presentation will lead to a discussion of (5) “*The Role of Translanguaging in Enhancing Language Competence Development*” as informed by Translanguaging as a teaching/learning concept.

6.4.1.1 Data on How Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages” Enhances Language Competence Development

In this discussion, “Integration of Languages” refers to “*Codewitching*” and “*Translation*” as the two aspects of Translanguaging related to the very “act of integrated use of languages,” and students describe their Codeswitching and Translation practices quite extensively. Thus the first theme which appears in their description is the **omnipresence of Codeswitching and Translation**. Some of the students’ perspectives in this regard are as follows:

- (1) “When we use all these languages we mix them;
- (2) “In fact we speak Kinyarwanda and we put in English;
- (3) “Even when we learn Kinyarwanda, we sometimes use English;
- (4) “The French teacher uses French and English and we often mix
- (5) “In other lessons they use English, but also Kinyarwanda: They mix;

Broadly speaking, that is how students present their use of languages at school. When they use the languages in their repertoire, they generally mix them (1), even though in fact, the mixture is primarily Kinyarwanda to which elements of other languages are added (2). And this is not only outside the classroom; even in lessons the languages are integrated, and this occurs in practically all subjects, including language subjects like Kinyarwanda (3) and French (4); and in all the other subjects such as Geography or Mathematics (5). Briefly, “integrated language use” is a reality at school. Indeed,

- (6) “In class we use English and Kinyarwanda, or another language we are learning; in fact we mix the languages;

And generally

- (7) “Here at school, we mix the languages, but we mainly use Kinyarwanda; in fact, it is Kinyarwanda and other languages, mainly English and for some students, French;

Given this “omnipresence” then, what is the students’ attitude toward “integrated use” of the languages in their repertoire? Here, as the data indicate, there seems to be an **insidious sense of guilt** in way students view their own use of their languages. Underpinning this “sense of guilt” is firstly the idea that, yes, they mix the languages, but they shouldn’t mix them. This kind of dilemma appears for example in apologetic justifications of their multilingual practices:

- (1) “We put in these words because there are words we don’t have in Kinyarwanda;
- (2) “You use those languages to fill where you miss a word

(3) “Because there are words we don’t have in our language, we use words from other languages

As transpires in these quotes, students seem to suggest that “integrated use of languages” is only the result of deficiencies in one’s own languages in terms of vocabulary or otherwise, and this might be true sometimes. However, another pertinent idea is that the way these languages are learnt might sometimes be problematic as expressed below,

“Sometimes you speak and you feel you no longer have anything to say. Sometimes you want to give an idea in Kinyarwanda, but because of the languages we learn which make us “chronic” little by little; we sometimes don’t find words, [don’t know] how to explain in Kinyarwanda; then we directly bring in the other languages.

As this extract suggests, the way students learn languages might reduce, rather than, increase their “Language Competence Development” to the extent that they might lose their ability to use Kinyarwanda; and this goes with a kind of self accusation, wrongly viewing oneself as the cause of the communication difficulty (the languages we learn make us “chronic”).

From there then, there are also “alleged” damages blamed on integrated use of languages (or multilingual practices) such as Codeswitching and Translation. This is how it happens:

(1) “It has become rare for us to use languages and use only those languages. Rather we mix them with Kinyarwanda; [and indeed]

(2) “It is not rare; it has become impossible: The reason it is impossible,... without words from other languages? Impossible, “*never kabisa*” because the things we talk about here at school are related to lessons, and these lessons are not in Kinyarwanda [...] thus everything gets mixed; you don’t find words in Kinyarwanda any more.

As can be seen in these extracts, students definitely condemn multilingual practices for the losses incurred by Kinyarwanda,

“In that case we feel our Kinyarwanda is regressing; in fact mixing all the time makes us forget Kinyarwanda language words; then we tend to go to the other languages and thus it regresses;

And apparently, this is not the only loss; as the students in this study suggest, multilingual practices might be a threat to knowledge of English as well. Indeed,

“Like now, when we speak to them [children] in Kinyarwanda, to be able to make them understand something, we must put a little English; and the old people don’t

understand. And in the coming days, [...] you will find that it is neither English nor Kinyarwanda.

In other words, according to the students in this study, multilingual practices may be developed to such an extent that, in the long run, the two languages involved are no longer recognizable. Therefore, to the question whether **“Extensive Integrated Use” of different** languages in the context under study contributes to offering students **opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” use of languages**, the answer seems clear. According to the student respondents in this study, languages (particularly Kinyarwanda and English) are **inexorably** mixed, and thus; it is becoming difficult to say or explain certain things in Kinyarwanda; and it might also be difficult to learn English. What might be developed instead would be a language which is neither Kinyarwanda nor English, a “Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching variety,” and this would be likely to counter efforts to develop multilingualism in Rwanda through Secondary school Education.

6.4.1.2 Data on HOW Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” Enhances Language Competence Development

As earlier defined “Centre Stage to Home Language” refers to the concepts of “Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding” and “Developmental Use of Translanguaging,” and both these concepts refer to the role of the students’ Home Language in learning. For ease of presentation, both these concepts are discussed together. Thus, drawing on earlier findings in Chapter 4, I approach the data on Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” by capitalizing on the fact that students in the context under study are extensively encouraged to draw on their skills developed in Kinyarwanda, and that more particularly; they widely use their **listening and speaking skills** in Kinyarwanda; and that **they rarely use reading and writing skills** developed in that language.

In this sub-section, I interrogate the interview data with student participants to ascertain what this extensive encouragement of students’ use of Kinyarwanda and their actual extensive resort to it entail.

The first theme identified in this regard is that, as documented in the data, students tremendously depend on Kinyarwanda for learning, and they are strongly encouraged by their teachers. This is

apparent in the many ways they resort to Kinyarwanda in their academic work in the lessons with the teacher; in revising their notes and reflecting on the content of their lessons; and even in doing their homework and quizzes. Thus, with regard to teachers' encouragement, student respondents indicate that generally, when teachers teach different subjects, they also use Kinyarwanda.

This happens particularly when something is difficult for the students to understand; when the teacher sees that there is a problem of understanding English; when the students themselves ask a question in Kinyarwanda, etc. In all these cases, the teachers use Kinyarwanda to make them understand, and sometimes they repeat in English for reinforcement. Visibly then, teachers extensively resort to Kinyarwanda in their teaching and this represents a very strong encouragement for the students to use it themselves.

And indeed the students use Kinyarwanda extensively in their learning as they still report. In this regard, students use Kinyarwanda to understand other subjects as they are normally taught in English; and when they try to express themselves in English, any difficulty is solved through Kinyarwanda as one student explains:

- (1) "Sometimes when we speak English we use Kinyarwanda when we come across something we don't know in English;

And Kinyarwanda doesn't only help in spaces where students need to communicate with teachers and classmates. Even when on their own trying to understand their lessons; when doing their homework or doing a quiz; etc. they constantly pass through Kinyarwanda as they report. Indeed, as the following extracts show, Kinyarwanda is almost everything for them

- (1) "When they give us for example an exercise in English, we first try to understand it in Kinyarwanda;
- (2) "We understand English, but not everything, so we also use Kinyarwanda in those circumstances;
- (3) "Kinyarwanda is important for understanding because when for example you are doing a homework, you ask somebody to tell you in Kinyarwanda. So you first understand in Kinyarwanda, then you put it in English;

Briefly, students really draw so much on Kinyarwanda for learning; and perhaps to conclude these remarks about students' use of their Home Language, it is useful to note that the above

mentioned dependence is also visible in the way students define the concepts of “knowing” and “understanding.” This is how one of student respondent differentiates the two concepts.

(1) “If you don’t understand (suggesting that understanding is getting the meaning in Kinyarwanda); it is like you answer in Kinyarwanda but you put it in English; but this is not done by everybody: Those who understand English, because they are perhaps used to using it, they answer in English, otherwise for some, to understand is a problem, so they pass through Kinyarwanda to understand;

As this quote seems to suggest, to know and to understand are two different things. When the students learn in English, they know. But when they learn in English and Kinyarwanda, they understand. To learn in two languages, therefore, is better than learning in one language. But what this information in this particular context seems to suggest is the likelihood that students might just stay to that: Knowledge expressed in English; understanding the knowledge in Kinyarwanda; and understood in this: difficulties understanding English, and difficulties expressing knowledge in Kinyarwanda, and on top of that, as earlier seen while dealing with extensive use of Codeswitching, everyday communication in Codeswitching. The question remains, therefore, where students in this case really have an **opportunity for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use in English**, whether in English, Kinyarwanda, or Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching.

6.4.1.3 Data on How Translanguaging as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” Enhances Language Competence Development

Another broad aspect of Translanguaging considered is “Multilingual Practices **Planning** and Activity **Structuring**.” It refers to the fact that for Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice to enhance learning, it has to be a classroom “deliberate and systematic (Lewis et al. (2012)” multilingual practice. It subsumes two concepts, namely: “*Input/output: Variations*” and “*Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging*.” To examine the data on Translanguaging as “Multilingual Practices Planning and Activity Structuring,” therefore, I firstly recall the earlier findings on these concepts.

As earlier established in Chapter 4 and continually reiterated in subsequent analyses, the predominant input/output pattern in all levels of study is English and English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching for **input**, and Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching for

output, with a slight difference in “Mathematics and Science” subjects where the language for **input/output** pattern is English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING; and rather rarely, English/Kinyarwanda. On the other hand, concerning “*Teacher-led/pupil-led Translanguaging*,” it was established that teachers’ Translanguaging is NOT **deliberately planned and structured**; that the predominant resort to English-Kinyarwanda CODESWITCHING/Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING in the classroom is rather due mainly to students’ limited understanding of lessons conducted in English, and sometimes to teachers’ genuine need to deliver the content freely drawing on all their linguistic resources.

In this Sub-section, data obtained from in-depth interviews with student respondents in this study confirm both the above input/output pattern and the **lack** of deliberately planned and structured Translanguaging in the context under study as attested to by the following quotes from students’ views.

Thus concerning the predominant Input/Output pattern, students inform that the languages which teachers use to teach are English and Kinyarwanda, that sometimes these languages are “mixed” (see Codeswitching), and that other times they are used separately. To explain this last pattern of language use in class by teachers for example, one student recounts:

- (1) “In English lessons, they speak English; then they also put in Kinyarwanda because they want us to understand

As can be seen in this quote, the language of Input in lessons in the contest under study is not only English as per the official language-in-education policy. Even in English lessons Kinyarwanda is also used, and thus, as students inform, the predominant language of Input is English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching.

On the other hand, concerning the language(s) for Output, students also give the following information on the languages they use for their participation in lessons as follows;

- (1) “In fact the languages we use in class are Kinyarwanda and English;
- (2) “In fact even though other languages come in [viz.: in our talk], we mainly use Kinyarwanda;
- (3) “And when we speak Kinyarwanda, we also use English words;

(4) We can ask a question in Kinyarwanda in class, and they answer in Kinyarwanda and directly in English

As these quotes suggest, students are supposed to participate in lessons in English but, in reality they use both Kinyarwanda and English, and the tendency is that they use more Kinyarwanda than English for their participation in lessons. Also, as the above quotes suggest, the way these languages are used is through Codeswitching, either “intrasententially” (2, 3) whereby words from the two languages are mixed in the same sentence; or “intersententially” (4) whereby alternation of languages occur at the discourse level. The language of **output**, as student respondents informs therefore is, Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching.

And this concerns all areas of study. Indeed, as illustrated below, even in language lessons this output pattern obtains.

(1) “Sometimes we speak Kinyarwanda in English class: For example when we forget a word; you can’t invent what you don’t know, you use Kinyarwanda, and this happens very often.

From this discussion as a whole, what transpires from students’ description of their use of languages in class is that teachers don’t use “English only” to teach, and that they themselves don’t use “English only” either to participate in lessons. Therefore, the officially requested English/English Input/Output doesn’t occur, the predominant Input/Output pattern is English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda, and sometimes English/Kinyarwanda.

Concerning now the question of **deliberate and systematic** language use **planning** and activity **structuring**, students also contributed informative views as appears in the following quotes:

- (1) “There are no specific instructions on how we must use the different languages; we use the one which is handy (= *urukubangukiye*)
- (2) “Our English is very poor, because there is no rule to use Kinyarwanda or English, we use whatever language we want;
- (3) “You may be presenting in the classroom, then you find an idea for which you don’t find a word in English and you use Kinyarwanda because it is easier
- (4) “We put in these words because there are words we don’t have in Kinyarwanda;
- (5) “We use Kinyarwanda and English because we understand English but it is not enough, so we resort to Kinyarwanda.

As these quotes show, there are no specific instructions regarding the use of languages in the context under study. Students use the language which is handy (1) depending the needs of the

moment; or simply loosely use whichever language comes in mind (2) and in fact; what this means is that moving back and forth from Kinyarwanda to English and from English to Kinyarwanda, is a kind of “refuge seeking” strategy. For any difficulty of expression or for a lack of will to make effort; the solution is to seek refuge in the other language. And the root cause might be the lack of **Translanguaging planning** and **multilingual activity structuring** which eventually would result in a lack of “competence security” in either English or Kinyarwanda which should be sought after in any educational program. It differs from the natural navigation between the languages that one uses as resources: It is likely to be a stopgap solution; and it is likely to result in a biased development of the Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching “linguistic variety” to the detriment of both the Kinyarwanda and English “linguistic varieties.”

As for the reason behind the teachers’ choice of the language of Input, the same detrimental development obtains. Following are some student respondents’ views on teachers’ choice of Input:

- (1) “When we don’t understand, teachers explain to us in Kinyarwanda;
- (2) “They [teachers] use Kinyarwanda when we don’t understand something;

As both these quotes seem to suggest, there is no other reason for the teachers to navigate between English and Kinyarwanda but the need to make students understand their lessons. This is understandable since not all teachers are expected to teach languages and it is a noble motivation to try every possible means to help students’ understanding. However, like in the case of Output discussed above, it is also a stopgap solution which again is likely to result in a biased development of English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching “linguistic variety” to the detriment of both English and Kinyarwanda “linguistic varieties.” Indeed, whereas a condition for the likely development of different “linguistic varieties” in the context under study was hypothesized to be the **availability of opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use in all subjects of the curriculum**, the big question posed here is HOW the lack of Translanguaging planning and multilingual activity structuring is likely to avail the above mentioned language learning “opportunities.”

6.4.1.4 Data on How Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” for Enhances Language Competence Development

Another important aspect of Translanguaging considered lastly is “Translanguaging as Multilingual Practices Appraisal and Monitoring.” This aspect of Translanguaging refers to the concept of “Subject-determined Translanguaging” and it is about the observation that some subjects tend to resort to Translanguaging more than others.

As established in earlier analyses, observation and appraisal of the practice of Translanguaging **in all subject areas** in the context of this study showed a pronounced predilection for the practice of Translanguaging in “Mathematics and Science” area of study, followed in the trend by the “Humanities” area of study, whereas the “Languages” area of study shows the least inclination for the practice of Translanguaging.

In the in-depth interviews held with student respondents in this study; this differential tendency across “Mathematics and Science,” “Humanities,” and “Languages” areas of study, was confirmed, and the first theme developed in this regard is that in areas of study like “Mathematics and Science” it is rather impossible to speak Kinyarwanda only. Following are terms in which students explain this impossibility.

- (1) “Sometimes you can’t find an appropriate word in Kinyarwanda. In Mathematics [for example] words like *integral*, *vector*, *delta*, *cosinus*... no words for these in Kinyarwanda
- (2) “The reason? ... It is impossible! ... Without words from other languages? Impossible! *“Never kabisa!”* Because the things we talk about here at school are related to lessons, and we don’t learn these lessons in Kinyarwanda. For example you may say “you use a computer ... so “computer...” then everything gets mixed!
- (3) “[Thus], in Mathematics, chemistry, ... in a bid to make people see clearly and feel at home with the lesson, the teacher can use a language which students understand, Kinyarwanda or English, taking into account what suits you all;

These comments seem to be self explanatory: In “Mathematics and Science” subjects, some subject-related terms make it impossible to not to mix Kinyarwanda and English. This seems to explain clearly the aforementioned predilection for Translanguaging in this area of study. At the same time, however, Translanguaging occurs in other areas of study. Indeed, as the following quotes show, it is practiced in all areas of study, but perhaps to a lesser extent, and sometimes in “Languages subjects” to a very low extent.

- (1) “In class we use English and Kinyarwanda, or another language we are learning;
- (2) “Even when we learn Kinyarwanda, we sometimes use English;

- (3) “No instructions, we use languages as they “come,” but in the classroom, you can’t use Kinyarwanda in a lesson of Kiswahili or English for example;
- (4) “When we are learning French, Kiswahili,... we don’t answer in English;
- (5) “So in languages it [the use of different languages] is rare, but in other subjects it is frequent.

Broadly, that is the tendency to differentially adhere to the practice of Translanguaging in different areas of study. As student respondents in this study confirm, it is practically impossible not to use at least both English and Kinyarwanda in “Mathematics and Science” subjects. On the contrary, in the “Humanities” subjects there is a tendency to use different languages to a lesser degree; and definitely, the “Languages” area of study tends to tap the different linguistic resources minimally. From this then, the big question which begs for an answer is as follows: If as one student respondent suggests “everything gets mixed” because it is **impossible** (“never [possible] *kabisa!*”) to use Kinyarwanda in “Mathematics & Science” subjects because of the subject-specific terms, HOW is the use of languages in “Mathematics and Science” subjects likely to contribute to availing to the students **opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use, not merely in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching**, but also **in Kinyarwanda and in English**? On the other hand, if Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice is more and more recognized to be a most efficient strategy for Language Competence Development, HOW the low adherence to the practice in “Languages” subjects likely to contribute to availing to the students **opportunities for experiencing and practicing “appropriate” language use, in Kinyarwanda, in English, and in Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching?**

6.4.2 Data on HOW Translanguaging Enhances Language Competence Development: Analysis and Presentation as Informed the Theory of Language Proficiency in the Academic Context

As elaborated in the proposed Theoretical Framework in Chapter 2 of this study, one of the targets for Language Competence Development is a general knowledge of language(s) characterized by both Basic Interactional Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) as proposed in Cummins’ (1979, 1999) Theory of Language Proficiency. On the other hand, as still mentioned in the Theoretical Framework, the practice of

Translanguaging must aim, among other things, to contribute to fully-fledged development of Language Competence in the academic context.

In this Sub-section, I analyze the data from interviews with the student respondents to ascertain HOW they view Translanguaging as enabling/hindering the attainment of this target in the context under study.

6.4.2.1 Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages” and Students’ Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

To examine the opportunities offered to students through “Integrated Use of Languages,” suffice it to give a few examples of HOW students describe the models of language they are exposed to in their daily academic activities.

- (1) “Here at school, we mix them [the languages], but we mainly use Kinyarwanda, but it is Kinyarwanda and other languages, mainly English and for some French;
- (2) The way we use them is mixing; outside and in the classroom (e.g.: *Wampaye izo informations*)
- (3) It is rare for people to use languages and use only those languages. Rather people mix them with Kinyarwanda (not with other languages)

As it is made clear in these quotes, and indeed, as has hitherto been persistently highlighted, the predominant way in which languages are used at school is through Codeswitching, both inside and outside the classroom, and predominantly; the languages which are mixed are Kinyarwanda and English, and sometimes French. As a corollary, students are given more opportunities to practice Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, with the implication that Kinyarwanda BICS and English CALP are conjointly developed through that composite “linguistic variety.”

At the same time, the implication is also that less opportunities are offered for practicing English BICS since these “Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills” are rehearsed through Kinyarwanda; and even less opportunities are offered to practice Kinyarwanda CALP since this Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency is trained through English contribution to the said Kinyarwanda-English linguistic variety. In other words, given the particular way in which Translanguaging is practiced in the context under study, **Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching** CALP/BICS may develop, but **Kinyarwanda** CALP/BICS may not develop and **English** BICS/CALP may not develop either.

6.4.2.2 Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Students’ Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

“Center Stage to Home Language” refers to the due precedence given the students’ Home Language in the practice of Translanguaging as proposed in this study. As the student respondents in this study assert, this precedence is extensively given to Kinyarwanda their Home Language. However, there is one aspect of Language Competence that this Home Language is not in a position to offer.

- (1) “Because there are words we don’t have in our language, we use words from other languages;
- (2) Sometimes we speak, and when we want to say something, we don’t find the English word and we put in Kinyarwanda (and it is Kinyarwanda which doesn’t offer CALP)
- (3) “Why? Because our knowledge of the languages we know is very limited. We don’t know them very well. Even in Kinyarwanda sometimes we try to say something and it is not easy;

As suggested in these quotes, due precedence is given to Kinyarwanda in the academic context of Secondary school, but this is likely to help Language Competence Development in a limited way since students’ knowledge of the language is limited to Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills; which is why the students experience many difficulties in the academic context. In addition, their knowledge of English is not such that lack of CALP in Kinyarwanda is compensated for. All this is likely to lead to, therefore, is again CALP/BICS development in Kinyarwanda-English CODESWITCHING; and again, it is not clear HOW Translanguaging as practiced in the context under study is likely to avail opportunities for CALP/BICS development in Kinyarwanda and BICS/CALP development in English.

6.4.2.3 Translanguaging as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” and Students’ Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

A most crucial aspect of Translanguaging is “Language Integration Planning and Multilingual Activity Structuring.” Indeed, in my view, this aspect of the practice makes the whole difference between useful and “not so useful” use of many languages in the classroom. And its worth stems from the way in which input/output is planned and multilingual activities are structured. Yet,

following are students' perspectives on HOW multilingual practices occur in the context under study:

- (1) They [the teachers] use Kinyarwanda when we don't understand something;
- (2) In English lessons, they [the teachers] speak English; then they also put in Kinyarwanda, because they want us to understand;
- (3) Sometimes the teacher also explains in Kinyarwanda what we don't understand well;
- (4) In other lessons they use English, but also Kinyarwanda, they mix;
- (5) When a teacher reads a sentence here in English and switches that English and mixes with Kinyarwanda, there is some function for us, to understand well or to hear well

As appears clearly from these quotes, students inform that for their teachers to use different languages (1, 2, 3), they seem to be only motivated by the students' difficulties to understand English. There doesn't seem to be any other intended result like Language Competence Development. In other words, they don't plan it; and the way they do it when they use these languages, they generally "mix" them (4, 5). As student respondents inform, therefore, what is likely to come out of the teachers' practice of Translanguaging is that they give their students ample opportunities to practice Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. In other words, they are again given opportunities to develop their CALP/BICS through Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching, barely through English, and even less so through Kinyarwanda.

- (4) When we use them, we don't plan it; we are just speaking and we find we have just used the other languages as well;
- (5) As I said it [integrating languages] doesn't come because you have planned it. It comes because of habit; then when you speak you think it is Kinyarwanda, but because of the many languages and the life we live, other words come in...

6.4.2.4 Translanguaging as "Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages" and Students' Language Competence Development in the Academic Context

Finally, like any enterprise, Translanguaging goes with "appraisal and monitoring" of the actions undertaken. In the particular case of the present study, Translanguaging appraisal and monitoring in the context under study showed that "Mathematics and Science" subjects lend themselves to the practice more than subjects in other areas of study. What this entails is that the observed predilection for the practice in "Mathematics and Science" subjects is likely to go hand in hand with the above mentioned defects, and hence; Language Competence Development in this area

of study is likely to be marked, more than the other areas of study, with CALP/BICS development being biased in favor of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching to the detriment of Kinyarwanda and English.

6.4.3 Data on HOW Translanguaging Enhances Language Competence Development: Analysis and Presentation as Informed by “Multicompetence”

As mentioned above, as per Franceschini’s (2011) concept of Multicompetence which is about individuals’ ‘ability to use the appropriate linguistic variety for the appropriate occasion (Franceschini 2011: 351),’ the multilingual context of this study, is such that an individual should be able to use (1) Kinyarwanda with Kinyarwanda monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions; (2) English with English monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions; and (3) Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching with Kinyarwanda and English multilingual speakers in multilingual contexts and multilingual occasions.

6.4.3.1 Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages” and Multicompetence Development

The first aspect of Translanguaging considered here in connection with the theory of Multicompetence is “Integrated Use of Languages,” and in this regard, students informed on the kind of “linguistic variety models” they are likely to be offered for their ‘Multicompetence Development. Following are some of their perspectives on the model of “appropriate linguistic variety” they are likely to be presented with at school.

- (1) “At school, we mix Kinyarwanda, English, and sometimes French; but most often it is Kinyarwanda and English;
- (2) “At school, I also mix Kinyarwanda and English [because] I am sure the person I am speaking to will understand;
- (3) “We put in other languages for example when there is a word we don’t know, but sometimes we know it and because of things in your head, you use those languages, so that you feel that if you don’t say it you are not “umustar.”

As appears clearly in these quotes, the languages in the students’ repertoire come together, and the way they are used is such that they are all naturally “mixed” (1). And it is not always

because of the needs of communication, but simply because practically all the students share the same languages, and they are sure that chances are that whatever elements of languages they will use, their fellow students will understand (2). However, the whole practice might even develop into a habit, or even a fashion, so that mixing languages might be seen as showing that you are a “star.” Among the youth like the ones in Secondary school, this is a real motivation for action. To conclude then, it could be said without doubt that in terms of Language Competence Development, “integrated use of languages” is sure to develop Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching. In terms of “Multicompetence,” this aspect of Translanguaging is most likely to offer opportunities for developing Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching with Kinyarwanda and English multilingual speakers in multilingual contexts and multilingual occasions.

6.4.3.2 Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Multicompetence Development

Another aspect of Translanguaging is “Centre Stage to Home Language” referring to precedence due to Kinyarwanda, the Home Language of the students. As student respondents inform in the present study, this place of choice in their everyday academic activities is granted to Kinyarwanda. Nonetheless, even with this place of choice, it is to a certain extent impacted on by its role in Kinyarwanda-English or English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching development. how it might be being impacted on is explained thus:

- (1) “All the time the other languages come in our Kinyarwanda, and it is often English which comes in Kinyarwanda;
- (2) “We put in these words because there are words we don’t have in Kinyarwanda;
- (3) “Our Kinyarwanda is not good because we put in the other languages.
- (4) So definitely, Kinyarwanda is currently in trouble (there are problems). Words are lost every day.

As the student respondents allege in these quotes, Kinyarwanda is used with the other languages (1), and there is no other way it can happen because Kinyarwanda is lacking many terms appropriate to the academic context (2), which is why they feel dissatisfied at their own use of the language, which they estimate they can’t use unless they seek help from other languages. For sure then, Translanguaging as practiced in this context might not be helping students to

consolidate their competence in the language. Their “multicompetence” is developing in a limited way: Indeed, Translanguaging as practiced in this context might be reducing their ability to communicate through Kinyarwanda with Kinyarwanda monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions.

6.4.3.3 Translanguaging as “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring” and Multicompetence Development

Still another Translanguaging aspect of paramount importance is “Language Integration Planning and Activity Structuring.” What this “broader concept” means is that Translanguaging is not an arbitrary practice whereby languages are thrown in the classroom to fight for space each one more than the other. Rather, it is a well thought out “deliberate and systematic” plan (Lewis et al. 2012) without which Translanguaging might not be being practiced, but rather being truncated. As established in previous analyses, this is what was found to be occurring in the context under study, and the result is as the student respondent describe below:

- (1) “When we are doing “group work” we try to speak English, but all group members don’t know English well; so we try to translate for them, but in that “group work” Kinyarwanda dominates;
- (2) “We try to speak English but out there where students play it is always Kinyarwanda [and] if I speak English outside, I do it as an exercise... but sometimes other students take it as a kind of “arrogance.” They think you want to show off;
- (3) “Our English is very poor, because there is no rule to use Kinyarwanda or English: We use whatever language we want;

As seem to be suggested in these quotes, whereas the aim in Secondary school would be to see that all the languages are developed, opportunities for learning English would be frustrated at times (1, 2), and there is no wonder that student respondents should feel that their English is “poor” because the languages at school are haphazardly used. In terms of Multicompetence then, Translanguaging as practiced in the context of this study might be doing disservice to Language Competence for Communication through English with English monolingual speakers in monolingual contexts and monolingual occasions.

6.4.3.4 Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” and Multicompetence Development

Finally “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” is another important aspect of Translanguaging proposed in the present study. What it adds to the concept of Translanguaging is that Multilingual practices need to be well organized and regularly inspected for efficacy. What students view as occurring in this regard is as follows:

- (1) We are not limited in our use of languages;
- (2) No explicit instructions on which languages to use when;
- (3) No instructions, we use languages as they “come,” but in the classroom, you can’t use Kinyarwanda in a lesson of Kiswahili or English for example;
- (4) “We use the languages as they come to our mind;
- (5) “It’s a request not an order. Our teachers used to ask us, you have to use English in order to improve.

In the first place, it is good that students are not limited in their use of languages (1). However, in view of the both teachers’ and even the students’ complaints about students’ Language Competence status, some guidance in language use might be necessary (2) because using languages as they come to mind (3, 4) might not go in the direction of the expected educational results; and simple requests might not be enough (5). More specifically, if people are to attain certain set “Multicompetence” educational goals, some work of language arrangements “evaluation” and “supervision” in the practice of Translanguaging is necessary.

6.5 CONCLUSION: HOW TRANSLANGUAGING IS LIKELY TO ENHANCE LANGUAGE COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT

In this Chapter, the practice of Translanguaging was examined to determine HOW it is likely to enhance Language Competence Development in the Secondary schools investigated in this study. As was the case in Chapter 5, three theories, namely: “Translanguaging” (Lewis et al. 2012) itself as a theory of Multilingual Practices in the classroom; “Language Proficiency” (Cummins 1979, 1999) as a theory of linguistic competence in academic contexts; and “Multicompetence” (Franceschini 2011) as a Theory of Language Proficiency in multilingual contexts, were proposed to guide the analysis of the data. In addition, for ease of analysis and presentation of the data, four “broader concepts” were proposed as characterizing the concept of Translanguaging. These are “Integrated Use of Languages,” “Centre Stage to Home Language;” “Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring;” and “Appraisal and Monitoring of

Integrated Use of Languages.” In the present study; these broader aspects of Translanguaging were found to enhance Language Competence Development as follows:

(1) With regard to “Integrated Use of Languages,” the study found that integration of languages allowed for multiple language use development through extensive use of Codeswitching, whereas Translation, though minimally used, contributed to developing a sense of meaning making in more than one language. (2) In terms of Centre Stage to Home Language on the other hand, extensive encouragement of Home Language use (see Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding) and its effective use (see Developmental Use) contribute to increasing opportunities for multiple language use including Kinyarwanda through Codeswitching. As for “Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring,” the study found that the lack of planning allowed for Kinyarwanda-English and English-Kinyarwanda to haphazardly develop and to dominate all the other linguistic varieties. Finally concerning “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages,” it appeared that “Subject-determined Translanguaging” means that multiple language practices are prevalent in “Mathematics and Science” area of study through Codeswitching, and that, should there be adequate planning, other areas of study could also profit from the practice.

It has, therefore, hereby been established that; to a certain extent; Translanguaging is practiced to the benefit of Language Competence Development, but this development is not enough because it happens without planning, and this leads to a biased development of Codeswitching to the detriment of Kinyarwanda, English, and other languages like French and Kiswahili.

That was broadly the analysis as guided by the concept of Translanguaging. With regard to CALP/BICS characterizing Language Competence in academic contexts, it was found that these language skills develop simultaneously in the academic context through “Codeswitching as a linguistic variety,” and that they do not develop so well in the Kinyarwanda, English, French and Kiswahili linguistic varieties.

Finally with regard to the targets in Language Competence; the present study has, in this Chapter, established that only the “linguistic variety” for communication with multilinguals in the multilingual contexts on multilingual occasions, namely: Kinyarwanda-English/English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching, was developing through the practice of Translanguaging.

In sum, for an answer to the question of HOW Translanguaging is likely to enhance Language Competence Development posed in this Chapter, it could be said that Translanguaging as a teaching/learning strategy is apt to enhance Language Competence Development, but, in the particular context of the present study, it mainly develops Codeswitching because it only occurs in an unplanned, *ad hoc* manner in the classroom.

CHAPTER 7:

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

In this closing Chapter, I firstly sketch; chapter by chapter; a general overview of the proceedings of the study of Translanguaging in two secondary schools in Rwanda as undertaken in this thesis (Section 7.1). Thereafter, I highlight the most pertinent findings with reference to the theoretical and empirical literature on the topic (Section 7.2). Next, I follow this overview of the findings with a discussion of “Pedagogical Implications” as well as a “Proposal for Integrated Language Use in basically Monolingual Schools” (Section 7.3). Finally, pursuant to the proceedings, the findings, and the submitted proposals, I wrap up the whole thesis by submitting recommendations to the people most directly concerned (Section 7.4), before drawing a general conclusion of the study (Section 7.5).

7.1 INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

7.1.1 Overview of the Proceeding of the Present Study

Chapter 1:

In Chapter 1, I submitted the project of exploring how the flexible use of all the languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire has the potential to enhance deeper Subject Content Knowledge Learning and Language Competence Development in the context of secondary

schools in Rwanda. In so doing, I firstly presented the basically monolingual context of Rwanda and elaborated on how this particular context happens to be multilingual with at least four major languages; explained the implications of this multilingual and yet “basically monolingual” situation as compared to other multilingual contexts; and finally, focused more particularly on the secondary school context of the study as characterized by the 2009 language in education policy which entrenched English as Medium of Instruction, and instructed that Kinyarwanda, French, and Kiswahili be inscribed in the curriculum as subjects.

Having thus contextualized the study then; I set out to expose the question at hand; explaining the research problem that multilingualism in secondary schools in Rwanda is characterized by multilingual practices such as Codeswitching, and yet, concomitantly; by alleged low language competences in schools.

This led to the reflection that; if current scholarship on multilingualism commends *Translanguaging* for efficacy in enhancing both Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development; then, low language competence amid multilingual practices might be indicative of some defect in the practice of *Translanguaging* in the context under study.

In view of this research problem, the purpose of the study was then explicated. In this regard, the overarching aim of the study was defined as ascertaining whether and how *Translanguaging* in the context under study enhances deeper Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development, and; subsumed in this overarching aim; the specific objectives were articulated as (1) to describe the **Nature** of *Translanguaging* as actually practiced in the context under study; (2) to ascertain **whether and how** *Translanguaging* enhances Subject Content Knowledge learning; and (3) to ascertain **whether and how** *Translanguaging* enhances Language Competence Development. Thus, logically, the first Chapter oriented the study to the pursuit of the above overarching aim via three Chapters focused respectively on these specific objectives.

Chapter 2:

Before these most important Chapters, however, the second and third Chapters were still to pave the way to the proceedings of the study. Thus more pointedly, after the introductory Chapter, Chapter 2 set out to review the literature as pertinent to the stated problem; broadly reviewing the concept of *Translanguaging* as hitherto conceptualized as well as related concepts, both in its

conceptual and pedagogic aspects; presenting other competing concepts such as heteroglossia, polylinguaging, metrolanguaging, codemeshing, crossing, multilinguaging, etc. as characterizing current scholarship on multilingualism; focusing on Multilingual Practices in Rwandan classrooms for a “conceptual framing” of the study; proposing a “Theoretical Framework” deemed apt to guide the research; and finally, reviewing current literature on multilingual practices in the classroom, with a view to identifying the gap where to fit the present study.

Chapter 3:

Chapter 3 then came to propose the methodology for the research. As elaborated in this Chapter, observation of lessons to collect corpora representing multilingual practices in the classroom; analysis of the classroom interactions; and assessment of participants’ views, are all methodological approaches applied through “case study research design” for the study. Thus Chapter 3 elaborated on the tenets of Case Study; presented the setting of the study; explained the data collection and analysis processes; and finally, elaborated on issues of validity and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4:

Following these preliminary Chapters then, the crux of the study came with Chapters 4; 5; and 6. Thus Chapter 4; guided by a “Frame of Data Analysis and Presentation” comprised of (1) the concept of Translanguaging itself (Lewis et al. 2012), (2) the Structure of Secondary School in Rwanda, (3) the Competence-based Curriculum Framework, and (4) the theory of Language Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1999); attempted an answer to the first question of the study which is about *The Nature of Translanguaging in Secondary school Classrooms*. Thus, the analysis of the data led to interesting findings on **the Nature of Translanguaging** as actually practiced in the context under study; and these findings served as a basis for Chapters 5 and 6 to proceed.

Chapter 5:

Chapter 5 in this regard; basing on a “Frame of Data Analysis and Presentation” comprised of (1) the concept of Translanguaging itself (Lewis et al. 2012), (2) the theory of Language Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1999), and (3) the Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing (Anderson & Krathwohl, eds. 2001) as a theory of **knowledge**, focused on the question **whether and how** Translanguaging enhances **Subject Content Learning**; thus leaving the task to Chapter 6 to

examine the question of “**whether and how** Translanguaging enhances Language Competence Development”.

Chapter 6:

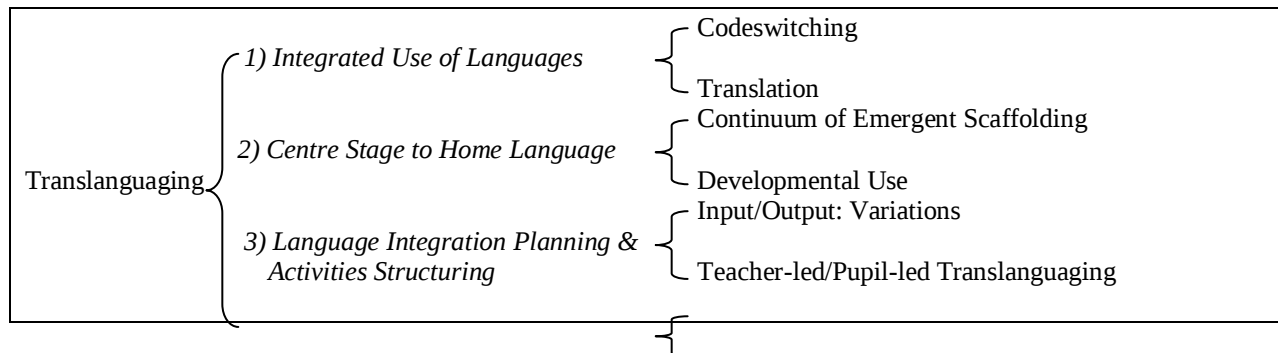
In this chapter, as in the preceding one, again a “Frame of Analysis and Presentation” is firstly proposed as comprised of three theories inscribed in the Theoretical Framework (see Ch 2), namely: The concept of Translanguaging itself (Lewis et al. 2012), the Theory of Language Proficiency (Cummins 1979, 1999) in academic contexts, and the Theory of Multicompetence (Franceschini 2011); and presented these theories respectively as (1) the first guide into the analysis, (2) the condition for efficient language use in academic contexts, and (3) the target for Language Competence Development.

7.1.2 Highlight of the Findings

To present the findings of this study, a reminder of the proposed understanding of the very concept of **Translanguaging** is in order. Indeed, whereas the construct has hitherto been presented as drawing a distinction between **pedagogic** and **theoretical** aspects characterized by 11 concepts related Translanguaging (Lewis et al. 2012); the present study sees a pedagogic potential in all the concepts taken together. At the same time; in a bid to adapt the concept to the context of secondary schools in Rwanda; the study selected 7 pertinent concepts to accommodate Translanguaging in a context which; contrary to other contexts hitherto studied; is basically monolingual, and yet multilingual with 4 languages, namely: Kinyarwanda, English, French, and Kiswahili.

Thus, both for ease of data analysis and presentation, and for adaptive reasons, a composite of 4 interrelated “broader concepts,” was proposed as presented schematically below:

Fig. 7: Schematic representation of “broader Concepts” Related to Tranlanguaging



Through this four faceted tool as presented in this Chart, analysis of the data was carried out in chapters 4, 5, and 6; and now through it, the findings of the study of Translanguaging in secondary schools in Rwanda are summarized as follows:

7.1.2.1 Findings on the Nature of Translanguaging in the context under study (Chapter 4)

1. Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages”:

As was proposed in this study, “**Integrated Use of Languages**” logically subsumes the concepts of *Codeswitching* and *Translation*. With regard to the concept of **Codeswitching**, the analysis of the data showed that teachers and students resort, in the classroom, to “extensive use of Codeswitching” in all levels and areas of study; and particularly, more so in upper than lower levels of study; and also more in “Mathematics and Science” than in the other areas of study. On the other hand, the practice of **Translation** was observed to be occurring, though rather minimally; but still more in lower than upper levels of study, and more particularly in the first year.

2. Translanguaging as “Centre Stage to Home Language”:

This aspect of Translanguaging is comprised of the concepts of “*Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding*” and “*Developmental Use*” and these concepts were found to be practiced in all levels of study through English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. More particularly, with regard to “emergent scaffolding,” this process was found to occur also in the organization of students’ “group work” and “group presentations; and as it is worth noting, “Mathematics and Science” subjects feature more scaffolding actions than “Humanities” and “Languages” areas of study.

3. Translanguaging as “Integrated Use of Languages Planning and Activities Structuring”:

This aspect of Translanguaging is comprised of the concepts of “*Input and Output: Variations*” and “*Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*”. These concepts are respectively about language arrangements in the classroom and about **who** plans (or should plan) these arrangements. As was observed in the context under study; the original English/English pattern of teaching/learning

was occurring along with the English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching variation in all levels of study and in all subjects; but again as was the case above, more so in “Mathematics and Science,” and in upper levels of study.

With regard to Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging on the other hand, it appeared that everything occurred according to the communication needs of the moment; and that thus, a lack of “deliberate planning and systematic activity structuring” was observed, suggesting that language arrangements occurred in a rather *ad hoc* fashion.

4. Translanguaging as “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages”:

This aspect of Translanguaging corresponds to “Subject-determined Translanguaging.” As a “fact-finding” type of concept, this aspect of Translanguaging was observed as indicating predilection for Translanguaging practice in “Mathematics and Science” subjects more than in other areas of study. In other words, “Mathematics and Science” subjects seem to involve the practice of Translanguaging more than the other areas of study. Also interestingly, another finding more related to lesson delivery, is about **the activity involved** in the lesson, which too influences the occurrence of Translanguaging in a lesson; so that for example **explanations** and **exercises** tend to require Translanguaging more than **factual knowledge** or **conceptual knowledge**.

7.1.2.2 Findings on the Role of Translanguaging in Subject Content Development (From Chapter 5)

Pursuant to the findings in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 looked closer into the question of “how Translanguaging enhances Subject Content Knowledge Development; and the following findings were reached with regard to “HOW Translanguaging is likely to enhance Subject Content Learning.”

1. “Integrated Use of Languages” and Subject Content Learning

In terms of “Integrated Use of Languages” in the classroom, it was found that Translanguaging was extensively practiced through Codeswitching and that this extensive use facilitated **delivery of and access to** Subject Content Knowledge; that through Translation, content was also

efficiently transmitted, even though, as was estimated; the impact of Translation is likely to be low because it is minimally practiced.

2. “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Subject Content Learning

Concerning the role of the students’ Home Language referred to here through the concept of “Centre Stage to Home Language,” Translanguaging was also found to be extensively practiced and useful for subject content learning; and this, because of extensive encouragement of students’ use of their Home Language (Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding); and because students themselves extensively resort to it independently (Developmental Use).

3. “Integrated Use of Languages Planning and Activities Structuring” and Subject Content Learning

As for “Integrated Language Use Planning,” the major problems of the practice of Translanguaging were found to lie at this level because **no deliberate planning was found to occur**; the corollary being that Translanguaging is occurring only in an *ad hoc* fashion. Nonetheless it enhances Subject Content Knowledge because of its inherent assets; but even better results would be achieved if Translanguaging was a deliberately and structurally planned strategy.

4. “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” and Subject Content Learning

Finally, with regard to “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Language Use,” this fact-finding concept implies that the fact that “Mathematics and Science” subjects apply Translanguaging more than other subjects signifies that the alleged inadequacies in the practice of Translanguaging have a bigger impact in this area of study; but at the same time, the observed benefits of applying Translanguaging go to “Mathematic and Science subjects” more than to other subjects; and thus, it would be desirable that the other subjects also adhere to Translanguaging unreservedly; provided that more planning is put into it.

7.1.2.3 Findings on the Role of Translanguaging in Language Competence Development (Chapter 6)

1. “Integrated Use of Languages” and Language Competence Development

Firstly, in terms of “Integrated Use of Languages,” the main finding is that Translanguaging is extensively practiced through Codeswitching and that this extensive use represents extensive students’ exposure to and opportunity to practice a particular “linguistic variety” namely: English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching. On the other hand, limited exposure, through Translation, to two models of text in two languages representing the same content was possible. However, even though this availability is good for Language Competence development in the two languages concerned; its impact is likely to be low because Translation is practiced minimally.

2. “Centre Stage to Home Language” and Language Competence Development

In terms of “Centre Stage to Home Language,” on the other hand, Translanguaging was also found to be extensively practiced because of extensive encouragement of students’ use of their Home Language by the teachers; and because the students themselves extensively resorted to it independently. This represents, for the students and for the teachers alike; extensive resort to their home language, Kinyarwanda as used with English under the form of Codeswitching, and this entails still more Codeswitching use of, exposure to, and opportunity to practice that particular “linguistic variety”

3. “Integrated Use of Languages Planning and Activities Structuring” and Language Competence Development

As for “Integrated Language Use Planning and Activities Structuring,” as was the case with regard to Subject Content Learning, the major problems of the practice of Translanguaging were found to lie at this level because no **deliberate planning** was found to occur; and because, as a consequence, Translanguaging was occurring only in an *ad hoc* fashion. As was thus established, therefore, the practice of Translanguaging is likely to enhance Language Competence Development in a disorderly manner whereby biased development of one “linguistic variety” (English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching) is likely to be effected to the detriment of both English and Kinyarwanda linguistic varieties. Thus, if Translanguaging were planned; better results in terms of Language Competence Development would be obtained in a way that all the linguistic varieties (viz.: Kinyarwanda, English, French, Kiswahili, and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching) would be catered for.

4. “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Languages” and Language Competence Development

Finally, with regard to “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Language Use,” as per this fact-finding concept, “Mathematics and Science” subjects practice Translanguaging more than other subjects, which implies that English-Kinyarwanda and Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching are practiced more in that area of study; and that as a consequence; more exposure to and practice of that “linguistic variety” is likely; and that students in that area of study may practice it more than students in other areas of study; and further still that the practice of English and Kinyarwanda “linguistic varieties” would be more limited than in the other areas of study.

In brief, these are the findings of the present study; both in terms of the “Nature of Translanguaging in the context of secondary schools in Rwanda,” in terms of “Subject Content Knowledge Development,” and in terms of “Language Competence Development.” For ease of reference and interpretation, these findings have been summarized as in the following Table.

Table 28: Overview of the Findings Chapter by Chapter

<i>Translanguaging Aspect</i>	<i>Ch 4: Nature of Translanguaging</i>	<i>Ch5: Role in Subject content development</i>	<i>Ch6: Role in Language competence development</i>
1. <i>Integrated language use</i>	Extensive use of CS & limited use of Translation	Comm. enhanced; subject content knowledge likely enhancement	Comm. enhanced overwhelmingly through English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CS; hence, likely language competence development biased toward CS as a “linguistic variety”. Likely detriment to Kinyarwanda and English
2. <i>Centre stage to Home Language</i>	Extensive encouragement to use & effective use of skills in Home language	Comm. enhanced; likely subject content knowledge enhancement	Comm. enhanced overwhelmingly through English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CS; hence, likely language competence development biased toward that “linguistic variety”. Likely detriment to Kinyarwanda and English
3. <i>Integrated language use Planning & activities structuring</i>	No such a thing as integrated language use planning & <i>Ad hoc</i> switch to home language	<i>Ad hoc</i> Comm. enhanced; still likely subject content knowledge enhanced, though would be better	<i>Ad hoc</i> Comm. enhanced overwhelmingly through English-Kinyarwanda/Kinyarwanda-English CS; likely unplanned language competence development & bias toward that “linguistic variety”. Likely detriment to Kinyarwanda and English
4. <i>Appraisal & Monitoring of integrated language use</i>	Fact-finding: More of integrated language use in Math & Science area of study	Comm. enhanced, but less so in other areas of study than Math&Science ; likely subject content knowledge enhancement	Comm. enhanced overwhelmingly through Kinyarwanda-English CS; detrimental lack of evaluation & monitoring & likely language competence development biased toward that “linguistic variety”. Likely detriment to Kinyarwanda and English, with problem perhaps greater in “Mathematics & Science” area of study.

As proposed next, these findings can be interpreted as follows:

7.1.3 Interpretive Note on the Findings of the Study

Overall, an overview in this chapter of this study's findings suggests that Translanguaging is occurring as a teaching/learning practice in the context under study. In other words, teaching/learning in this context is expected to benefit from the good in multilingual practices in the classroom as more and more studies (e.g.: Williams 1980; Garcia 2009; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Lewis et al. 2012; Muhonen 2012; Jonsson 2012; Makalela 2013, 2014, 2015) have convincingly documented such benefits in other contexts. However, the way it is practiced in this particular context, Translanguaging features a number of inadequacies which mainly stem from the fact that multilingual practices rather occur in an *ad hoc* manner; that they are **neither planned nor evaluated and monitored**.

As such, it is estimated that Translanguaging in this particular context, is lacking in its most crucial aspects, namely: “**Language Integration Planning**” and “**Evaluation and Monitoring**” and yet, these features would normally allow Translanguaging to lead to desired pedagogic outcomes, both in terms of Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development. The implication is then that **Translanguaging does occur** because integrated languages are used in the classroom; and that there are **benefits** inherent to the very fact of the practice of Translanguaging. However, there are also **pitfalls** resulting from improper practice; which explains the “mitigated outcome” of multilingual practices reported in the context under study as summarized below.

(1) Mitigated Outcomes with regard to “Integrated Use of Languages” in the Classroom

Firstly, as has been observed in all levels of study and in all areas of study, it is a fact; multilingual practices in the context of the present study are occurring. This appears particularly from the fact that languages are integrated in most of the lessons through extensive use of Codeswitching and more specifically through Kinyarwanda-English and English-Kinyarwanda Codeswitching; and to a lesser degree; through Translation which was found to be practiced minimally. For Subject Content Learning, this is likely to be most beneficial since “integrated use of languages” facilitates communication, and thus enhances **delivery of and access to knowledge**. The other side of the coin, however, is Language Competence Development. As this process requires specific language arrangements (e.g.: One language for input and another for output, Lewis et al. 2012), what is needed for Language Competence Development is not

Integrated Language Use *tout court* but *deliberately planned* Integrated Language Use (Lewis et al. 2012).

(2) Mitigated Outcomes with regard to “Centre Stage to Home Language” in the Classroom

Also closely related to this first aspect of integrated use of languages; “*Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding*” and “*Developmental Use of Translanguaging*” were observed to occur extensively, and in fact; they amount to furthering the use of Codeswitching since they are about the use of Kinyarwanda, the students’ Home Language; and indeed, the students use it with English under the form of Codeswitching.

What must be borne in mind with regard to Kinyarwanda and English being used together in Codeswitching, however, is that whereas the former is known to the students only under the form of BICS (Basic Interpersonal Conversations Skills, (Cummins 1979, 1989)), the latter is known mainly under the form of CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency, (Ibid, 1979)). As a corollary, what may Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching sometimes mean is that subject content terms in English might be used in conversational Kinyarwanda without the “mixture” being of any help in understanding the said “subject content terms.”

Consequently, in virtue of “Centre Stage to Home Language,” the students’ Home Language may strongly support efficient communication and thus, enhance deeper Subject Content Learning, but this outcome may be mitigated from the fact that neither students’ knowledge of Kinyarwanda nor their knowledge of English simultaneously feature CALP and BICS; even though this knowledge would dual knowledge is precisely what is required for language proficiency in academic contexts.

Similarly, for Language Competence Development as well, the simple fact of allowing “Centre Stage to Home Language” and resulting “integrated use of languages” including the students’ Home Language is not enough: *Deliberately planned* “Integrated Use of Languages” is what is needed.

(3) Mitigated Outcomes with regard to “Integrated Language Use Planning” Default

With the above findings, all the aspects of Translanguaging most directly concerned with “integrated use of languages” in the classroom (viz.: Codeswitching, Translation, Continuum of

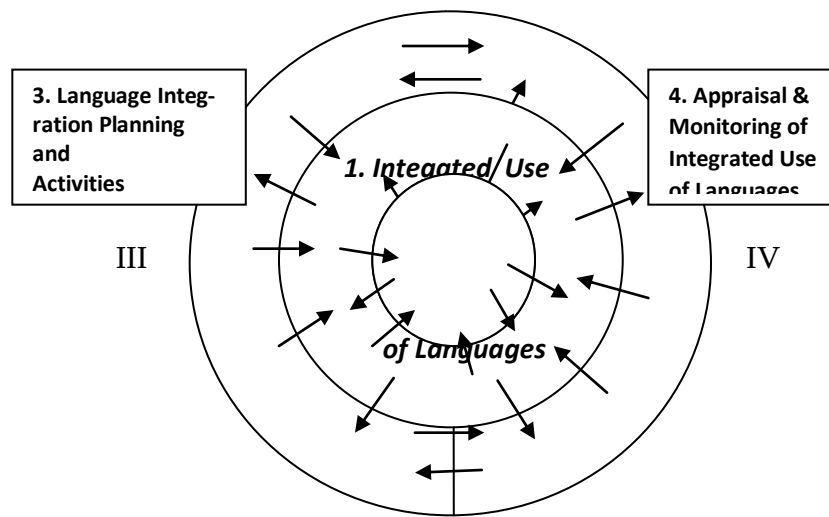
Emergent Scaffolding, Developmental Use) are accounted for as effectively occurring. However, one which is perhaps the most important (viz. Teacher-led Translanguaging) has been found to not occur since nearly all multilingual actions in the classroom happen only in an *ad hoc* fashion. What this means then, is that multilingual practices are extensively used; but the most important aspect of Translanguaging (viz.: “Integrated Language Use **Planning**”) is missing. In other words, Translanguaging is practiced, but the teachers don’t play their role of *deliberately planning* the practice and structuring the activities. Hence, Subject Content Learning may be occurring to a certain extent; but Language Competence Development leaves much to be desired.

(3) Mitigated Outcomes with regard to “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Language Use” Default

Investigation of “Integrated Language Use Appraisal and Monitoring” in this study resulted in the observation that “Mathematics and Science” area of study practice Translanguaging more than the other areas of study, namely: The “Humanities” and the “Languages” areas of study. What an observation like this would entail is that; considering the way Translanguaging is practiced (that is with its positive side and its shortcomings); a step beyond the observation itself would be to ascertain for example whether the way it is practiced is useful for learning or not. If for example we note that the way Translanguaging is applied in the context of secondary school is not conducive for Language Competence Development,” then evaluation through “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Language Use” should be able to conclude that Language Competence Development in “Mathematics & Science” area of study might be the more catastrophic, and from this, advice for action would be given. In other words, for it to yield good result, Translanguaging is not a pedagogy which just happens; rather it is about “integration of languages for learning”; about “precedence to the Home language use” for learning; about “**planning** integration of languages for efficient learning”, and “evaluation and monitoring to make sure that integration of languages achieves the purpose of learning’. In a word, “integrated use of languages appraisal and monitoring” should be there to see to it that Translanguaging is not practiced for the sake of integrating languages; but rather, to see to it that it is practiced for learning.

On the whole, what all this means is that, all the four proposed “Broader Aspects” of Translanguaging are interrelated as shown in the following Chart.

Fir 8: Interactive and Symbiotic Representation of the Proposed “Broader Aspects” of Translanguaging



As can be seen in this Chart, all the 4 “broader aspects” of Translanguaging are logically interrelated; and this interrelatedness; for Translanguaging to yield the expected results; needs to be translated into a symbiotic reality, and each aspect of Translanguaging as part of a composite process must effectively and properly play its role, lest defaults somewhere in the process contaminate the whole of it. In other words, for Translanguaging to yield the expected results, the different aspects of the process must, so to say, assume their “respective responsibilities.”

In this regard, as represented in the above Chart for example, the most important part of any enterprise if it is to succeed should be about PLANNING. This is what is conveyed through “Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring.” Also, once an action has begun, different steps and developments need to be evaluated and constantly monitored lest its evolution takes an unexpected or even an unwanted turn. That is why an element of “Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Language Use” should be there working closely with the “planning” element. In this way, the other aspects of the process are to be managed and led to the desirable end. In the above Chart, these other aspects are “Integrated Language Use” and “Centre Stage to Home Language.”

Leaving now the “enterprise” metaphor to come back to the “Translanguaging process,” it is noteworthy that the central element, the “Language Integration Planning and Activities Structuring” aspect occupies the Centre of the above circle to signify its importance. Also, it is close to the “Appraisal & Monitoring of Integrated Language Use” element and both; they must

work symbolically together for the enterprise to prosper. In other words, “integrating languages” is not Translanguaging; “giving precedence to the Home Language” is not Translanguaging; “planning the integration of languages” is not Translanguaging; and “appraising and monitoring the integration of languages” is not Translanguaging. Rather, what Translanguaging is is accomplishing all these tasks together, so that “integrated use of languages” and “centre stage to home language” are achieved to the benefit of “Subject Content Knowledge” and “Language Competence Development,” thanks to a judiciously **monitored** and **planned** manner.

7.2 RESONANCE WITH OTHER FINDINGS ON MULTILINGUALISM IN SCHOOLS

At the outset of the present study, a number of scholars interested in multilingualism in Rwanda were cited as ringing the alarm about languages in schools. Thus, for example Nsanzabiga (2012) expressed concerns about Kinyarwanda which is becoming so “hybridized” that it is difficult to know which Kinyarwanda to teach in schools today; and thus warned that though an official and national language, Kinyarwanda disintegration is foreseen. In this vein, Niyomugabo (2012) noted that Kinyarwanda is so mixed with other languages that, rather than calling the language spoken in many schools today “Kinyarwanda”; it is rather right to call it Kinyafranglais, a new language which is born out of hybridization with other languages. In other words, what these scholars are saying is that, even though Kinyarwanda is the language of virtually all Rwandans, even though it is omnipresent in everyday life, for all it is worth and for all it represents for Rwandans, it might still be menaced in the current multilingual context of Rwanda.

And the other languages (so called foreign languages) don’t seem to fare well either because, as scholars still assert, they are not well known even though much efforts is put into teaching them in schools. This is what Ntakirutimana (2010) is saying for example: As he puts it citing the example of French, one of the most important objectives in Rwandan schools is to develop competences in foreign languages, and yet; no language seems to be well known. Thus, even though French had monopolized education as Medium of Instruction for a long time; secondary schools students never managed to speak it. And it is not only French; even with English which has total precedence in schools as MoI from upper primary school to university; there seem to be many problems of competence; and apparently, still according to researchers interested in

multilingualism in Rwanda (Nanzabiga 2012, Ntakirutimana 2010, Rurangirwa 2012), the situation still needs to be redressed today.

That said, however, it is noteworthy that what scholars have done so far is to describe the multilingual situation in Rwanda, and to express concerns about poor knowledge of languages among students. In this thesis, I have attempted a step further to offer an explanation of the major cause of these problems; and hence to propose a remedy as follows:

Firstly; just as it is becoming more and more of a reality in most contexts; secondary schools in Rwanda work in multilingual conditions. However, again as is still the case in many contexts; **monolingually biased pedagogy** still prevails and yet, from the very fact of the presence of many languages, multilingual practices cannot be superseded. As I have submitted in this Thesis therefore, **Translanguaging Pedagogy** is the solution for both Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development. Following are encapsulated some of the aspects and principles thereof as particularly readapted for the context under study.

Fig. 9: Translanguaging for Basically Monolingual Contexts in a Snapshot

Firstly, Translanguaging for Basically Monolingual Contexts (e.g: Rwanda) is a four facettted concept. It is about:

(1) Integrated Use of Languages

*viz. Codeswitching &
Translation*

(2) Centre Stage to Home Language

*viz. Continuum of Emergent Scaffolding &
Developmental Use of Translanguaging*

(3) Language Integration Planning & Activities Structuring

*viz. Input/Output: Variations &
Teacher-led/Pupil-led Translanguaging*

(4) Appraisal and Monitoring of Integrated Use of Language

viz. Subject-determined Translanguaging

=====

. Like in any enterprise, of all the 4 “Aspects of Translanguaging;” aspects (3) and (4) are the most important because they are about PLANNING

. However, as the present study has established, aspects (3) and (4) are NOT observed in spite of their importance;

. Only aspects (1) and (2) are applied; and thus the outcome is bound to be a MITIGATED;

. Integrated use of the languages in the students' repertoire is GOOD but not enough. Giving precedence to PLANNING representing the 2 most important aspects of Translanguaging is the KEY TO FULL SUCCESS;

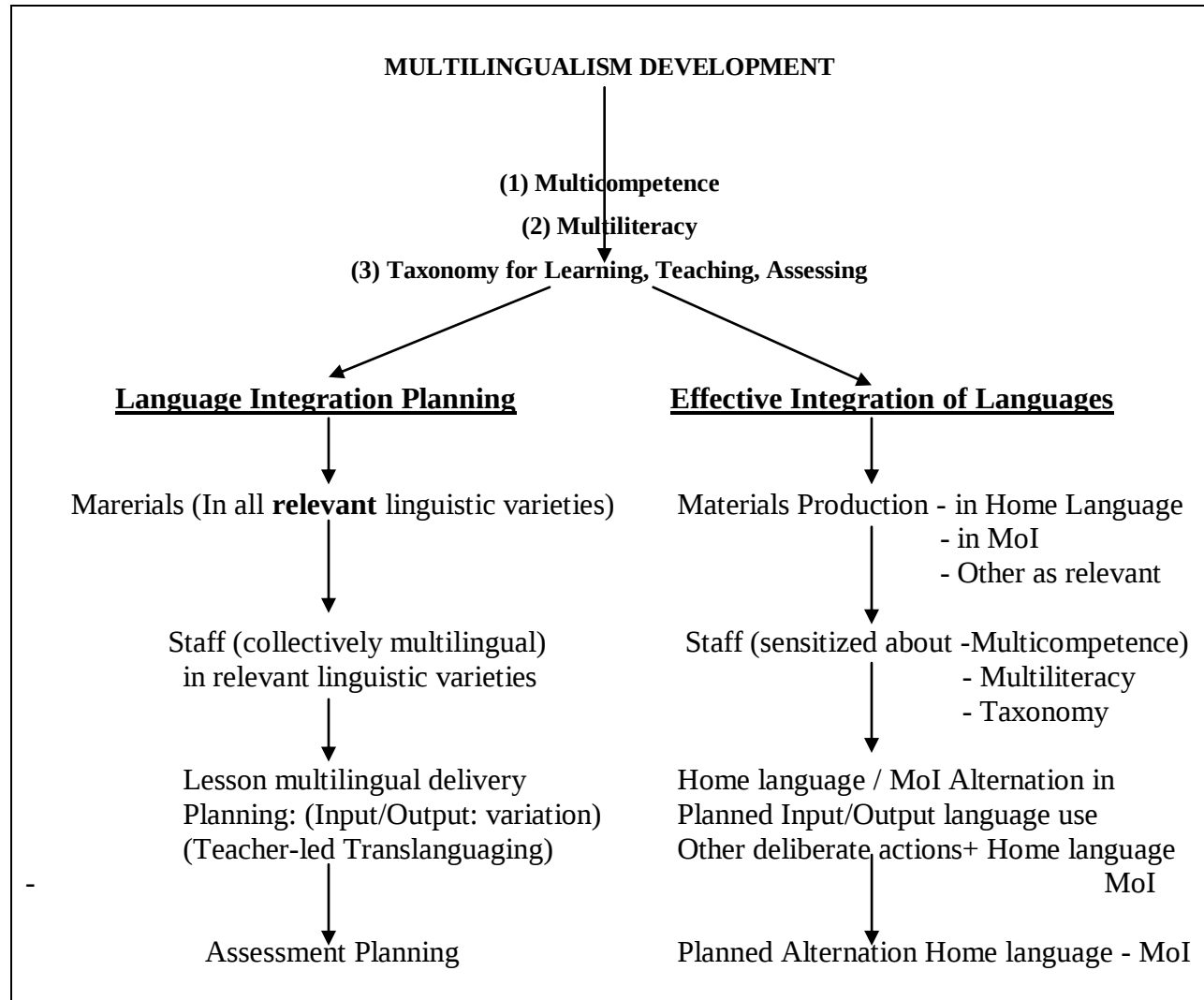
ADVICE: !!! PLAN PROPERLY AND GO FOR SUCCESS !!!

In a nutshell, what is suggested here is that, (1) generally, contexts of multilingualism can't but naturally adhere to multilingual practices such as Codeswitching and Translation for different educational communication purposes (see Aspect 1). (2) Also, given the importance of the Home Language, natural resort to skills developed in the said Home Language cannot be superseded both from the point of view of the teacher, and from the point of view of the students. (3) However, much too often multilingual practices concomitantly including natural resort to Home Language happen in an *ad hoc*, disorderly manner for lack of purposeful and educational planning; and this is likely to lead to failure. (4) Consequently, for the attainment of "subject content" and language" learning goals, there is a need for action interactive appraisal, monitoring, and planning; and unless all these steps are carefully taken, adverse (rather than normally expected positive) effects of educational multilingual practices are likely to result. It is thus suggested that, for educational purposes, mere multilingual practices are not enough: What is needed is disciplined application of Translanguaging principles and tenets. That said, following is a discussion of pedagogical implications of the the present study findings.

7.3 PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

To discuss the pedagogical implications of the present study, I would firstly like to suggest the following "Model of Integrated Use of Languages in Basically Monolingual Contexts."

Chart 17: “Model for Integrated Language Use in Basically Monolingual Schools contexts”



As shown in this Chart, (1) the aim of this proposed model is to achieve “**Multilingual Development.**” This aim is important to begin with because, as has been observed in many contexts, monolingual education programs claim to foster bi/multilingualism, but; because of the monolingually biased education system they adopt; they end up producing **monolingualism** with a mixture of the languages in presence. Thus, in spite of (and among other things because of) this monolingually biased system; students begin to forget their Home Language, and at the same time, they fail to acquire the new languages they are taught in school. Of course, this is a very long and slow process, but many alarms have rung for the “disintegration of the students’ Home Language (e.g.: Nsanzabiga 2012) and reports of new born mixture languages (e.g.: Kinyafanglais, see Niyomugabo 2012) are perhaps testimony to this.

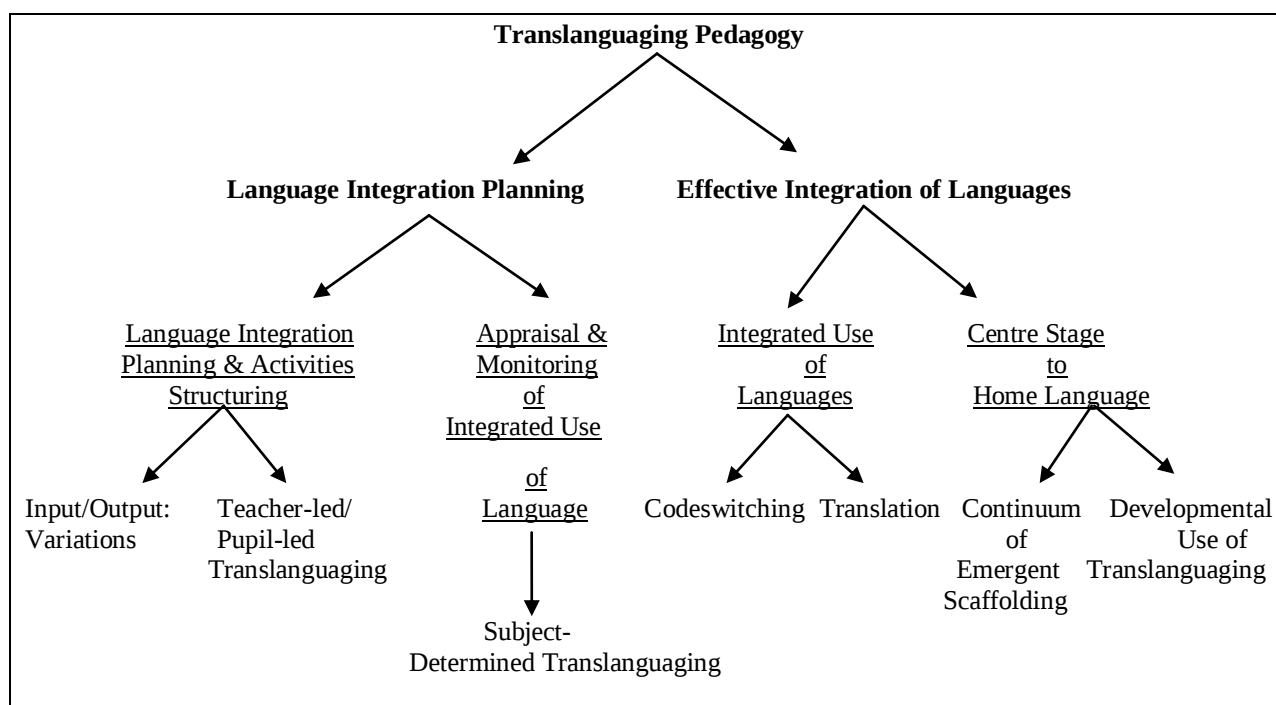
(2) After “Multilingualism Development” as the aim, four perspectives follow. These perspectives ideologically support Multilingualism Development in many ways: Firstly, because “multilingualism” implies many languages, there is a need for an adequate descriptive concept for defining what “many languages” and “knowing many languages” mean; and that concept is **Multicompetence** (Franceschini, 2011). In terms of this concept; “competence in many languages” firstly means: Being able to use them **monolingually with monolinguals, in monolingual contexts**. At the same time, however, it also means: Being able to use them **integratedly with multilinguals, in multilingual contexts**; and understandably, what this implies is that students must learn and master the individual languages to be able to use them both monolingually and integratedly.

(3) Multicompetence as a descriptive concept is not enough by its own, however. Indeed, it describes “knowing a language” in terms of communication with monolinguals/multilinguals and in monolingual/multilingual contexts, but it doesn’t describe the medium of communication. In this case, **Bi/Multiliteracy** (Hornberger 2006) comes to add the idea that literacy is necessary for knowing a language in academic contexts; and that bi-multiliteracy must be part of multilingualism; that communication mustn’t be only oral; that it has also to occur ‘in two (or more) languages in or around writing” (Hornberger 1990: 213 in Hornberger 2006: 10). In other words, not only multilinguals need to know many languages, they also need to be literate in many languages.

(4) Still another perspective is the “**Taxonomy for Learning, teaching, and Assessing**” (Anderson & Krathwohl, eds. 2001). This perspective is justified by the fact that the issue is about developing multilingualism in academic contexts. What this means then is that academic contexts imply **knowledge**; that knowledge is characterized by 4 different levels (Factual, Conceptual, Cognitive, and Metacognitive); and that knowing languages in academic contexts (indeed, in all contexts) is being able to use them in all the above levels of knowledge. In other words, fully-fledged knowledge of languages simultaneously relates to Multicompetence, Bi/multiliteracy, and Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing; and now, with this symbiotic view of multilingualism, its development process can start.

(5) To start the said development, two “macro-concepts” (*Language Integration Planning* and *Integration of Languages*) represented in the following tree diagram (with their components and sub-components) are proposed for an understanding of the **Translanguaging Pedagogy** to be used in multilingual classrooms.

Chart 18: Tree Diagram Representing Translanguaging Implementation



On the one hand, as can be seen in this diagram, Multicompetence may not be achieved without a clear plan to develop it (See Tree diagram: Language Integration Planning). What this **plan** entails firstly is that, in all teaching actions, teachers must find ways to avail to the students at least 3 models for using the languages in their repertoire, namely: One model of the Home Language; a second one of the MoI; and a third one of the integrated use of both the Home Language and the MoI. Also most importantly, as teachers plan different activities, equitable catering for the 3 “linguistic varieties” need to be taken care of. Secondly, again as in all teaching actions, teachers need to consistently monitor and evaluate the evolution of the use of the different linguistic varieties.

On the other hand, the Home Language must be used unashamedly; sometimes monolingually, depending on the planned activities; and some other times in Home Language- MoI CS; just as

the MoI need to be used sometimes monolingually, without any inferiority complex; and some other times, in MoI-Home Language CS. Hopefully, the fact of having a **language use plan** for the different “linguistic varieties” will lead to Multicompetence.

And this may be possible if the following actions are taken to effectively promote the different “linguistic varieties” (see Tree diagram: Effective Integration of Languages). The first action pertaining to this second aspect of Translanguaging Pedagogy is “**using Codeswitching**” when it is planned to do so, just as the other varieties are used. This might probably be the most natural action since it might amount to using mainly the Home Language. The second action would be to promote **Translation** (both oral and written). This might be more difficult, but it is useful; so it must be attempted, and people might get used to it. Thirdly, “**promoting the use of the Home Language**” in the academic context. This might mean that, for example people try to “terminologize” the Home Language; and to express technical content in the Home Language, or still writing subject content in the Home Language.

Now, coming back to the “Multilingualism Development” Chart, one can see here **Language Integration Planning** and **Effective Integration of Languages** meet. From the side of **Language Integration Planning**, directives and content; long term training and availability of staff, teacher guides and curricula etc. are conceptualized; and from the **Effective Integration of Languages** side, materials (in Home Language, in MoI, in Other as relevant) are made available; staff is sensitized; and regular monitoring is effected.

With all this, hopefully, all stakeholders playing their role, multilingualism with multicompetence might be achieved. It is noteworthy, however, that this proposal is based on the findings of the present study. I wish to encourage interested researchers who may want to build on the model to follow it with other proposals, or improvements, or still empirical evaluation. On this note, the following Section formulates a number of recommendations to different stakeholders.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the conclusions of the present study, a number of recommendations can be made to the most direct stakeholders in secondary school education.

7.4.1 Recommendation in Relation to “Integrated Language Use”

Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice was found to be extensively occurring in secondary schools. This is a good thing because, as has been established in the literature, the practice is likely to enhance both Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development. However, as has been established in the present study, an adverse consequence of unplanned actions in the practice of Translanguaging is that “integrated use of the languages” in presence is likely to result in the sole development of Kinyarwanda-English Codeswitching to the detriment of English and Kinyarwanda. For the benefit of students’ education, therefore, it is recommended that students be made to feel free to draw on all the languages in their repertoire for the purpose of deeper learning, but at the same time; to be mindful of the necessity to know their Home Language Kinyarwanda, and to master, in as much as possible, English which they need notably for integration in the East African Community, as well as French and Kiswahili.

7.4.2 Recommendation in Relation to how Translanguaging may Yield the Expected Results

As has been established in the literature, Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice is the best strategy for deeper Subject Content Learning and Language Competence Development. In the context of Rwanda, it is good that it is widely practiced, since as this study has shown; the most important languages in the teachers’ and students’ repertoire are used in the classroom. However, it has been often noted that the results expected from education both in terms of subject content and language learning are not satisfactory. In the present study, one of the reasons for these mitigated results has been found to be that Translanguaging **is practiced in an unplanned and unstructured manner.**

Given the fact that planning integrated use of languages in the classroom is primarily the responsibility of the teacher; teachers are called upon to heed their responsibility and to work to take advantage of the languages at their disposal in an orderly and structured manner. Whereas Translanguaging has hitherto been practiced in a disorderly manner, planning and structuring Translanguaging activities in the classroom is likely to guarantee success and satisfaction in the noble practice of teaching.

7.4.3 Recommendation Regarding Language Policy

From the time of its inception, one of the main objectives of Education in Rwanda has always been language education, and the aim has always been to develop linguistic competences in the Rwandan population generally; and more particularly among the students. In spite of all the efforts hitherto expended, however, researchers concur to note low Language Competences among the Rwandan population (Ntakirutimana, 2010; Mukama, 2010; Hayman, 2005; 2002 Census, 2005); and some popular beliefs blame these low linguistic competences on “the big number of languages in the country.” Indeed, because of all these languages, they opine, people end up knowing none. In a sense, there is some truth in it: The presence of many languages in the same linguistic market puts them in an open competition (Rosendal 2009), and people tend to learn them in disorder, which might contribute to preventing them from mastering them. Fortunately, Translanguaging as a teaching/learning practice can put some order in language learning through planned and orderly classroom multilingual practices, and both planning and execution are to be effected by the teacher. For this task to succeed, teachers need strong support, the kind of support that bottom-up policy making can provide.

7.5 CONCLUSION

Oftentimes concerns about students’ competences in languages have been expressed. Indeed, as has appeared in the present study, even the teacher respondents have stressed this observation; and the present study has established that these concerns might be founded. In this regard, it has been suggested that the root cause of the said Language Competence regression is not in the fact of using different languages in secondary school, but rather; in the fact of using the languages **in an unplanned and disorderly manner**. Therefore, even though this conclusion has been drawn based on a study of a small number of secondary schools; there is hope that the above mentioned worries might be on the way to be resolved. For this to happen, however, more research need to be conducted, both to confirm the findings of the present study; and to investigate ways in which the recommended “planned and structured” Translanguaging practices could be effectively put in place. As has been established in this study, however, there is need for fast action, and hopefully, ways will be found to attend in a timely manner, to the issue of multilingual practices and Language Competence Development in secondary school.

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28 October 2014

Student Number: 416582

Protocol Number: 2014ECE023D

Dear Sigfrid Maniraho

Application for Ethics Clearance: Doctor of Philosophy

Thank you very much for your ethics application. The Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has considered your application for ethics clearance for your proposal entitled:

Code Alternation in Rwandan Classrooms: Case of Multiple Language Practices in Two Secondary Schools

The committee recently met and I am pleased to inform you that **clearance was granted**.

Please use the above protocol number in all correspondence to the relevant research parties (schools, parents, learners etc.) and include it in your research report or project on the title page.

The Protocol Number above should be submitted to the Graduate Studies in Education Committee upon submission of your final research report.

All the best with your research project.

Yours sincerely,

M Mabete

Wits School of Education
011 717-3416

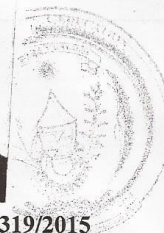
Cc Supervisor: Dr D Mwepu

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Kigali, ... 08/07/2015
N°... 17.16.../12.00/2015



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
P.O.BOX 622 KIGALI



Re: Permission to Carry out Research in Rwanda - No: MINEDUC/S&T/319/2015

The Permission is hereby granted to **Mr. Maniraho Sigfrid**, Ph.D student at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, to carry out research on: **"Code Alternation in Rwandan Classrooms: Case of Multiple Language Practices in Two Secondary Schools"**.

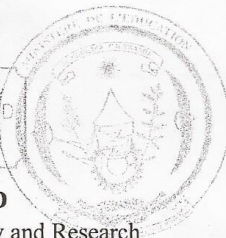
The research will be carried out in four (4) selected Secondary Schools; Two schools in rural areas and two schools in urban areas. During the research activities, the researcher will need access to Current Language in education policy documents and official examinations results over a period of 3 years. He will need to interview staff of the selected schools as well as students.

The period of research is from **09th July, 2015 to 08th July, 2016**. It may be renewed if necessary, in which case a new permission will be sought by the researcher.

Please allow the **above mentioned researcher**, any help and support he might require to conduct this research.

Yours sincerely,

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
GASINGIRWA Marie-Christine, Ph.D
Director General of Science, Technology and Research



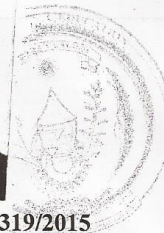
Marie-Christine GASINGIRWA, Ph.D
Director General of Science, Technology and Research
Ministry of Education

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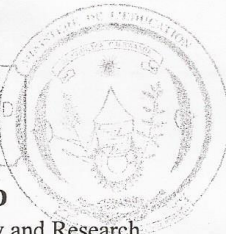
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