

**The development of the linguistic repertoire of
primary school learners within the Mauritian
multilingual educational system**

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ABSTRACT

Since Mauritius gained its independence in 1968, English has remained the official medium of instruction within its schooling system, despite the fact that it is used minimally within the broader Mauritian society. This study seeks to understand the development of the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual primary school learners within the changing Mauritian education system, which has recently (2012) undergone a major policy redirection with the official introduction of Kreol Morisien (KM), a dominant lingua franca, taught now as an optional language. This introduction of KM offers potentially a new contextual avenue for the development of the linguistic repertoire of primary school learners.

This study adopted a linguistic ethnographic approach to produce data with learners aged from 6-8 years in a single Mauritian primary school. Linguistic ethnographic data with the participants was produced over a nine-week period through classroom observations, audio-recording of different instances of interaction of the participants in numerous contexts, including informal chats with the participants. The data was produced to gain a better understanding of how the linguistic repertoire of learners develops within a multilingual educational system and why it develops the way it does. The ethnographic data was then analysed through comparative discourse analytical strategies emanating from the linguistic field. Key informants providing a more holistic depiction of the emergent linguistic repertoire trends included the staff and management of the school.

The analysis reveals that the linguistic repertoire of the learners is shaped by the *space* in which they use it, by the *participants* (dominantly peers and teachers) who make up the interactional acts within which they find themselves, and by the *semiotised objects* which originate within these interactional acts.

A thesis emerges to explain the emergent linguistic repertoire of these learners: when learners start their schooling, they carry with them into their primary classrooms and learning spaces a fluid, dynamic linguistic repertoire drawing from the various resources within their unique linguistic backgrounds. Such a repertoire consists of a multiplicity of voices. However, the multilingual educational system, like a centrifuge, works as a rigid system, separating the dynamism of the linguistic repertoire, and extrapolates the fluidity and multiplicity into discrete languages. Consequently, the multiplicity of voices becomes unified into one single voice which correlates with that of the system (educational, social, cultural), and this in turn resonates with the voice of the state (political, ideological). The **Educational Centrifugal Linguistic Acculturation Framework** (ECLA Framework) paradoxically reinforces rather than challenges the hierarchies between the different languages of the Mauritian society. This ECLA Framework is consequently presented to shed light on how the linguistic repertoire of primary school learners works implicitly to develop hegemony within the Mauritian educational system despite the laudable intention of providing an alternative. The study opens possibilities for reflection on deeper systemic reforms required to enact more democratic recognition of linguistic diversity.

Declaration

I, Yesha Devi Mahadeo-Doorgakant declare that,

- (i) The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- (ii) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- (iii) This thesis does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers.
- (iv) This thesis does not contain other person's writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
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¹Pseudonyms to protect anonymity.

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List of abbreviations

BEC: Bureau de l'Éducation Catholique – now known as the Service Diocésain de l'Éducation Catholique (SeDEC)

CA: Conversation Analysis

CIA: Central Intelligence Academy

CLT: Communicative Language Teaching

CPE: Certificate of Primary Education

CS: Code-switching

ECLAS: Educational Centrifugal Linguistic Acculturation System

EP: Enhancement Programme

FAPEC: Fédération des Associations de Parents d'Élèves des Ecoles Catholiques

GP: General Purpose

IRF: Initiation Response Feedback

KM: Kreol Morisien

LA: Linguistic Anthropology

LIDES: Language Interaction Data Exchange System

LE: Linguistic Ethnography

LLS: Linguistic Landscape

MIE: Mauritius Institute of Education

MOE: Ministry of Education

MOEHR: Ministry of Education and Human Resources

PMO: Prime Minister's Office

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

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PART ONE

Part One, which consists of three chapters, presents the contextual, theoretical and methodological underpinnings that guided this study. Chapter One offers a historico-political, contextual and local background to the study and then deals with the focus, rationale and critical research questions of the study. Chapter Two outlines the theoretical underpinnings which ground this study, reconceptualising “linguistic repertoire” and “multilingualism” before offering a temporary theoretical lens to guide the study. Chapter Three outlines the methodological underpinnings of the narrative data production to capture the essence of the linguistic ethnography journey and the thick description of the data context. Whilst Part One frames the setting up of the study, Part Two deals with the analysis of the data, and Part Three generates a reformulated thesis.

Chapter One

Contextualising the Research

1.0 Orientation

Despite being a small island in the Indian Ocean, Mauritius represents a microcosm of the co-existence of many languages that is increasingly an international phenomenon across many nation states. This opening chapter contextualises the research problem, describing critically the linguistic situation in the country, as represented in the literature available. I move on to embed the current linguistic situation within a historico-political dimension looking at the major linguistic moves within the educational system made by the different governments who ruled the island ever since it was a French colony. I then outline the current linguistic situation specifically within the educational system which forms the background of my study. The last part of the chapter deals with the focus, purpose and rationale of my study before closing with the critical research questions that drove the study that I undertook. Before moving on to state the focus and rationale of the study, it is important to report on the background of the study and to better understand the background, the contextual intricacies will be looked into in the following sections.

1.1 Section One: Languages in Mauritius and language use

1.1.1 Languages² in Mauritius

The Republic of Mauritius is situated about 2000 kilometres off the southeast coast of Africa. Mauritius gained its independence in 1968, having been a French colony in the 18th century and a British colony from 19th-20th century. The linguistic situation within the island is riddled with complexity. This is illustrated not only in local representation of the linguistic situation within reports and the research literature available but also by the global representations conducted to codify the linguistic terrain in practice. Indeed, the different national census reports that have been published over the last few decades, as well as the description of the island on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Factbook, contribute to complexify this issue (CIA, 2014; Ministry of Economic Planning and Development [CSO], 1983; Ministry of Finance & Economic Development [CSO], 2000; Ministry of Finance & Economic Development [CSO], 2011). Hence,

² Language as a concept has been reconceptualised in this study in Chapter Two. According to Cook (2010, n.d.), '(t)he English word 'language' has many different meanings. However taking into account the intricacies of multilingual settings, for the purpose of this study, 'language' is defined as 'a dynamic system' (Cook, 2010; Herdina & Jessner, 2002, 2008).

there is no clear indication as to how many languages are actually used in the island and moreover, the listing and categorisation of the languages also tend to differ over the reporting of the main census results published over the last few decades (See Table One below).

Table One: Languages listed in Census Reports over decades

<i>Census Reports (Year-wise)</i>	<i>Listed languages usually or most often spoken at home</i>
1983	Arabic, Bhacha, Bhojpuri, Cantonese, Chinese, Creole, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hakka, Hindi, Italian, Mandarin, Marathi, Polish, Punjabi, Russian, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Others.
2000	Bhojpuri only, Chinese languages only, Creole only, English only, French only, Hindi only, Marathi only, Tamil only, Telugu only, Urdu only, Others (including combinations of languages)
2011	Creole, Bhojpuri, French, Hindi, English

This is also reduplicated within some of the research literature that is available on the linguistic situation of the island, thus rendering the linguistic description all the more complex. (Auleear-Owodally, 2011; Rajah-Carrim, 2005; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005) Therefore, there is not a single representational picture depicting this linguistic complexity. Instead, different interpretations are available with regard to the very nature of the complexity. Following a brief description of the different representations of languages across the different censuses and the research literature, possible interpretations will be put forth as to why this complexity exists. These will be looked at in detail below.

According to the main results reported from the Housing and Population Census of 1983 carried out on the languages spoken/used in Mauritius (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development [CSO], 1983), there were approximately twenty-five languages, namely: Arabic, Bhacha, Bhojpuri, Cantonese, Chinese, Creole, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hakka, Hindi, Indian, Mandarin, Marathi, Polish, Punjabi, Russian, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and other languages (See Appendix One). A change was noted in the Housing and Population Census 2000 (Ministry of Finance & Economic Development [CSO], 2000). The languages that were listed as being the only languages usually or most often spoken at home were as follows: Bhojpuri, Chinese languages, Creole, English, French, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and other languages (See Appendix Two).

Compared to the two previous census reports, a decrease was noted in the number of languages. Moreover, the '*Oriental languages*' designation was used in the 2000 Population Census to encompass Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Arabic and Modern Chinese (Ministry of Finance & Economic Development [CSO], 2000).

According to the main results reported in the Population Census in 2011, 86.5% of the Mauritian population identified Kreol Morisien (henceforth KM) as the main language spoken at home, 5.3% opted for Bhojpuri, and 4.1% chose French, whilst 1.4% of the Mauritian claimed to speak two languages at home. Only 0.4% selected English as language spoken at home (Ministry of Finance & Economic Development [CSO], 2011). The 2011 Population Census, in turn, introduced three categories of languages, namely: *Creole, Oriental languages* (Bhojpuri, Indian languages, Chinese languages and Other languages) and *European languages* (English, French and other European languages) (See Appendix Three). Moreover, the *Oriental languages* were not enumerated as had been the case in previous census reports.

Furthermore, the Constitution of Mauritius (Mauritius, 1992) speaks of four major main communities: the Hindus, the Muslims (of Muslim faith), the Sino-Mauritians (whose ancestors came from China) and the General Population. The Hindus are further demarcated along religious and linguistics groups, such as the Telugus, the Tamils and the Marathis (Mathur, 1997). The General Population comprises the Franco-Mauritians (whose ancestors were French colonisers) and the Creole community (consisting of the mixed population, a term used to refer to those individuals whose ancestors came from Africa and Madagascar and those born of interethnic unions involving descendants of African origin and descendants of French colonisers).

According to the Central Intelligence Academy (CIA) World Factbook (CIA:2014), there are approximately 1.3 million people who inhabit the island; most of them being the descendants of French colonisers, slaves and indentured labourers of African and Asian origin who were brought in the island. The Mauritian population is said to comprise approximately 68% Indo-Mauritians (descendants of indentured labourers from India), 27% Afro-Mauritians³ (descendants of slaves from Africa and mixed population), 3% Sino-Mauritians (descendants of indentured labourers from China) and 2% Franco-Mauritians (descendants of French colonisers). Moreover, the CIA (2014) also claims that there are 48.5% Hindus, 26.3% Roman Catholics and 17.3% Muslims amongst the three main religious groups that exist on the island. Listed also are the main languages,

³The Afro-Mauritians are also often called the Creole community of Mauritius.

namely Creole, Bhojpuri, French and English. The CIA (2014) makes use of the same figures available from the Population Census of 2011. As it can be seen, a unified representation is lacking even in the representation of the communities that inhabit the island, and this is, in fact far from being neutral. Thus, these representations of languages as well as communities betray the paradigm within which the researcher/data producers act.

Within the research literature available, some authors (Auleear-Owodally, 2011; Rajah-Carrim, 2005; Sonck, 2005; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009) refer to the 2000 Housing and Population Census to represent the different languages used in the island. The number of languages usually listed ranges from eleven to fourteen, with various authors categorising these languages under different labels. For instance, Sauzier-Uchida (2009) uses other categories to represent the languages existing within the island. One categorisation used by her is that of *colonial languages*, comprising English and French. The second category is that of *eastern/ancestral languages*, which are associated with the religious and ethnic belonging of the communities living in Mauritius, and the third category comprises Creole often referred to as the lingua franca of the island by many authors writing about the island's linguistic situation (Auleear-Owodally, 2011). As Creole originated during the period of slavery, it is one of the reasons for which the descendants of the slaves often associate themselves with the language despite the fact that it has evolved into being the lingua franca of the majority of Mauritians (Rajah-Carrim, 2005).

Therefore, as can be seen above, there is not one representation of the linguistic situation within the island but a multiplicity of representations done both in census reports as well as in some of the research literature available, rendering the linguistic representation all the more complex, and making it hard to work out one unified depiction. What one notes also is the shift in the listing and categorisation of the different languages over the past few decades. One possible interpretation after a reading of the census reports of 1983, 2000, 2011 and the research literature is that the representations done tend to bring forth a number of linguistic associations. The first one deals with associating the languages with religious/ethnic communities inhabiting the island. Thus, *Oriental languages* or *eastern/ancestral languages* are associated with those having as ancestors the indentured labourers who came to work on the island, namely the Hindus⁴, Muslims⁵ and the

⁴ 'Hindu'Hindu here denotes those who are from the Hindu religious community.

⁵ 'Muslim'Muslim here denotes those who are of Muslim faith.

Chinese⁶. Religion and ethnicity is embedded deeply within the Mauritian society as the communities inhabiting the island are recognised mainly by their ethnic and religious denominations, as can be seen through the representation of communities in the Constitution of Mauritius (Mauritius, 1992). The second category is linked to the languages of the colonisers, namely French and English, whilst Creole stands as a separate category altogether. It is observed that the Afro-Mauritians are not associated with any of the Oriental languages and this is one of the reasons that explain this ethnic community's association with Creole (Rajah-Carrim, 2005). On the other hand, in the 2011 Population Census (Ministry of Finance & Economic Development [CSO], 2011), a move to categorise the languages differently within the questionnaire itself could be seen, with English and French being classified under the label of "*European languages*" and no mention made of the other European languages that had been listed in the previous reports. It could be inferred that this was done to denote the association of these languages as global languages rather than to put forth their association with the colonisers. It is also noted that the different Oriental languages are not listed individually, as had been the case in previous reports (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development [CSO], 1983; Ministry of Finance and Economic Development [CSO], 2000). Instead, Oriental languages appear within the questionnaire as a category comprising Chinese and Indian languages, with Bhojpuri being included in this same category. A move was made within the 2011 Population Census to put forth a national identity of Mauritians rather than their religious identity. The labels used in this report, notably, European, Indian and Chinese tend to be more representative of the association of the languages with nations rather than with ethnicity. It can therefore be stated that a move was thus made in the 2011 Population Census to report the use of languages in such a way as to render these devoid of ethnic or colonial associations. language as being devoid of ethnic as well as colonial association. 2011 was a crucial year as it was the year before KM was introduced in the educational system as an optional language. The introduction of KM within the educational system was one of the electoral promises made by the winning party of the elections of 2010. As Creole was the lingua franca of most Mauritians and often seen as being the language which bound the nation but also as being associated with the Afro-Mauritians, the 2011 Population Census foregrounded the concept of nation rather than that of ethnicity or religion to denote the association of Creole with

⁶ 'Chinese' Chinese here denotes those who had ancestors who came from China.

the nation rather than its association with the ethnic community. This would then serve ground to justify its introduction within the educational system.

It should be reported that for elections carried out in the country in the years 1983, 2000 and 2010, each government census reports allowed the ruling government to have a better understanding of their electorate (“Elections in Mauritius”, 2015). One possible interpretation is that the reporting of the results of Population census is not neutral, but the shifts noted in categorising and labelling the different groups of language are deliberate. Hence, it can be interpreted that the kind of officialised reporting done in 1983 and 2000 might have served ideological functions in the demarcation and consolidation of particular groupings of individuals or groups, namely the different ethnic communities residing in Mauritius. Listing the different languages serves to demarcate the different ethnic as well as linguistic groups, thus serving the interests of the state, at the time of elections, when it is necessary to win over votes of the different religious and ethnic communities. It is noted that the same is not done with the Chinese languages and one possible interpretation is that the Sino-Mauritians represent an ethnic minority and that further dividing and classifying the community in terms of language associations would not be beneficial for the state. The strategy to divide into ethnic groups is often used at the time of elections, so that the parties can access the votes of the different groupings which make up the electorate. Electoral campaigns in the Mauritian context often draw on ethnic alliances and affiliations, coercing group solidarities and identities around particular electoral candidates, thereby driving (constructed) cultural groups of communities to vote in order to secure their targeted cultural enclaves.

Moreover, it can also be seen that another shift in the listing and categorisation of the languages was reported for the 2011 Population Census. Indeed, the Census report was carried out a year after the 2010 election and one year before the introduction of KM as an official optional language option within the national Mauritian educational system. The Alliance de l’Avenir – which was formed out of a coalition of the Labour Party, the Mouvement Socialiste Militant (MSM) and the Parti Mauricien Social Démocrate (PMSD) – and which won the elections, had stated during their electoral campaign that one educational action that would be undertaken upon victory would be the introduction of KM as a subject in the educational system (Bouzermaurice Mauritius, 2010). The intersection between the language issue and the election promises and outcomes is thus closely aligned. Census reports could therefore be considered as being politically constructed.

Despite the different ways of reporting and grouping languages in use across census exercises in order to steer and consolidate conceptions and formation of (politicised) group identities, the research literature perpetuates its own interpretations and categorisations of the languages in use as discrete entities. Research studies tend to be preoccupied with the specific functions that dominant languages play within the island. For example, studies report that English and French dominate the formal public administrative world of government, business, tourism and industry and media; whilst Creole dominates everyday social and interactive oral discourses (even in the interactive world of work) (Auleear-Owodally, 2011; Rajah-Carrim, 2005; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005). This perhaps stems from the traditions of sociolinguistics drawing on an understanding of the purposes/functions to which different languages are deployed within cultural settings. However, these studies tend to downplay the *de facto* complex interactive relationship that exist amongst the usage of the multiple languages by individuals for varied purposes. The dominant literature representations also fail to acknowledge this complex everyday linguistic reality of the multilingual Mauritian as well. This is true as well for the Mauritian primary school learner. According to the existing literature (Auleear-Owodally, 2011; Rajah-Carrim, 2005; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005), most of the learners who start their primary schooling have Creole as mother tongue, but mention is also made of the experience of most children with a number of different languages through exposure to media. Thus, it is undeniable that the learners come to school already much embedded within the complex Mauritian multilingual spatiality. The following section will look at how language is used in the different domains of the island, in an attempt to better understand the environment in which these learners interact and the linguistic resources with which they come to school.

1.1.2 Language usage within the island

Before drawing out the linguistic situation within the multilingual educational system, it is important to depict the different language usage patterns within formal and informal domains in the island, to offer a richer contextual backdrop to the study. To some extent this might be seen as an extension of the existing literature attempting to gain understanding of how languages function (independently and intersectedly) to serve different purposes in this contextual setting. However, it should be observed at the onset that there is yet to be a current in-depth research that has been carried out on how language is used within the different domains in the island. Indeed, while much research has been done on language use in schools (Auleear-Owodally, 2011; Mahadeo, 2006;

Rughoonundun-Chellapermal, 2007; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005; Tirvassen, 2012)⁷, there is hardly any recent study which has been done to look at how language is used in the other domains. This section will attempt to look at the different language usage patterns within the different domains in the island. This representation below is by no means exhaustive, but merely illustrative to signal the kind of more expansive macro-level sociolinguistic mappings of functions and purposes, and the interplay between languages in different domains in post-independence Mauritius. However, it should be highlighted that this representation stems from my own lived experience and does not attempt to provide a full account of a universally true representation of language use in the different domains in the island. In the Mauritian constitution (Mauritius, 1992), no mention is made of any official national language. As mentioned above, Creole is reported to be used as the language of everyday communication by the majority of the Mauritian population, with Bhojpuri and French being used partly by a segment of the population.

The linguistic situation of the media in Mauritius reflects a multifaceted space. According to Act No.7 of 1964 (Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation, n.d.), the national television and radio channel has as aim to “provide independent and impartial broadcasting services of information, education, culture and entertainment in different languages taught or spoken in the country”. This has been translated into the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation, the national television and radio channel broadcasting programmes in twelve languages: notably French, Creole English, Hindi, Urdu, Bhojpuri, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Gujrathi, Mandarin/Cantonese and Hakka⁸. There are above fifteen local and international channels, with a specific channel associated to each of these languages broadcasted by the national television. Specifically, there are three local television channels in which there is a mixture of programmes broadcasted in different languages, the main one being French. The dominance of news channels from international French and English contexts also characterises satellite television, usually targeting the touristic and middle-class citizenry. Most of the nationally constructed news bulletins are broadcasted in French. However, there are some limited slots allotted to the broadcasting of the news bulletin in Hindi, English and Creole. There are two bulletins read in Hindi, two in Creole and one in English daily.⁹

⁷ These research studies will be looked at in further details in sections below, and in Chapter Two.

⁸ There are 2 major groups of Chinese who came to Mauritius. One is Cantonese and had as mother tongue Cantonese and the other group is Hakka and had as mother tongue Hakka, which brought forward this variance.

⁹ It is recognised that more systematic inquiry into the patterns of media and linguistic usage should be directed by future research. The intention here is merely to provide a snapshot needing more detailed future interrogation.

The national public radio follows more or less the same trend as television broadcasting, with a number of channels allotted to specific languages with some slots reserved for what are called by many, languages bearing a “religious/ethnic marker”. However, the private radio channels (such as those broadcasted on more community-based radio frequencies) make a broader use of the linguistic repertoire of Mauritius, allowing for a freer flow from mainly French, Creole and at times Hindi. A range of these community-based different radio programmes has wider accessibility in specific geographic areas, and is less class-differentiated. Indeed, Auckle and Barnes (2011, p.105) speaking of pop culture as is broadcasted via the medium of radio channels, argue that

Mauritian pop culture displays an equal measure of synthesis, relying on a quick efficient combination of codes to get the message across, instead of opting for an elusive pure variety of any one particular tongue

Perhaps these private rather than the officialised, propagated or constructed choices of linguistic usages depict a strong resemblance to everyday usage of the intersectedness of so-called discrete language, a concern which underpins this thesis exploration.

Most of the Hollywood or European movies which are brought to the island and are played in the cinema theatres are dubbed in French. There is only one daily screening of movies in their original English version at a particular set time in the evening. Moreover, Bollywood movies also are dominant when it comes to the cinema of the island. Most of the cinema theatres broadcast Bollywood movies in Hindi and Tamil. Most of the Bollywood movies which are in Hindi do not have sub-titles, whereas Tamil movies are screened with sub-titles in English. The media in Mauritius, therefore, provides exposure to numerous languages via the different channels attributed to the numerous languages existing as well as to a more dynamic and fluid linguistic resource through private radio channels.

Most learners joining primary schools in their first year are exposed to these different linguistic resources, given that most have access to both a television set and the radio in their homes. Although they might be using Creole mostly in their interactions, they are also very much embedded within this multilingual linguistic reality in which they live. The written media also sees the linguistic supremacy with English being less visible within this domain as it was the case above. Most of the newspapers are in French with a few newspapers available in English. The widely read local newspaper, *Le Mauricien* had allotted a page to writings of articles in Creole, but it had just a two-year lifetime, and currently (2017), it no longer features there. Most of the legal documents, the acts of the constitution, administrative papers as well as advertisement are

mostly in English. An evolving corpus of local fictional literature has developed over two centuries which mostly uses French. This has spearheaded the teaching of dedicated modules taught at the University of Mauritius which is aimed at researching Mauritian literature written in French. However, there are also some authors of fiction who have written in English, Bhojpuri, Hindi and Creole and these are seen as contributing to “Mauritian Literature”. Non-standardised versions of Creole literature have also been available since 2011. There are some socio-cultural organisations (who represent very often the Creole¹⁰ community of the island), which make use of Creole in its standardised and non-standardised variety within their publications, but this literature has relatively minimal national circulation. Moreover, the new literary competition organised by the Creole Speaking Union, where standardised KM is used for the production of literary works. Indeed, it is recognised that an in-depth systematic research of this corpus is needed to provide clarity of the database of these resources.

Concerning the usage of the language in the National Assembly, Article 49 of the Constitution of Mauritius (“Languages of Mauritius”, n.d.) states that “(t) he official language of the Assembly shall be English but any member may address the chair in French”. The *de facto* practice thus prevails that English is the preferred language of Parliament, but that more than just English co-exists in this domain. Official written and verbal discourses formally elevate English, but French is an alternative oral language of negotiation inside the Houses of Government. However, more systemic inquiry is needed to be conducted to examine the presence of Creole which oftentimes is seen as the language to negotiate and reach resolutions of administrative confusion, such as in the legal court cases. The interactive official relationships become blurred and eroded as complex day-to-day written and oral discourses intersperse across French, English, Creole and the other languages existing in the island within the formal and informal domains. Languages (if understood as discrete entities) exist on the island in composite interaction with each other forming part of an environment within which the primary school learner grows and develops his/her own individual linguistic repertoire¹¹.

As was said at the beginning of this section, there is a gap with regards to research that has been done looking at language usage within the different domains in Mauritius. There is a need for an

¹⁰ Here Creole denotes those who belong to the Creole ethnic (afro) community in the island and who often associate themselves with CreoleKM, the language, although it is spoken by the majority of the population of the island.

¹¹ The choice for the label “linguistic repertoire” will be explored in-depth in Chapter Two

expanding field of the sociolinguistics research in Mauritius, more so to best understand the living spatiality of Mauritians and how their linguistic repertoire is shaped by this context. After having reported on the contextual intricacies of the island which set up the background of the study, the following section will now look at how the linguistic educational system in Mauritius evolved from the colonial period till date.

1.2 Section Two: A historical overview of the linguistic educational system in Mauritius

This section will focus on the multilingual educational system in Mauritius from a historical perspective, providing the contextual background to the study. It will argue that language-in-education policies, language choice and use in the educational system are historically and politically embedded.

1.2.1 The colonial period

Mauritius, like many countries who underwent colonisation, inherits from a double colonial heritage educational system¹² (Bunwaree, 1994). Having been both a French and a British colony, Mauritius' educational system has its origins rooted in its colonial history. Both the French rule and the British rule are fraught with a history of racism whereby both governments sought to impose the supremacy of their race, religion as well as language onto the majority largely working class population. The educational system set up during the governance reigns can be understood as an ideal extension of the managerial colonial agenda.

In the early 19th century, during the French rule, there was only one secondary school which was called the Ecole Centrale (Prithipaul, 1976). This school catered mainly for the elite of the country, which was made up of the White French colonisers. Its teachers were mainly Roman Catholic priests (Duvivier, 1890) and they continued to teach until the arrival of the British in 1810. The language used in the secondary school was French. Since admission to the Ecole Centrale was restricted only to the white children of the French colonisers, a second separate secondary school was set up for the coloured¹³ people. The slaves did not have access to education at all (Bunwaree, 1994). The educational system, as reported in the historical account below, according to Bunwaree (1994) became one way for the colonisers to maintain their supremacy over those whom they ruled, notably the slaves that they had brought to the island and the children who were born out of the

¹² A double colonial heritage educational system is a system which has come into being influenced both by the French and the British colonial administration.

¹³ Children who were born of unions between the African slaves and the white French colonisers.

union of African slaves and white colonisers. By withholding formal schooling from demarcated parts of the population, the dichotomy between those in power and those at the lower end of the society at that time was maintained hierarchically.

The British, who took over the island in 1810, were not much different from the French rulers. Governor Farquhar, who governed at that period, wanted that the transition from French to the British rule be smooth and did not want to displease the French planters. This was because the inhabitants even after the conquest of the island by the British remained predominantly French. Very few people from Britain came to settle in the island. Moreover, Governor Farquhar allowed the French inhabitants to keep their language, customs and traditions. This political decision taken at that time had a huge impact on the linguistic complexity of the island which still prevails to this day. However, although he allowed for French to be maintained in the island, Farquhar also brought a change in the medium of instruction. Indeed, he made English the medium of instruction, instead of French, in an attempt to bring about changes to the educational system and make it British. When the French settlers protested to this change, he tried to infuse a bilingual character in the educational system, by including both English and French. Moreover, although the Roman Catholic Church was maintained in the island, when the British took over, an attempt was made at promoting the development of the Protestant Anglican church (with its English roots). This created a division between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church in Mauritius. However, what did not change at that time was the educational discrimination that continued to prevail between the Whites and the rest of the Coloured population.

Since in 1836 a permit was not required to open schools, the Roman Catholic priests who had lost control of the Ecole Centrale, opened a number of schools to address this discrimination (Le Diocèse de Port-Louis, n.d.). Hence, “free day schools for children” were opened to cater for the education of the past slaves as well as those who were born out of the union of slaves and white French colonisers (Bunwaree, 1994, p.81). Consequently, this became one of the ways in which Roman Catholic missionary education got a strong foothold in the island, since they were seen to be addressing the educational upliftment of the oppressed. By creating schools for this section of the population of the island and providing education, this allowed the missionary schools to deal with their ‘civilising’ mission, thereby not only religiously converting those who had access to education provided by them, but also leading them to accept new social as well as economic organisations. The missionary schools, which were mainly Roman Catholic and which provided

education in French, were seen as being a threat by the British colonial administration ruling at that time. Indeed, the British (English speaking) colonialists perceived the activities of the Roman Catholic (French speaking) missionaries as a threat to their rule of the island. They feared that the coloured population of the island would become followers of the French who had settled in the island and potential counter revolutionaries of British rule. Thus, a compromise was brokered by the British colonialists permitting the educational system to include both French and English as a form of political reconciling of their potential differences, but simultaneously subtly imposing their own supremacy over the island.

Although the British colonial administration sought to “make Mauritius English and Protestant, instead of French and Catholic” (Ramdoyal, 1977, p.69), ever since that time and to this day, the Roman Catholic Church, which is still one of the Ministry of Education’s (MOE) main partners, has kept a stronghold on the educational system of Mauritius. Due to its initial close association with the French bourgeois of the island who still continue to manage the private sector of the island and later with the coloured masses of the island, the Roman Catholic Church maintained the power necessary to influence the linguistic make-up of the island. Thus, this was one reason French remained firmly embedded within the educational system, apart from being the mother tongue of those who held the economic power in the island’s private sector. This therefore, explains the dual linguistic legacy that the island inherited from and which till date shapes the educational system. Notwithstanding, education became a large scale concern in the 1850s after the arrival of the indentured labourers in the island from parts of India and China to replace the African slaves who had been freed. With the arrival of the indentured labourers in the country, the (British) colonial administration found itself in a dilemma with regard to the provision of education and the language that would be used to provide education. At that time, a decision was taken to set up one educational system for both the children whom they termed as the Creole¹⁴ children and the children of the indentured labourers therefore envisaging the creation of one single community being taught in one single language. This move was deemed to be the best as the fusion of the Creole children and the indentured labourers’ children was seen as one way to maintain the colonial supremacy on the island. Ordinance 21 of 1857 was passed to allow for the education of

¹⁴ In relation to this statement, someone who is called creole is viewed as being born to slaves of black ancestry or children born from the union of African slaves and white colonisers.

the children of the indentured labourers and the language of instruction chosen at that time was French, with English being taught as a subject.

This was not interpreted favourably by the Court of Directors of East India Company¹⁵, who thought that this would alienate the children from their mother tongue and hence, attendance to school “was made optional rather than compulsory”. This resulted in discrimination towards the Indian/Asian children for many generations as this decision led to their being deprived of any form of schooling (Bunwaree, 1994, p.85). Prithipaul (1976) argues that the Indians/Asians were not taken into account by the missionaries who focused on the children of the slave population instead. Since child labour still continued to be legal in the country until 1907, the colonial administration did not deem that the children of the indentured labourers should be educated as this would decrease the number of child workers who could work for them in the plantations of the island (Bunwaree, 1994; Prithipaul, 1976). Moreover, since the school curriculum comprised religious studies, the Roman Catholic Church and the French speaking community had a lot of influence in the educational system. Bunwaree (1994, p.86) claims that “the bias towards French was maintained in primary schools”. Thus, the choice of languages as medium of instruction in Mauritius was largely a reflector of the ongoing contestations of religion, politics and governance of the colonisers as they set up and controlled the education system of formal schooling. Their ideals and beliefs dominated what came to be associated with formal schooling system and the languages taught therein, which explains the strong linguistic foothold maintained both by English and French, the two colonial languages, till date.

1.2.2 The pre-independence period

In the early twentieth century, the country underwent a number of major constitutional as well as political changes, which in turn influenced the educational system of the island. In 1948, the Indian and Creole politicians won the elections and power shifted from the Whites to the “non-Whites”. The government at that time viewed education as being the key to development, and many measures were introduced to educate those who had been underprivileged groups discriminated against during the French and British colonial period. Most of these were the Indians and hence

¹⁵ The Court of Directors of East India Company constituted of a group of largely Dutch/Netherlands speakers who originated from Holland. It should be reminded that Mauritius had been found discovered by Dutch settlers, who did not stay and colonise the island.

the government's policy was to provide universal and compulsory education to all children of the island (Bunwaree, 1994).

The Ward Report in 1941 brought about a number of major reforms in the educational system, with the education system being given a formal organised structure. In 1944, the Education Ordinance Act (Bunwaree, 1994) was introduced and this act, which took up a number of recommendations proposed by the Ward report, regulated a number of things, notably the introduction of a uniform standard six examination for all children within the educational system at the end of six years of primary schooling. Provisions were also made so that all government primary schools could "provide religious instruction to Indian children so that Hindu and Muslim children could learn about their respective faiths. Children belonging to the Christian faith were already receiving religious instruction" (Bunwaree, 1994, p.88). One notes here the continuation of the ethnicity framings of the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities as distinct religious groups. Religion and education continued to be entwined, albeit with different languages and religious groupings.

The 1944 Education Ordinance Act (Bunwaree, 1994) also tried to tackle the language problems that were existent in the educational system – which had also been recognised in the 1941 Ward Report (Bunwaree, 1994) – and whose recommendations were applied in the 1944 Education Ordinance Act. The 1944 Education Ordinance Act (Auleear-Owadally, 2011) reads as such:

In the lower classes of Government and aided primary schools up to and including Standard III, any one language may be employed as the language of instruction, being a language which in the opinion of the Minister is most suitable for the pupils.

In Standards IV, V and VI of the Government and aided primary schools the medium of instruction shall be English, and conversation between teacher and pupils shall be carried on in English; provided that lessons in any other language taught in the school shall be carried on through the medium of that language (p.3).

In practice, the language policy of the British administration was honoured in its breach. The act allowed teachers the freedom to choose any medium of instruction even if all the textbook materials (with the exception of the French subject) were in English. This then meant that such a measure of freedom was exercised especially at an oral level since the technical terms in Mathematics, for example, had not yet been translated into Creole. Hence, when the power shifted from the Whites to the non-whites, the Indian politicians took a decision to maintain English as medium of instruction. In fact, they viewed education as being very important since education had allowed them to get to power. They saw literacy as a means to be socially and economically

successful. Thus, they changed the educational system. Whilst deciding to maintain English as medium of instruction, they decided to have French taught as a core subject. A decision was also taken to propose an Oriental/Asian as an optional language to the children in the primary sector. As the country was nearing its independence, the linguistic situation within the multilingual educational system was already highly fraught with a number of problematics, made all the more complex by the number of linguistic moves which had been made over the history of the educational system, by the different rulers of the country, whether it was the white French and British colonial rulers or the Indians and Creole politicians who obtained power in the years preceding independence.

1.2.3 The post-independence period till the twenty-first century.

In 1968, Mauritius became independent. Santiago (1982) contends that government used education as an important agent to implement their ideologies. Hence, the decision to maintain the colonial language, English, within the Mauritian educational system after independence was very much a political one (Tirvassen, 1999). This was due to the fact that the Indo-Mauritians, who were in majority, perceived English as a better option than French or Creole. As has been argued above, the Mauritian educational system during the colonial period was characterised by a strong dose of racism and ethnic prejudice. The post-independent educational system inherited the schooling that had already been established during the colonial period, and although racism took a backseat, the elitist and competitive system still remains in place many decades after the country gained its independence. The only difference is that languages instead of race acted as a discriminative factor. It can thus be contended that language educational policies are politically influenced to serve the purposes of the political party in place.

Indeed, the linguistic situation predominant within the educational system of Mauritius is a highly debatable one in the literature available. As a matter of fact, although there is no official language in the country, the 1944 Education Ordinance Act (Auleear Owodally, 2011) is a binding document whereby the choice of which language of instruction to use within the educational system has been clearly dictated. Ever since Mauritius gained its independence and even before, English has remained the *de facto* medium of instruction. Most of the teaching, according to the Education Ordinance Act, should be carried out in English. The three major examinations, the Certificate of Primary of Education (CPE), the Cambridge 'O' Level and the Cambridge 'A' Level have to be assessed in English except for the subject 'French' and any other languages which are taught within

the system. As reported before, French is a compulsory language in both primary as well as secondary schools. This assessment pull towards English and the compulsory status of French therefore, allow both English and French to maintain their linguistic supremacy within the educational system of Mauritius. Only those who acquire adequate competence in English are likely to proceed successfully through the Mauritian educational system.

In the case of the Oriental¹⁶ languages which are included within the educational system, they are interpreted as serving the religious and/or cultural affirmation of the different ethnic groups who live on the island (Auleear-Owodally, 2012). This explains why Oriental languages are considered “optional languages” within the primary schooling, since the unwritten assumption is that they should not destabilise the primacy of the main target educational languages of English and French. These choices are also oftentimes unconsciously supported by the parents: ““optional languages” promote cultural ethnic belonging, whilst “target” English and French competence supports access to better life opportunities through education.

It is important to posit this linguistic debate within a historico-political perspective and note how the existent linguistic complexity that is often referred to within the literature is one that has arisen because of the major linguistic moves that were made by the different rulers of the country in the Mauritian history. The maintenance of English as medium of instruction raises a number of issues even though English is used minimally by the majority of Mauritians. Creole remains the language of daily interaction for many, but its presence in the formal schooling system has been continually marginalised formally. Should not the language of the majority, the lingua franca of everyday use of islanders, be part of the formal schooling system, ideally as its medium of instruction?

Indeed, the change in the medium of instruction from English to Creole, the mother tongue, as a medium of instruction was an issue raised in the late 1960s, just before Mauritius gained independence. Until that date, it had been taken for granted that education should be carried out in English, the official language, and therefore it was stated in all educational documents that English should be the medium of instruction at all levels of education, despite the frequent oppositions made by the Francophone Mauritians who believed that French should be the medium of instruction. However, the political elite of the majority ethnic group, made up mainly of Mauritians of Indian origin, adopted English as a symbol of their social mobility, despite the fact that most of the students who start primary schooling have very little exposure to English within their

¹⁶ Including Indian languages, Chinese languages, Arabic and other languages.

environment. Indeed, over the past few decades, the high rate of failure at the end of the primary cycle has been attributed to the fact that Mauritian children were educated in languages that were not their mother tongue (Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005).

Since Independence, a number of reports have been commissioned to look at the ambiguous linguistic situation within the educational system. A reading of the reports commissioned over the decades (MOE, 1983; MOE, 1990; MOE, 2008) clearly shows that the Mauritian government has not changed its stance with respect to the issue of medium of instruction in Mauritius. Despite the fact that all the reports point to the linguistic complexity of the Mauritian educational system, notably the use of English as medium of instruction, these reports still opt for the maintenance of the same language educational policy dictated by the 1944 Education Ordinance Act. In the 1970s, “(steering) the middle course” was deemed better than changing the medium of instruction (MOE, 1978, p.121). In the 1990s only one solution was put forth and that was to reinforce the “teaching of reading with understanding of English.” (MOE, 1990, p.70). In the 21st century, the advice given was to engage in “broad based national consultation” before a change of policy could be opted for (MOE, 2008, p.42). Moreover, all reports advanced the advantages of having English and French taught within the educational system. Hence, since the few last decades, there has been no political will to make any changes to the educational system in regard to the medium of instruction. The refusal to give French and the Oriental languages a secondary position in the Mauritian educational system is considered very much a political decision (Ramdoyal, 1977; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005). Since the majority of the population who gained political power were descendants of the Indian immigrants, the linguistic claim to maintain Oriental languages as optional languages was obvious. Since French was the language of the oligarchy, the Catholic elite and the educated sections of the rest of the population, it was maintained within the educational system.

Although Creole is the mother tongue and the language of everyday communication for the majority of the population, it has been kept out of the educational system for decades. As noted from the above discussion, the introduction of Creole in the Mauritian educational system has been the object of several repeated campaigns with regard to language education policies in the 1960s and 1970s (Mahadeo, 2003). This continues in new forms in more recent times. In 2004, the government’s decision to compute the results of Oriental languages in the overall assessment scores of learners at the CPE exams (which is the exit level primary school certificate, and which predisposes the kind of secondary school a learner can access) led to a raging controversy. The

Creole community of Catholic faith who did not have the choice of any language bearing a religious/ethnic marker amongst the options available for the optional languages felt that such a decision would be at their disadvantage. The Creole community felt that Oriental languages could be considered for grading purposes at the CPE examinations, only if KM was introduced in the Mauritian educational curriculum (Chooneea, 2004). Although it was recognised that Creole was the mother tongue of the majority of Mauritians, Creole was also seen as being their language as KM had originated during the times of slavery. It was argued that

Le langage morisien, c'est la langue de tous les Mauriciens. Mais malgré ce constat, je suis obligé d'admettre que cette langue a aussi une valeur identitaire. A Maurice, 25% de la population qu'on appelle afro-créoles s'identifient à cette langue. Donc, le langage morisien a deux dimensions: nationale et identitaire: voire ethnique.¹⁷ (Chooneea, 2004, p.2)

Therefore, in 2004, Creole enrobed religious dimensions and was propagated as the language associated with a specific ethnic community in Mauritius, the Creole community. In the same year, the government took the first step to standardise Creole. At that time, linguists and lecturers from the University of Mauritius and the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) working under the headship of Professor Vinesh Hookoomsing (Carpooran, 2011) proposed the Grafi-larmoni as a harmonised writing system for KM. However, it is only in 2009 that the orthography of the Grafi-larmoni was formally used to produce the first KM dictionary in 2009 (Carpooran, 2011). Following this, in 2010, the Mauritian Kreol Academy was created with the aims of:

- Standardizing Mauritian Kreol including pronunciation, syntax and grammar;
- Validating the writing system;
- Providing necessary technical guidelines for the development of curriculum materials and training to teachers; and
- Promoting and developing the language (Carpooran, 2011, p.9).

After the presentation of the standardised version of KM in 2011 (*ibid.*), this version was finally introduced in 2012 as an optional subject at primary level in Mauritius. This introduction was termed as a *monumental* change by many within the language educational policy of Mauritius (PMO, 2011; Quirin, 2012). Since 2012, primary school first year Standard 1 learners were given the option to learn KM as an optional subject. They could thus choose between studying either KM or any other Oriental/Asian/Arabic languages when they started schooling.

¹⁷Kreol Morisien is the language of all Mauritians. But despite this observation, I am obliged to admit that this language also is a symbol of ethnic identity. In Mauritius, 25% of the population which we call the Afro-Creoles identify themselves with this language. Hence, Kreol Morisien has two dimensions: national and having an ethnic identity marker as well.'

Nevertheless, the inclusion of Creole, the mother tongue of the majority of Mauritians, as an optional language is quite a complex issue. The Minister of Education and Human Resources, in introducing the new language incorporating KM formally into the schooling system in 2011, observed that

(t)he government in which I have the pleasure and honour to serve as a State Minister has made it a crucial part of its policy to give this language its legitimate place in the education system. This is not so much because it will merely help our pupils to better apprehend concepts and knowledge, but principally because a mother tongue needs to be ascribed its due credentials (Carpooran, 2011, p.5).

He highlighted the importance of having the mother tongue recognised within the educational system. However, this did not mean that there had been a change in the stance of the Mauritian government towards the language's value; KM had been introduced merely as an optional language, and not a compulsory subject, nor a medium of instruction. Paradoxically, the Minister of Education and Human Resources (MOEHR) argued that

(t)he beauty of Kreol Morisien is that it belongs to no single ethnic group of Mauritius but to everyone. It is ultimately part and parcel of the Mauritian way of life, of the Mauritian psyche. As such it provides a collective identity as well, allowing all of us to seek, secure and sustain our roots in it (Carpooran, 2011, p.5)

Although Creole is said to be the mother tongue of a majority of Mauritians (MOE, 2008; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005), it simply has not been given the same status as Oriental/Asian/Arabic languages in Mauritian primary schools. The paradox of the political rhetoric and the *de facto* on the ground school language-in-education operations is perhaps evident in these declarations and decisions accompanying the introduction of KM into the formal school system. These anomalies intrigued me as a researcher keen to understand how the changed policy was understood and interpreted into the life of schools and learners in the Mauritian context. Indeed, the fact that it has been introduced as an optional language to be studied at the same time as any other Oriental language highlights the ethnic dimension that has been taken into account before this change in language-in-education policy. The Creole community had previously proposed to have KM introduced as optional language alongside other Oriental languages so that the Creole community would not be disadvantaged in terms of the computation of CPE examination scores. Introducing KM as optional language therefore potentially is seen as one way of affirming the Creole community and bettering their life chances through the education system. Was this aspiration likely to take root, is what concerned me, given the dominance of the powerful languages in the present education system of Mauritius?

Indeed, Korlapu-Bungaree and Jean-François (2012, p.2) contend that the modality of this introduction – that is the status of the language as an ‘optional’ one, next to the other optional Oriental and Arabic languages – does not correspond to a political decision which seeks to be inclusive. The introduction of KM in Mauritian schools is perceived more as being a language associated with a particular ethnic community, “directed towards the Creole community” (*ibid.*, p.2), rather than being an “affirmation” of the majority of Mauritian students’ linguistic rights, that is their right to be taught literacy in their mother tongue. It should be underlined that those students who learn KM in schools are also usually mother tongue speakers of the language similar to those other learners who learn Oriental languages. Thus, it can be noted that the linguistic educational policy does not correlate with the complexity of the intersecting multiple languages. The recognition of languages within the educational system is charged with the influences of historical, social and political negotiations that have been part of the Mauritius fabric since early colonial times right up till the present. The present primary learner therefore interacts and associates with a multiplicity of languages with different recognitions and statuses within their everyday worlds. In everyday usage of language, the primary school learners are constantly embedded in a space where the languages interact with each other in a fluid and hybrid manner. But does entry into the schooling situation further exacerbate or alleviate these tensions between the fluid composite of languages? This constitutes a founding rationale underpinning my study. The linguistic educational policy appears to compartmentalise these everyday fluid intersections between languages in the everyday world, and the policy opts for the teaching of each language in an isolated manner. It is within this very complex educational linguistic make-up that this study is posited. After having set up the background of the study, I will now move on to discuss the focus and purpose of the study.

1.3 Section Three: Research problematic

1.3.1 Focus and purpose of the study

This study explores the development of the Mauritian learners’ linguistic repertoires at lower primary level within the above-described political, sociolinguistic educational landscape. The official introduction of KM taught as an optional language within the primary curriculum opened up a gap within the current research on the linguistic educational system of Mauritius, which is yet to be explored. This study therefore sets out to fill this gap within the literature. It does so by

looking at how the linguistic repertoire of the primary school learners is developed within the Mauritian multilingual educational system.

When I set out to undertake this study, as a lecturer teaching English at the MIE, training pre-primary, primary as well as secondary teachers, I disapproved very much of the introduction of KM within the school curriculum. What was going to be its use in a sociolinguistic context riddled with a number of issues and in an already stricken acquisition poor environment in which English was taught? I felt that this decision would add to my trainee educators' frustration in regard to developing the adequate proficiency skills in English. As has been mentioned earlier, English is the medium of instruction of the country and all the exams, except those held in French and the Oriental/Asian languages, are conducted in English, to which situation most researchers have attributed the high failure rate of Mauritian students within the Mauritian educational system (Mahadeo, 2006; Auleear-Owodally, 2010; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005). But, was I simply complicit in the hegemony of the colonisers' languages and the marginalisation of local Mauritius? I came to ponder.

A look at the Primary Curriculum Framework (MOE, 2007) helps us better understand the expectations that the Mauritian educational system has from the primary student, expectations which are at times quite high. Their rationale is stated as follows:

An individual today needs to be functionally and critically literate in the English Language to be able to adapt to the exigencies of the new world order and to contribute fully to the development and progress of society. To this end, the child should be given a good grounding in the language from the earliest stages of her/his schooling so that s/he can move ahead on the path of learning. The new curriculum being proposed for the learning of English aims at developing the language competencies of the child in a progressive yet holistic manner so that s/he emerges as a *competent* and *confident* basic user of the language at the end of six years of primary schooling [*my emphasis*]. (p.21).

Moreover, the Mauritian learner within the primary school system is also expected to learn French.

As stated in the primary curriculum,

Le français occupe une place privilégiée dans l'univers scolaire à Maurice. Il est depuis longtemps et demeure obligatoire. Durant toute la scolarité de base, depuis la première année de primaire jusqu'à la troisième année de collège. Il n'est toutefois pas la langue d'enseignement officiellement enseignée; c'est à l'anglais que revient ce rôle de première importance.¹⁸(p. 45).

¹⁸ French enjoys a coveted position within the Mauritian educational system. Since long, it has been and still is compulsory within the foundation years of schooling, i.e. from the first year of primary schooling to the third year of secondary schooling. However, it is not the official medium of instruction; that feat belongs to English, which has the most important role within the educational system.

As can be seen, almost native-like competency is expected from the Mauritian primary student at the end of only six years of schooling, in both French and English.

Having grown in an acquisition rich environment and being a proficient speaker of English, I had believed that the key to achieving proficiency in English was an acquisition-rich environment. In most of my classes or during my teaching practice visits, I was adamant about the usage of English only in the classroom, ignoring totally the local reality. Hence, I felt that maximising the input whilst keeping the languages already taught at primary level out of the English classroom was the best way to teaching English in Mauritius. After all, I was a product of my own linguistic theoretical prejudices which had been presented to me during my own training as teacher. My initial belief failed indeed to consider the more nuanced contextual reality as described in **section 1.2** above. As I set out on this journey as linguistic ethnographer to carry out this study, I was adamant that the introduction of KM would only serve to aggravate the linguistic problem already present within the Mauritian educational system. I believed that my study would be oriented at advocating how it influenced the learning of the other core languages, English and French in a negative manner. It was only when I was prompted to delve into the current literature to understand what language meant within the conceptual frame of multilingualism that I shifted totally paradigmatically. From my readings, which will be discussed at length in Chapter Two, I started understanding that the multilingual person was not ‘a deficient monolingual’. I came to understand instead that the multilingual acquires his/her “linguistic repertoire” (explored in more depth later) in unique and complex ways. My training had underprepared me to understand this complexity.

After rewriting my proposal totally for the second time, I realised that using the case of the introduction of KM in Mauritius in 2012, in fact, opened a unique avenue to researching how a multilingual develops his/her linguistic repertoire within such a complex multilingual educational system which was very much different from the other multilingual educational systems prevalent worldwide due to contextual linguistic intricacies. Indeed, in no other place has a Creole language, which is the language of the majority of a population, been introduced as an optional language within a multilingual educational system. Moreover, most of the research on multilingualism is embedded within the research done on immigrants and heritage languages rather than in contexts which are multilingual at the onset (See Chapter Two). Although some research had already been done on the language usage within the multilingual educational system in the island, most researchers’ analytical framework featured a context where KM was included within the

educational system only as an unofficial support language, used by teachers to teach the other core languages, English and French. Focusing on how the young primary learners aged 6-8 years old developed their linguistic repertoire within the multilingual educational system in Mauritius would give a better insight into how multilingualism developed and conceptualised at an early age by multilinguals.

1.3.2 Rationale

My study is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, as a teacher educator responsible for training pre-primary, primary and secondary teachers, I have been inculcating certain beliefs in my students about English language teaching without really questioning adequately the motivations behind. The curriculum of Mauritius, whether primary or secondary, focuses a lot on developing native-like competency in the Mauritian student through the Communicative Language Teaching approach, which is obviously translated in my own teaching. Moreover, I am also involved in the designing of the curriculum as well as in the writing of textbooks, and my beliefs are also translated on paper in the form of the curriculum as well as textbooks. This study is an eye opener in many ways as through the reading done for the write-up of my research proposal, I have gained awareness of how much trends and research involving English language teaching have evolved globally. Language acquisition research has evolved from assessing and measuring second language competence and performance against monolingual norms to a “discourse about “models” of bilingual education” and “a discourse about linguistic competence” which emerged mainly from North America (De Angelis, 2007, p.12; Martin-Jones, 2003), from which language teaching methodologies such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) evolved. However, this was severely criticised as being “a new type of bias” (De Angelis, 2007, p.13) and there was a clear shift in the discourse these last few years, as has been stated above. This is personally helping me to reflect upon my own position as teacher educator and shape the development of my identity as a teacher educator.

This study has as focus the primary school learners of Mauritius who negotiate with different language systems within formal schooling. Very often, given that most of these learners do not become as proficient as monolingual speakers of the languages do, they are said to have impoverished language skills (Mahadeo, 2006; (Mahadeo, 2006; Auleear-Owodally, 2010; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005). Based on the understanding that language is dynamic and that change and variation in a multilingual system is current, this study looks at the multilingual

learners’’ system as a whole. Hence, this study aims at focusing on how the multilingual child actually acquires language without comparing the learner to the way a monolingual acquires language.

This study also has as ambition to add to the literature on the factors that influence the nature of the process of acquiring linguistic repertoire, within a specific multilingual backdrop which is far removed from previous research carried out (Shameem, 2002; Talebi, 2007). There has been some research (Tirvassen, 2011b) conducted in Mauritius which looks at language as being a dynamic system and acknowledges this notion; however, it should be noted that no study has been carried to explore the development of the linguistic repertoire of the learner within the multilingual educational system in Mauritius, at *primary level, with KM being officially part of the school curriculum*. This study, thus, has as aim to shed light on this issue and thus fill the gap present.

It is recognised in the Education and Human Resources Strategy Plan 2008-2020 (MOE: 2008) that

(t)he assessment does not identify the quality of pupil learning, but rather the quantity of pupil learning as defined by memorisable units and, consequently, the teaching style adopted is one that matches the assessment style. Pupils’ success thus depends on the extent to which their learning styles match the teaching and assessment styles.’ (p.60).

Tirvassen (2011a) further highlights that educational linguistics research in Mauritius should look concretely at the multilingual educational system to come up with effective proposals. The findings of the study will consequently be helpful in decision-making, especially in relation to developing assessment for the multilingual learner, in developing countries (Cenoz and Jessner, 2009).

1.3.3 Key research questions:

Key research questions to be addressed in this study are as follows:

- **What is the linguistic repertoire¹⁹ of the 6-8 year old learner within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools?**
- **How is the 6-8 year old learner’s linguistic repertoire developed within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools?**

¹⁹The term ‘linguistic repertoire’ repertoire has emanated from current research that is being done within the field of multilingualism (Garcia, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; Wei, 2011). The construct “‘linguistic repertoire’ “ repertoire “will be elucidated in Chapter Two2 below.

- **Why does the 6-8 year old learner's linguistic repertoire develop within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools the way it does?**

1.4 Synthesis

This chapter has contextualised the research problem. After having described critically the linguistic situation which exists in the country, I moved on to embed the current linguistic situation within a historico-political dimension looking at the major linguistic moves within the educational system, moves made by the different governments who ruled the island ever since it was a French colony before describing the current linguistic situation within the educational system. In so doing, it was highlighted that despite many attempts done to change the linguistic educational system which is existent since decades, the power maintained both by English and French still prevails. Nonetheless, it was also noted that 2012 witnessed the pivotal moment when KM, which is the mother tongue of most Mauritians, was introduced within the educational system. This chapter, then seeks to understand how the introduction of KM within the system influences the multilingual educational system already existent in the island. This study hopes to shed light on a number of issues that this change in linguistic educational policy might bring up and how it influences the development of the linguistic repertoire of the Mauritian primary school learner. In the following chapter, I will move on to posit the theoretical constructs driving this study, before putting forth the theoretical lens through which the study will be conducted.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

2.0 Orientation

This chapter posits the main theoretical constructs of this study before presenting a theoretical lens which guided the fieldwork for this study. After having explored dominant structuralist interpretations of the theoretical construct of multilingualism – interpretations which, till date, guide the Mauritian multilingual educational system, as seen in Chapter One – an alternative reconceptualisation of the construct has been suggested. This has been deemed necessary since looking at the multilingual educational system of Mauritius using the structuralist paradigm offers a narrow perspective of the complex context of the language practices of the Mauritian multilingual primary school learner. Hence, the term ‘linguistic repertoire’ has been offered as a more nuanced interpretation of the complexity of the co-existence of linguistic forms and meaning-making. Moreover, taking into account the limitations of the dominant structuralist linguistic paradigm, translanguaging as an alternate theoretical framework to view multilingualism has been put forth, in an attempt to better understand the phenomenon under study. It is suggested that this alternative lens is more useful for addressing the specific contextual intricacies of Mauritius as described in the previous chapter. The chapter closes with a visual representation of this original reconceptualised theoretical lens which guided the study.

2.1 Section One: Multilingualism as a theoretical construct

2.1.1 The problematics of positing multilingualism within the structuralist theoretical construct of bilingualism”

Multilingualism and multilingual education is gradually becoming the norm all over the world (Cenoz, 2009). Despite the fact that multilingualism is not a recent phenomenon and has been dominant since ages (Cenoz, 2009), multilingualism has been put under scrutiny of various research studies as in today’s world,

(m)ore and more interactions and encounters are multilingual as people, goods, services and information move with increased speed and frequency as a result of new technology in a globalized world (Garcia, 2011, p.2).

With globalisation blurring barriers, plurality is becoming a common feature of the world. Hence, the concept of what a language is and how multilingual linguistic practices are viewed are undergoing radical shifts (Blackledge and Creese, 2010) and it is essential to understand those shifting moves within the literature to be able to posit one of the main theoretical constructs of this study, which is multilingualism.

Most of the literature which is available on multilingualism in the 20th century is deeply embedded within the structuralist theoretical construct of bilingualism. Defined generally as the ability to use two languages, the construct of bilingualism is very often criticised due to the view perpetuated that a bilingual equates with a double monolingual in a person (Herdina and Jessner, 2002). The theoretical construct within which bilingualism is embedded has spun mostly out of research carried out in Western contexts, research which was conducted mainly within the dominant structuralist linguistic paradigm. Hence, whether it has been early research conducted by Saer (1922, 1923) on bilingualism, Ervin and Osgood's (1954) distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism, Selinker's (1972) concept of interlanguage, Peal and Lambert's concept of positive transfer (Herdina and Jessner, 2002) and Lambert's distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism, all these studies have only viewed bilingualism as equating with double parallel monolingualism. These researches only serve to compartmentalise the different languages of a bilingual. Furthermore, the concept of diglossia, which has been much used within research conducted in bilingualism (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967, 1972, 1980; Baker, 2003) and which is used to describe how two languages are used for distinct and separate social functions in a bilingual society, emphasises the boundaries that separate the two languages used by a bilingual. Another term which has also been much used within research on bilingualism is the phenomenon of code switching, terminology which has first emanated from North American studies (Lin, 2013). Code switching is defined as 'language alternation – the alternating use of more than one linguistic code in the classroom by any of the classroom participants' (Lin, 2013, p.2). Code switching like diglossia is perceived as being a negative habit of a bilingual who is not able to use only one code to communicate but has to switch from one code to another in order to make meaning. The very term 'code', which has been taken from information theory (Lin, 2013), puts forth the notion of language as being a static and bound entity. Like diglossia, code switching also denotes this notion of the languages of a bilingual being very much separate from each other and the bilingual as being able to consciously pick a code over another in an interaction.

Moreover, bilingual proficiency has generally been measured against monolingual proficiency, and this has created the dichotomy existing between the monolingual native speaker and the non-native speaker (Cook, 2010 a, b). Indeed, Cook (2010b) contends that one of the main aims of second language teaching within the 20th century construct of bilingualism across the world has been since ages to develop native-like competency in students; therefore, native speaker models

are used in language teaching, and students' performance is measured against standards set for native speakers. According to Kirkpatrick (2008, p.1), the fact of measuring learners' performance against "idealised native speaker models" puts "extreme linguistic and cognitive demands on children". As can be noted, all these researches depict the concept of bilingual as being "two monolinguals in one body" (Gravelle: 1996, p.11). Thus, this monolingual view (Grosjean, 1985) still prevails in most studies done within the dominant structuralist linguistic paradigm pertaining to bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Hence, in this study, it is felt that such a construct which delineates the different languages into bound separate entities cannot be used to ground the multilingual linguistic complexity within Mauritius, as has been described in Chapter One.

Likewise, there is a lot of criticism against the fact that most researches conducted on the concept of multilingualism have been theoretically grounded within the framework of bilingual research (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Garcia, 2011; Hoffman, 2001). Indeed, the phenomenon of multilingualism is believed to be quite different from the phenomenon of bilingualism, which makes research carried out through the theoretical lens of bilingualism quite problematic. Many researchers (Cenoz and Jessner, 2000; Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner, 2001a, b; 2003a) claim that the theoretical construct within which multilingualism should be posited should be different from that of bilingualism. This is deemed necessary because the multilingual learning environment is still considered complex and multifaceted, and needs to be understood as it is and not embedded within either monolingualism or bilingualism, as theoretical constructs (Hoffman and Ytsma, 2003). Indeed, the structuralist linguistic view of bilingualism/multilingualism brings forth the notion of language as being separate, monolithic entities. In face of such a concept, the questions that come forth when one is cognisant of the complexity of the multilingual situation in Mauritius are as follows: What does being a multilingual entail? Does being multilingual, therefore, mean someone who uses a number of languages separately? If so, when does someone become a multilingual or is termed as a multilingual? Is someone who uses the different languages a multilingual or is someone multilingual, simply by virtue of an exposure to multilingualism in the environment? These are complex questions given that the boundaries between the different languages are not as clear as propounded by the simplistic structuralist view of bilingualism/multilingualism, as has been highlighted previously in Chapter One. Seeing the languages as being separate entities is considered a simplistic way of understanding the complexity

of what being a multilingual entails. Thus, this study finds it problematic to embed the theoretical construct of multilingualism within the dominant structuralist notion of bilingualism as a theoretical construct. In the following section, the construct of multilingualism will be looked at, as it has been used in research studies dealing with the educational context, in an attempt to best understand the construct and, thus, find an adequate theoretical framework within which to ground it as phenomenon under study in this research.

2.2 Section Two: Multilingualism in the domain of education

2.2.1 Typologies of bilingual education

In this section, I will review some of the issues related to the education of multilingual learners. In an effort to understand the different types of multilingual education that exist, bilingual education is used as a starting point. As has been discussed in the above section, most of the research on multilingualism and multilingual educational systems has been posited (problematically) within the framework of “bilingual education”. This section below offers a landscape of the different models that exist within the Western world. This is deemed necessary to offer a nuanced understanding of the Mauritian multilingual educational system and therefore, to also situate the alternative lens which this study will present at the end of this chapter.

There are a large number of typologies of bilingual education (Cenoz, 2009), most of which focus on teaching the different languages as separate, bound entities. Indeed, Mackey (1970) has proposed at least 250 different types of bilingual education. According to Cenoz (2009, p.25), “the problem of typologies is that they have to be comprehensive and at the same time as simple as possible”. The concept of having one specific typology of bilingual education is found to be improbable due to the fact that the reality of each type of bilingual education varies contextually and thus each type has specific characteristics of its own. This study will not look at each of these typologies in depth. This cursory glance will instead highlight the limitations that using such a construct for the study might have and will delve deeper into an alternative reconceptualised theoretical lens.

Cummins (2008, p.xii) defines bilingual education as “the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in a student’s school career”. He goes on further to distinguish between additive and subtractive approaches. By additive approaches, it is meant that another language is added to the student’s existing linguistic repertoire whilst subtractive bilingualism is a move towards monolingualism, as the students are taught language to move towards the dominant

language. May (2008) further differentiates between transitional, maintenance and enrichment models of bilingual education. A transitional model, as implied by the term, aims at using the learners' first language as transition whilst getting the first language replaced as soon as possible by the majority language. A maintenance approach to bilingual education is aimed at making the learner becoming bilingual, by building on and extending the learner's first language, alongside learning of the majority language. Another facet to this approach is the enrichment approach which refers to the developing of bilingualism by teaching through a minority target language, as is done in French immersion classes in Canada. These structuralist definitions of bilingual educational systems have dominated the educational research landscape for several years, which may also be prejudicial in offering more *authentic* insights into the lived reality of everyday educational interaction, which this study hopes to foreground.

It is argued by Garcia (2009, pp.6-7) that the differences that exist between various bilingual programmes is the goal of using two languages "to educate generally, meaningfully, equitably, and for tolerance and appreciation of diversity". It is observed that by so doing, "schooling [becomes] meaningful and comprehensible for the millions of children whose home languages are different from the dominant language of school and society".

It is noted that although there are multiple types of bilingual education, very few types of multilingual education exist. Indeed, Baetens Beardsmore (1993) presents five models of multilingual education by considering nine variables, notably: the nature of programme, languages, outcome, population, target language in environment, target language used by peers, final exams in more than one language, target language as a subject, and native-speaker teachers. However, it should be pointed out that he does not focus on differentiating between programmes involving two and more than two languages. The models which address this scenario are the Canadian immersion, the Luxembourg multilingual educational system, the model offered by European schools, the model of the Foyer project and the Catalan/Basque bilingual education (Cenoz, 2009). What comes out strikingly within the classification of models is that it is highly westernised and Eurocentric in nature, whilst at the same time being embedded in the parallel monolingualism theoretical construct. In an attempt to better situate the Mauritian multilingual educational system, a further glance at models of multilingual education outside the Western Eurocentric world is deemed necessary to offer a richer outlook of the different models of multilingual educational systems that exist in former British colonies.

2.2.2 Models of multilingualism from outside the Western Eurocentric world

This section will look at the multilingual educational systems existent in former British colonies such as Zimbabwe, India, Singapore and South Africa. According to the 2006 Education Act of Zimbabwe (Weber, 2014), primary school students are required to learn English, Shona and Ndebele, the Bantu languages which are considered to be the mother tongue of the students (Weber, 2014). However, according to Makoni, Dube and Mashiri (2006), Shona and Ndebele are standardised varieties of the mother tongues of the students and therefore, as much difficult for the students to learn as is English, which is considered to be a foreign language. Before 2006, students were required to become bilingual both in English and either in Shona or Ndebele, being taught in both mediums. After the 2006 Education act (Weber, 2014) English was not imposed as a primary medium of instruction and thus students were taught through Shona and Ndebele. However, they still had to learn English as a subject. Thus, students were still expected to learn three languages. Moreover, schools could also opt to teach one of the indigenous languages such as Shangani, Tonga, Venda and Nambya. English is, hence, seen as a way to move up the economic ladder in Zimbabwe. These choices within the Zimbabwean context are still theoretically located within the traditional structural bilingual/parallel monolingualism models described above.

Mohanty (2010) argues that English is posited at the top of the linguistic hierarchy in the multilingual society of India. India's educational system includes thirty-three languages, including English benefiting the highest status. India is well known for its three-language formula, wherein three languages are taught as school subjects generally: the mother tongue is normally the first language taught, although at times it is usually the official regional language which is taught; the second language taught is English, whereas the third language which is often taught at secondary level is Hindi, or Sanskrit in places where Hindi is the official regional language. In Tamil Nadu, it is Tamil and English that are taught (Weber, 2014). English is considered in India as being the language of social mobility and therefore, those who have money often send their children to English fee-paying medium schools. Most of these schools are urban schools and amount to around 10% of the total number of schools in the country. The rest are state schools and are often 'Indian language medium' schools. This creates a divide between the elite and those who cannot afford the English fee paying medium schools (Weber, 2014), which perpetuates social inequality.

Singapore's national language is Malay although four co-official languages are recognised; notably Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English (Weber, 2014). In 1987, English was officially taught as a first language whilst the official mother tongue of the students was taught as the second language. What this meant in practice was that Chinese Singaporeans going to school would be taught in English followed by Mandarin. English, in Singapore, is seen as being the language of social mobility, business and science whereas the mother tongues are seen to be as languages which maintain the Asian cultural heritage (Weber, 2014).

After apartheid, South Africa's constitution recognised language as being a basic human right and put forward multilingualism as a national resource, by "raising nine major African languages to national official status alongside English and Afrikaans" (Hornberger and Vaish, 2008, p.1). This has in turn led to the implementation of multilingual educational system in South Africa. However, mother-tongue education is looked at with a lot of suspicion by African communities of South Africa who prefer to opt for English rather than mother-tongue education. Banda (2000) puts forth that there is more demand for English medium instruction from Black and Coloured parents although researchers have pointed out that English is responsible for "the general lack of academic skills and intellectual growth among blacks at high school and tertiary levels" (Banda, 2000, p.51), and he brings forward that the multilingual educational system is far from being multilingual in nature. The prime explanation for why African and Coloured communities opt for English is that it is understandably associated with access to better life opportunities, as an economic passport; previous dominant mother-tongue instruction is also associated with previous apartheid educational goals of maintaining separatist inferior standards for different population racial groups (*ibid.*).

This cursory glance at the multilingual educational systems of former British colonies puts forth the important role that is played by English even after these countries have gained their independence. It is, thus seen that English is maintained within the educational system, as it is seen to be the ladder of economic success and allows for better social mobility. English, thus, still continues to enjoy a high status in former British colonies. What is also evident within these different multilingual educational systems is the fact that they are embedded within the double monolingualism construct, a Western construct that most adopt although 'supposedly' space is made for the mother tongues of the countries as well. It can, hence, be seen that most multilingual educational systems over the world, whether from the Western part of the world or outside the

Western Eurocentric part of the world, are fixed in nature and view languages as being separate, bound entities. The next section will now look at the existing Mauritian multilingual educational system within the backdrop of the literature reviewed.

2.2.3 The Mauritian language education context

The models that have been looked at above have shed light on the co-existence of languages in contexts which perhaps already have a relatively consolidated body of (written) literature, a strongly structured lexicography and a history of usage (although possibly marginalised) in school settings, which, although having a number of similarities, are quite different from the model that is being looked at in this study. As said previously in Chapter One, Mauritius has inherited from a double colonial educational system, with English serving as medium of instruction and French taught as a core second language. Moreover, an additional Oriental/Asian/Arabic language is taught as an optional language. It is only recently that Creole, which is considered to be the language of daily interaction of most Mauritians, has been introduced within the multilingual educational system of Mauritius (Carpooran, 2011). One interesting thing that should be noted is that Mauritius – like other former British colonies – has also opted to maintain English within its multilingual educational system. As it was highlighted in Chapter One, English is believed to be the language that leads to social mobility. Moreover, Mauritius’ multilingual educational system is very much embedded within the parallel monolingualism discourse. However, unlike the other British colonies, the mother tongue of most Mauritians has been officially absent from the multilingual educational system for a number of decades. This research study context, thus, is characterised by the incorporation of a language (Creole) that has everyday common usage as an oral discourse nationally, but has been marginalised. KM has only recently been granted formal legal linguistic status as a written and codified language nationally. There is also not yet a strong well-developed and circulated corpus of KM literature presently, although such attempts to boost this status quo are consciously being engaged.

In the *de facto* operations within Mauritian classrooms nevertheless, KM has been accommodated (largely in its oral form) because it is seen as being *lingua franca* of a large percentage of the population. The study aims to obtain insights into how this language (KM) is understood as a language in the landscape of education given that several previous attempts at including it within the educational system have not been successful. Models of multilingual education through the introduction of a creole language in international literature (Bartens, Migge & Légglise, 2010)

affirm the view that such an inclusion is a step of reversing previous marginalisation of the language which is both a social-political and an educational intervention. The coinciding of the political and the educational dimensions to elevate the status of KM to that of an optional language within the multilingual educational system and its effect on the educational schooling landscape formed sets up the background against which this study will be carried out.

The research literature of creolinguistics suggests that it has been hitherto very rare to have creoles used officially within formal multilingual educational systems (Siegel, 1999). Where a creole has been implemented within a formal multilingual educational system, Siegel categorises three types of programmes: those which are used for instrumental purposes, for accommodation strategies, and for awareness raising. It is noted that the objectives of all three types are similar, namely, they are motivated as forms of additive bilingualism which aim to develop the learners' skills in the targeted official language whilst allowing them to speak and learn their mother tongue. The differences exist in the status and purposes afforded in way the students' mother tongues are used in the classroom.

- In an instrumental programme, the mother tongue is used as the initial **medium of instruction** which permeates all dimensions of the school curriculum to foster deep learning: in the foundational literacy, numeracy and discipline-based subjects. The language of prestige (other than the creole) still features in the school curriculum, but is introduced at a later stage until it (the target language) eventually becomes the medium of instruction for some (if not all) subjects.
- Within the accommodation programme, the creole language is accommodated in the classroom but is not the medium of instruction. Instead, it is a **language of negotiating teaching and learning** (Siegel, 1999). In the early years of school, students and teachers are allowed to use their mother tongue to speak as well as to write at times. When the learners reach higher grade levels in the schooling system, 'literature and music from students' communities may be accommodated into the curriculum. However, the dominance of the prestige target language still prevails²⁰.

²⁰ It is sometimes argued that this second strategy becomes an "end in itself" (becoming ossified as a form of linguistic practice that develops neither the target nor the mother tongue), rather than a "means to an end". This critique is still couched in the subtractive bilingualism conceptualization.

- The awareness programme makes use of the creole **language as a subject** of comparative linguistic study. The objective is to show up the differences between the lexifier target language²¹ and the creole. This model emphasises a comparative juxtaposition to help the learners acquire the target language by emphasising how the structure of the target language is different from the creole. This still might arguably, position the creole as a lesser linguistic form depending on how this cross-linguistic pedagogy is negotiated pragmatically.

As can be seen, none of the models proposed in the two previous sections or which guide multilingual educational systems adopting creole languages can be used to describe aptly the Mauritian multilingual educational system. Thus, in most of the research conducted within the realm of multilingualism which is situated within the field of the study of minority languages, it is noted that English is either the dominant targeted language and the mother tongue is indirectly (or consciously) relegated to the periphery. Moreover, in most of these models, the learners' first language is included within the educational system, even in models which aim at its subtraction. However, within the Mauritian context, English is the dominant language within the educational system despite the fact that it is "socially rarely heard and seldom used" in everyday discourses (Auleear-Owodally, 2014, p. 18). The majority language of everyday social discourses, namely Creole, has been hitherto absent from the school curriculum. The introduction in 2012 of KM only as an '**optional language**' in the schooling system follows perhaps neither the instrumental, the accommodation, nor the awareness models described above (Korlapu-Bungaree and Jean Francois, 2012). Thus, the teaching of languages within the multilingual educational system is perhaps being driven by factors other than a pedagogical imperative. Moreover, the complexity of intersected languages within the Mauritian wider social context could be considered as being absent the the primary school linguistic educational policy. How this takes shape within the context of primary schooling when KM is formally selected as an optional language after many years of marginalisation, is the focus of this study report. Mauritius is one of the rare countries which offer a model whereby the majority language is taught as an optional language and the minority language is the official medium of instruction. This study will explore whether the inclusion of KM as an 'optional language' appeases political rather than educational purposes. The lack of adequate educational attention to how the 'optional language status' is understood and enacted in the

²¹ The lexifier "target language" is the language from which the creole's vocabulary was mostly constructed.

primary schooling system forms the backdrop to this study. Possibilities or not of educational schooling co-existence of KM as a medium of instruction (not yet officially sanctioned), a language of teaching and learning (the *de facto* present classroom practice), a language as subject (still under development) and/or as an optional language (the new *de jure* status) needs further exploration.

As has been seen above, most multilingual educational systems are strongly entrenched within the structuralist parallel monolingualism theoretical construct. This construct is seen as being limiting when dealing with complex multilingual situations as is the case in Mauritius. The following section will look at how recent research done within the field of multilingualism has also enunciated the necessity of coming up with a new theoretical lens to better understand the phenomenon.

2.3 Section Three: Multilingualism research in Mauritius and the necessity for a new theoretical lens

There have been a number of sociolinguistic research studies conducted on the multilingual educational system of Mauritius, most of which have been strongly embedded within the structural linguistic paradigm complex (Auleear-Owodally, 2011; Baggioni and de Robillard, 1990; Carpooran, 2003, 2007; Rajah-Carrim, 2005; Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005). Thus, previous sociolinguistic research within the Mauritian and regional contexts has tended to be enclosed within the framework of diglossia and multilingualism (as the plural version of a simple additive bilingualism), where languages are viewed as being separate and fixed. In order to challenge this worldview, Blanchet (2003), noting this emulation of the dominance in the international research context, proposed an epistemological review of sociolinguistics as a discipline, and put forward the idea of “*plurilinguisme ordinaire*”²². The concept of “*plurilinguisme ordinaire*” advocated by Blanchet, in a number of ways, was already propounding for a theoretical framework, namely translanguaging, as a construct that would be more appropriate to understand the language practices of multilinguals in Mauritius. His remarks on the limitations of existing hegemonic theoretical frameworks, but also the methodology provided by the discipline, have influenced many sociolinguists in the region subsequently. For example, Baggioni and de Robillard (1990) who originally advocated a reading of the local situation through the lens of concepts such as diglossia, subsequently argued that the linguistic boundaries between Creole and French could not

²² Ordinary multilingualism.

be applied to the situation in Reunion. Although he uses the term ‘bilingualism’, Tirvassen (2012) argued that there is a necessity to review concepts as well as methods used to look at multilingualism in Mauritius. Tirvassen (2012) argues that the use of structuralist concepts such as diglossia and codeswitching, as has been used in many researches conducted within the island to understand the phenomenon of multilingualism, offers a limited outlook on the phenomenon. Moreover, he takes up the concept of “*education linguistique plurielle*”²³ to look at the complex language practices in Mauritian classes. He thus proposes that there should be “*une autre manière de concevoir l’approche adoptée concernant le langage dans le curriculum*”²⁴(Tirvassen, 2011a, pp.104-109). It is interesting to note that Tirvassen states that “*les recherches en sciences du langage se sont appuyées sur une conception du plurilinguisme perçu comme une addition de plusieurs langues opérant, chacune, comme un système aux frontières nettes*”²⁵ and proposes “*d’approcher autrement les pratiques langagières en zone de contact de langues*”²⁶. Tirvassen argues that “*c’est la notion de zone d’éducation plurielle qui rend le mieux compte des opérations linguistiques dans lesquelles on se trouve.*”²⁷

Although, Tirvassen’s attempt to review terminologically as well as conceptually the situation is laudable, his justification for the use of the term “*zone d’éducation plurielle*”²⁸ as a concept that can best describe the language practices is quite limited. This is so as the term he uses takes into account only the educational element of multilingualism. The argument presented in this study, drawn from the discussion in Chapter One above suggests that the language practices that are observed in Mauritius do not concern solely the school context, but are a living emdodiment of the multilingual learner. Nevertheless Tirvassen’s (2011a) “*zone d’éducation plurielle*” perhaps is the most closely aligned term hinting at my study’s interpretation of broader linguistic repertoire practices.

Similarly, whilst describing the multilingual situation in Mauritius, Auckle and Barnes (2011) question the nature and the very form of the language practices of Mauritians. They proposed a

²³ Multilingual education.

²⁴ another way of conceiving the approach taken towards teaching languages in the curriculum

²⁵ research in linguistics were based on a concept of multilingualism as being an addition to learning several languages, each viewed as being bound discrete entities with fixed boundaries.

²⁶ to approach differently language practices when languages interact.

²⁷ it is the concept of the zone of plurilingual education that is most appropriate to describe the linguistic practices that we indulge in.

²⁸ Zone of plurilingual education.

new framework to look at the Mauritian multilingualism by introducing the concepts of mixed codes as well as fusion, whilst at the same time criticising the frameworks which have been used in previous research conducted on the phenomenon of code-switching (CS). Auckle and Barnes (2011) thus observe that

‘[e]merging typologies of CS tend to look at mixed codes and fusion as extending the pragmatic possibilities of CS. Indeed, this redefinition is felt to be much more accurate in its potential to describe the different varieties of language alteration in a multilingual community.’ (p. 108).

By highlighting the nature of heteroglossic contexts, the proposal of Auckle and Barnes (2011) does not only evoke the necessity to review the frameworks as well as methodology used to look at code-switching, but also suggests the necessity to review the framework looking at the multilinguals’ language practices in Mauritius. In their research, Auckle and Barnes (2011) attempt to view the language practices of their multilingual participants as being a repertoire which is autonomous in itself. The arguments endorsed to describe and understand the language practices of their participants who are all university students are of great relevance to this study. However, Auckle and Barnes (*ibid.*) focus on the language practices of university students, who have followed almost thirteen years of multilingual educational schooling but have not officially learnt KM, as they interact in informal contexts such as in the canteen and at shopping malls.

The specifics of the development of the multilingualism of primary school learners aged 6-8 years at their initial years of schooling in the multilingual educational system, in the advent of new 2012 legislation to “include” KM has not yet, to my knowledge, been studied. The alternative theoretical framework for the Mauritian context mooted by Oozeerally (2012) and highlighting the shortcomings of previous research sociolinguistic approaches, has yet to be addressed in further empirical field work. Using Chaos theory and the ecology of language theory, he explains that the “*besoin de se détacher d’une conception hermétique, monolithique, monodimensionnelle et intradisciplinaire est essentielle dans la manière de vivre et de penser une nouvelle, voire une autre (alter) (socio)linguistique qui cadre avec un monde en mutation perpétuelle*”²⁹.” Although Oozeerally’s work speaks of the need to come up with a new way of thinking about languages, his work remains purely theoretical in nature and is not supported by any empirical research.

²⁹need to move away from a hermetic, monolithic, single dimensional and intra-disciplinary conceptual framework is necessary to set up a new way of living and thinking or another (alter) (socio) linguistic which is appropriate for the constantly changing world.

Whilst the above studies reflect an evolution of the sociolinguistic research traditions in the Mauritian context, it can be noted that there is no classroom school-based empirical research as such which has been conducted and which has proposed an alternative theoretical framework generated from the contextual intricacies of Mauritius. Tirvassen (2011a, 2011b, 2012) and Rughoonundun-Chellapermal (2007) challenge how everyday Mauritians' language practices, which are multi-dimensional and complex, are oftentimes treated by officialised policy and educational practices as discrete, monolithic and bounded within one language system. This, therefore, offers a limited perspective of the linguistic complexity of Mauritians. The research carried out by Auckle and Barnes (2011) and Oozeerally (2012) all speak of the necessity to find new models beyond code switching which would be more suitable for the Mauritian linguistic context and which would enable one and all to better understand the phenomenon of multilingualism. Few, if no research studies conducted within the island have acknowledged the multilinguistic multiplicity and intersected nature of the linguistic resources available within the schooling setting, using an alternative theoretical lens. The Mauritian classroom is perceived as being a space wherein teachers and students move to and fro from the different languages existing within the complex and dynamic multilingual educational system. Thus, it is believed that looking at multilingualism from a structuralist paradigm is limiting and simplistic. This study, therefore, proposes a reconceptualisation of multilingualism, which moves beyond the double monolingualism model which was imported from the dominant structural linguistic paradigm, to best understand the rich complexity of language interaction of the multilingual Mauritian primary school learner. The following section will, therefore, put forth the concept of "linguistic repertoire" as alternative.

2.3.1 Reconceptualising multilingualism: towards the concept of linguistic repertoire.

As was observed, the theories based on a monolingual model of communication perpetuated a misfit with the communicative practices of multilingual communities. Given that such communities were not central to research then, the field of multilingualism based its assumptions on homogeneity and monolingualism, focusing to a great extent on immigration and the problematics of minority languages. It thus failed to consider multilingual realities of such communities as Mauritius. Most researches looking at the phenomenon of multilingualism tended to focus on a context where the majority language was taught within the bilingual/multilingual educational system with the minority language having to struggle to find its way within such a

context. In the case of Mauritius, it is actually the opposite which is the case: the language of the majority of the Mauritian population, Creole has been officially kept out of the schooling system until 2012 whilst the language which is used minimally by most, English, has been maintained as medium of instruction since many decades.

Thus, Mauritius contextually offers an opening of the avenue on research on the phenomenon of multilingualism, shifting it to an understanding of a context where multilingualism was not generated by immigration, as is the case in most research studies conducted on the phenomenon. Indeed, multilingualism in Mauritius does not stem of contexts of immigration but instead, Mauritius' multilingualism came into being due to its double colonial legacy as well as the arrival and settling of slaves and indentured labourers within the island, as has been put forth in Chapter One. The Mauritian society is entrenched within the complexity of competing social, political, economic and cultural forces at work within a relatively small island context, as explained in the previous chapter. The co-existence of language users negotiating the confluence of linguistic systems and meaning-making is encapsulated in this complexity. Therefore, a reconceptualisation of multilingualism is deemed necessary to allow for a better lens to understand the phenomenon within its complex reality.

Recent developments in the field of multilingualism have had a very important bearing on the definition of what a language is. The very notion of language which lies at the foundation of linguistics came into the limelight as a result of a move away from the structuralist tradition to a more cognitive perspective (Tirvassen, 2011a). Multilingualism is not viewed anymore as the subsequent acquisition/learning of more than two languages, whereby languages are seen as separate entities. Research carried out investigating the language practices of bilinguals and multilinguals has shown that as multilinguals engage in interactions, the boundaries between/among languages seem to become permeable (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). This has resulted in a groundbreaking shift in the field of linguistics. Language, in the light of recent research, is thus understood to be fluid, flexible, and dynamic (Cook, 2010; Herdina and Jessner, 2002). This move from a quantitative to a more qualitative view of multilingualism is interesting in so far as it opens up a whole new set of avenues. Research has shed light on, and finally acknowledged the hybrid language practices of multilinguals, so that there is a more holistic view of the languages within the multilingual speaker's system. As Kemp (2009, p.19) clearly points

out, “each language in the multilingual integrated system is a part of the complete system and not equivalent in representation or processing to the language of a monolingual speaker”.

This implies as a result that a multilingual speaker’s language functions as a holistic and integrated system or linguistic repertoire, which is similar to a set of skills that the latter has at his/her disposal, and from which s/he draws depending on the communicative function and context (Tirvassen, 2011b). In other words, a multilingual speaker is viewed as one who has the ability to use more than two languages, either separately, or in varying degrees of language mixing. What emerges is that “different languages are used for different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation, and education” (McArthur 1992, p.673). As Jessner (2008, p.273) explains, “language choice or use depends on the perceived communication needs of the multilingual speaker”.

Moreover, Canagarajah (2011) proposed an alternative approach to review the core concepts which underpinned multilingualism within the structuralist paradigm, approach which encompasses the different dimensions of multilingualism as mentioned above. As was seen previously, in this study, it is believed that using a structuralist understanding of multilingualism does not offer a rich insight into the complexity of interactions as exists in the Mauritian multilingual classroom and which mirrors to a great extent the complexity of interaction as existing within the Mauritian multilingual society. The linguistic complexity existent within the multilingual educational system cannot be understood by a framework where languages are seen in such an isolated and simplistic manner. Therefore, Canagarajah and Wurr’s reconceptualisation of the core concepts of multilingualism has been adapted and will be taken on board by this study. The table below, which has been adapted from the research of Canagarajah and Wurr (2011,) offers an alternative emergent paradigm to core concepts which underpinned multilingualism within the structuralist paradigm. This will serve as basis for the theoretical constructs of this study.

Table Two: Traditional Monolingualism Paradigm vs. Emergent Multilingual Paradigm

(Adapted from Canagarajah and Wurr, 2011, p. 10)

Traditional Paradigm	Emergent Paradigm
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ Systematised language □ Individual enterprise □ Product □ Joining a community □ Target language □ Homogeneous speech community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ Mixed languages □ Social practice □ Practice □ Shuttling between communities □ Repertoire □ Heterogeneous community

<input type="checkbox"/> Language <input type="checkbox"/> Cognition <input type="checkbox"/> Positivistic models <input type="checkbox"/> Linear models	<input type="checkbox"/> Ecology <input type="checkbox"/> Context <input type="checkbox"/> Open models <input type="checkbox"/> Dynamic, complex systems
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Consequently, this study opts to make use of the term **linguistic repertoire** (Canagarajah, 2011), rather than the term “language” to move away from the biased concept of language as being a bound, monolithic and discrete entity. This study acknowledges the complexity and the dynamism of the linguistic repertoire of the Mauritian multilingual primary school learner, recognising that they are exposed to a complex linguistic repertoire within the multilingual context where they grow up. Moreover, this study takes an ecological stance to the repertoire of the learners, seeing it as being embedded and part of the society and environment in which the child grows up. This study has thus as its focus to understand how the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual learner develops within this new schooling reality whereby the specific formal introduction into the primary schooling system of the dominantly spoken language, Creole (which is still afforded relatively low status value as a formal official public language of learning and teaching), constitutes a valuable opportunity to understand how languages of different sociolinguistic values coexist as new directions are attempted to elevate former marginalised languages. Shifting from a strictly cognitivist perspective, this study will aim to move towards a more social analysis as a means to acknowledge the complexities of repertoire development and language learning in our current multilingual changing national and global reality. The impact of the global sociolinguistic forces on the small island within the Indian Ocean and its ramifications for local languages constitute the subject under scrutiny. The lived experiences of the learners and teachers who negotiate these changes are the focus of this endeavour, with emphasis on understanding how the multilingual speaker’s linguistic repertoire develops within such a context.

Consequently, in this study, an approach to researching multilingualism, departing from the notions of language in a multilingual context and that is instead understood as the co-existence of parallel linguistic systems has been chosen for a holistic look at the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual learner, for due to the reasons put forth above. In so doing, I argue that the multilingual speaker’s linguistic repertoire, which will be put under scrutiny in this study, need not be understood as being bound and made up of discrete languages. Thus, departing from the traditional

notion of bilingualism as being ‘double monolingualism’, multilingualism, in this study, as a theoretical construct will be viewed as the “appropriation and incorporation for meaning-making of any and all linguistic resources which come to hand” (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p.17). Since most theoretical frameworks have looked at multilingual educational models within the structuralist parallel monolingualism paradigm, it is deemed necessary that an alternative lens be found to study the development of the linguistic repertoire of multilinguals within the domain of education in Mauritius. The following section will come up with such an alternative lens.

2.4 Section Four: Translanguaging as a theoretical lens to study multilingualism within the domain of education

As has been noted in the previous sections, whether it is at global or local level, most researchers studying the phenomenon of multilingualism argue that there needs to be a shift in understanding the phenomenon. It has been seen in the previous section that although a number of researchers have all propounded the necessity to have an alternative framework to study multilingualism, limited concrete frameworks have been provided which have emanated from classroom-based empirical research. Therefore, this study, grounded in classroom research, proposes translanguaging as an alternative framework to study the phenomenon of multilingualism thereby challenging the dominant structuralist linguistic theoretical framework. It is deemed necessary as translanguaging, although being a framework which emanates from recent research within Western contexts, is believed to be an apt framework which allows one to look at multilinguals as not being deficient monolinguals and recognises the richness of the dynamic linguistic repertoire of the multilingual, dynamism which is present within the interaction of Mauritian school learners as they embark on their primary schooling. It sees the linguistic repertoire of the learner as a whole embedded within the contextual intricacies of the learner. To best understand why this framework is deemed appropriate for this study, a review of the literature available on translanguaging will be carried out.

Ever since it has been coined, the term ‘translanguaging’ has been the object of much academic interest (Williams, 1996, 2002; Baker, Jones and Lewis, 2012; Garcia, 2009, 2011; Hornberger and Link, 2012; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; Li Wei, 2011). As this term is being popularised, research is being documented on this notion in various educational and social contexts. Theory is being built on translanguaging although they are labelled differently.

Canagarajah (2011) draws a relation between translanguaging and the different terms which are used for this practice in different spheres, as they are used by different researchers:

Composition: codemeshing; transcultural literacy; translingual writing, New literacy studies: multiliteracies, continua of biliteracy, pluriliteracy, Applied linguistics: plurilingualism, third spaces; metrolingualism. Sociolinguistics: fluid lects; hetero-graphy; poly-lingual languaging (p.2).

It is essential to go through the manifold ways in which translanguaging has been defined as a term since its coinage. Translanguaging was derived from “translinguifying” that was translated from the Welsh term “*trawsieithu*”, itself coined by Cen Williams and his colleague (Baker, Jones and Lewis, 2012) to denote a pedagogical practice. According to Williams (1996),

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). Before you can use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it (p.64).

The term has strong links with Jacobson’s notion of focused simultaneous usage of “two languages in a bilingual classroom” (Baker, Jones and Lewis, 2012, p.4). Nonetheless, it was argued by Williams that translanguaging was different from the concept advanced by Jacobson as the term comprised the notion of being a “natural” skill for bilinguals. He further went on to highlight that translanguaging comprised of making use of “one language to reinforce the other in order to increase understanding and in order to augment the pupil’s ability in both languages” (Williams, 2002, p.40) and the emphasis was placed on “dual language processing” (Baker, Jones and Lewis, 2012, p.4). Thus, within the concept of translanguaging, learners listened to or read a lesson or a comprehension text in one language and produced their work in another language either orally or in written form.

Although translanguaging was created to promote a pedagogic theory, Williams (1996) emphasised the importance of the psycholinguistic aspect of the process whereby the child was dealing cognitively with the use of two languages, which had according to him a lot of influence on educational outcomes. According to him, translanguaging entailed the continuous usage of the receptive skills, notably listening and reading skills, which therefore enabled the learner to make use of his/her productive skills (Williams, 1996). Hence, “translanguaging requires a deeper understanding than just translating, as it moves from finding parallel words to processing and relaying meaning and understanding” (Baker, Jones and Lewis, 2012, p. 4).

Translanguaging was thus developed in line with the very powerful child-centred approach that was adopted in the majority of Welsh classrooms. The term was further exploited in the works of

Ofelia Garcia, who studied USA bilingual classrooms, especially in her book ‘Bilingual Education in the 21st Century’. Garcia, who preferred to adopt the term “translanguaging” (2009) rather than “bilingual languaging” extended the concept by defining it as being

the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential. It is an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on languages as has often been the case, but on the *practices of bilinguals* that are readily observable in order to make sense of their multilingual worlds (my emphasis added) (p.140).

Garcia (2012) argues that translanguaging is different from code switching and claims that

translanguaging is not simply going from one language code to another. The notion of code-switching assumes that the two languages of bilinguals are two separate monolingual codes that could be used without reference to each other. Instead, translanguaging posits that bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively. That is, translanguaging takes as its starting point the *language practices of bilingual people as the norm*, and not the language of monolinguals, as described by traditional usage books and grammars (p.1).

As has been contended previously, researchers studying the phenomenon of multilingualism have argued that there must be a shift from understanding multilingualism using code switching as a theoretical construct as it emanates from the dominant structural linguistic paradigm and bespeaks of the double monolingualism parallel as well as the deficient monolingual model. Code switching presumes that the languages of bilinguals/multilinguals are separate whereas translanguaging sees the multilingual as having one linguistic repertoire wherein the speaker moves from to and fro to make meaning with his/her interlocutor. Translanguaging sees the linguistic repertoire of the learner as being a whole and the multilingual is not considered as being a deficient speaker. Therefore, this study will not use code switching – which is embedded within the dominant structuralist paradigm – but instead has opted to use the construct of translanguaging, which will offer a richer and more in-depth social analysis of the phenomenon.

Indeed, current research carried out by Blackledge and Creese (2010), who used the linguistic ethnography method to research on multilingualism in heritage complementary schools in United Kingdom, demonstrates how bilingual learners, their family members as well as teachers make use of translanguaging. Blackledge and Creese (2010) define translanguaging as being flexible language practices which are used to depict the fluidity and movement of language. They further extend the concept by adding to it the notion of heteroglossia. According to them, translanguaging helps the learners to negotiate between their multilingual and multicultural identities across their homes and their communities. Taking a language ecology stance, they argue for the usage of

translanguaging as a bilingual pedagogical strategy, where two or more languages can be used simultaneously to teach bilinguals.

Hornberger and Link (2012) adapt and use the concept of translanguaging with the notion of transnational literacies which for them is

(t)he notion of translanguaging can be seen as a new approach to understanding long-studied languaging practices of multilinguals, such as code-switching in which speakers draw on two different grammatical systems in their utterances (p.263).

The biggest difference between research done on code-switching and translanguaging has been the shift from the negative emphasis on concepts of transfer, interference or borrowing to the positive view of the intermingling of linguistic features by multilinguals and how they are used in communication.

Canagarajah (2011) highlights the strong link between translanguaging and the act of communicating. For him, the concept of translanguaging assumes

that, for multilinguals, languages are part of a repertoire that is accessed for their communicative purposes; languages are not discrete and separated, but form an integrated system for them; multilingual competence emerges out of local practices where multiple languages are negotiated for communication; competence doesn't consist of separate competencies for each language, but a multicompetence that functions symbiotically for the different languages in one's repertoire; and, for these reasons, proficiency for multilinguals is focused on repertoire building (p.1).

According to Hornberger and Link (2012), Li Wei's (2011) study, which focuses on multilingual practices and metalanguage commentaries by three Chinese youths in Britain, expands the notion of translanguaging to encompass a similar notion to that formulated by Blackledge and Creese (2010) as well as Canagarajah (2011). He labels this as the "notion of fluidity", which entails

going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them. It includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships. The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience (p.23).

What sprouts from the multiple definitions of translanguaging is that notion of dynamism and fluidity of language as it is viewed within the multilingual system. Thus, it is

accordingly characterized by continuous change and nonlinear growth. As an adaptive system, it possesses the property of elasticity, the ability to adapt to temporary changes in

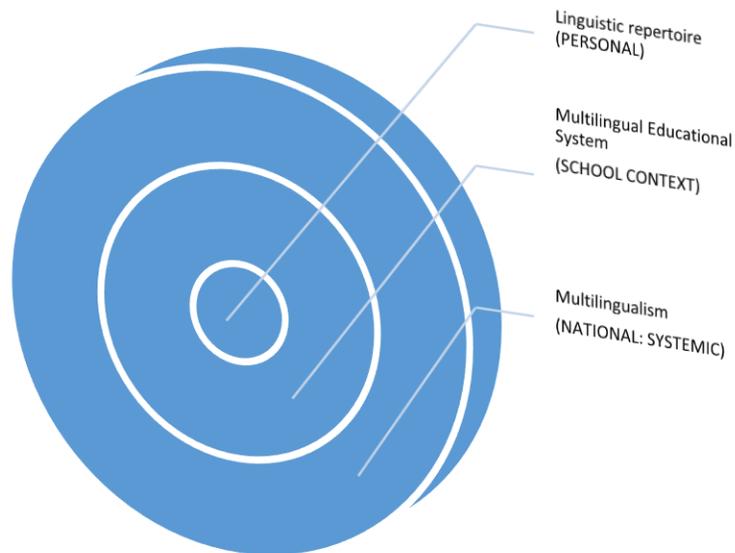
the systems environment, and plasticity, the ability to develop new systems properties in response to altered conditions (Jessner, 2008, p.273).

The rising academic interest in the concept of translanguaging is related to the growing dissatisfaction with the way bilingualism has been conceptualised in the 20th century, as this was felt to be no more relevant in the 21st century (Garcia, 2009, 2011; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011). Based on the understanding that language is dynamic and that change and variation in a multilingual system are current, this study opts for the concept of translanguaging to be able to view the multilingual learner's linguistic repertoire as a whole, instead of looking at the different languages as separate systems.

Based on the understanding that language is dynamic and that change and variation in a multilingual system are current, this study, therefore, opts for the concept of translanguaging to be able to view the multilingual learner's linguistic repertoire as a whole instead of looking at the different languages as separate systems. Translanguaging, for the reasons contended above, used widely until now as a theoretical construct in Western contexts since its conceptualisation, will be reappropriated as a theoretical lens to allow me to better and more holistically understand the development of the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual Mauritian primary school learner. The contextual intricacies of a small island, post-independence developing world context with its complex interplay of many linguistic, social, political and cultural factors (see sections 2.2 and 2.3) form the backdrop focus of my study, providing insights into the developing linguistic repertoire of a multilingual Mauritian learner. The linguistic repertoire of the learner, which this study will be looking at, will be viewed as being unique and linguistically rich. To my knowledge, no classroom field-based empirical research has yet been conducted in the Mauritian context to look at the implications of the more recent theoretical debates around linguistic repertoire, translanguaging and more advanced conceptions of multilingualism (as discussed in 2.3 above). This present study will also fill the gap of non-westernised contextual research of this phenomenon within the international creolinguistics literature as well. This literature review has assisted in the formulation of a temporary theoretical lens to guide the study (See Figure 1 below). This lens will be helpful in better understanding understand the multilingual environment within which Mauritian learners develop their linguistic repertoire..

2.4.1 Temporary Theoretical Lens

Figure One: Temporary Theoretical Lens



2.5 Synthesis

This chapter reflects the shifting of theoretical lens, which deemed necessary considering the gaps found in the theoretical conceptualisation of previous research. The review of more recent literature shows that theoretical constructs such as language, +multilingualism, and multilingual educational systems as defined in previous researches were not appropriate to the specificities of the present-day Mauritian society. The study of the phenomenon of multilingualism within the contextual intricacies of the small island within the Indian Ocean in a post-independence developing world context reflects an underlying complexity of many linguistic, social, political and cultural factors. Such an intersection between the macro-systemic, the wider national and the individual linguistic factors has to my knowledge, not yet has been conducted in empirical field-based primary classroom research in Mauritius.

This study shifts from a focus on the highly debatable term *language* towards embracing the usage of *linguistic repertoire* as more contextually and theoretically appropriate. Rather than considering

multilinguals as being deficient, the rich unique heritage and complexity of being multilingual is foregrounded. The research literature suggests the interpretation beyond single discrete language utterances, towards looking at the interplay of many co-existing interactional linguistic operations within a dynamic linguistic repertoire. This latter approach looks at language practices as part of social practices as fluid, dynamic and at times even disruptive. The intersection between the *personal* linguistic repertoire, the circumscribing schooling *contextual* environment of changing policy and the wider *systemic* evolving Mauritian linguistic landscape constituted the temporary lens for this research study. The next chapter, Chapter Three, will look at the research methodology of this study emanating from this temporary framework.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.0 Orientation

Having set out the theoretical framework and the critical questions of this study in the previous two chapters, this chapter will shed light on the underpinnings of linguistic ethnography approach (a relatively new research methodological approach) undertaken by my study. The epistemological location of linguistic ethnography and its appropriacy for my study is further explored in this chapter. This chapter will be divided into five parts: the first, highlighting what linguistic ethnography comprises as a theoretical endeavour. The second, third and fourth parts will depict my journey as a linguistic ethnographer at different stages of fieldwork, namely prior to going into the field, whilst being in the field and after completing fieldwork. To retell my story of this journey (Heller, 2010), I choose to focus on the unfolding of the process of becoming a linguistic ethnographer at different phases of this journey by recounting the experiences, tying them down with the literature as a narrative rather than compartmentalise the experiences into neat boxes in a structural manner. Hence, through this narrative an attempt is made to recreate the messiness of ethnographic fieldwork (Sikes, 2005) which would not have come into being if I had sanitised the whole process by fitting each experience into a neat box. To this end, I move to and fro from using past tense to present tense in an attempt to “capture and represent” the “situatedness” of the research as it occurred in the field (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p.139) but also to bring in within the text my own “memories of field experience” (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p.143). I do so reflexively, as I have also opted not to sanitise my presence by erasing my own voice (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000) but instead, I use the first person narration mode looking back at my own positionality as linguistic ethnographer in the study and declaring it. The narrative represents my journey in becoming a linguistic ethnographer and hence my take on a slice of someone else’s life experience whilst at the same time putting forth the richness of the context within which the data was produced (Heller, 2010).

Although matters of trustworthiness, validity and reliability will be looked into in the above-mentioned parts, the fifth part attempts to highlight the position of the researcher in the study in a reflexive aim to ensure the validity of the data produced. The ethical issues and limitations of the study are interweaved within the different parts, as and when they occurred during data production.

The following section will now introduce the methodological approach taken by this study and make an effort to show how this approach is deemed to be appropriate for the study undertaken.

3.1 Section One: The theoretical insights into the methodological approach

3.1.1 Ethnography as an approach

Hymes' (1964, 1983) work is often acclaimed for being a good critique of what is titled 'ethnography' (Blommaert and Dong Jie, 2010). Notably, he highlights the difference that exists between the structuralist notion of what is implied by language according to the strong structuralist linguistic tradition and the ethnographic understanding of speech. Hymes emphasises the concept of language which lies at the foundation of linguistics and as understood by linguists. According to him, this concept had very little bearing for those who actually make use of language. Certainly, Blommaert and Dong Jie (2010), who revisit the works of Hymes to further advocate the use of ethnography as a lens to study speech, claim that

(s)peech is language-in-society, that is, an *active* notion and one that deeply situates language in a web of relations of power, a dynamics of availability and accessibility, a situatedness of single acts vis-à-vis larger social and historical patterns such as genres and traditions. Speech is language in which people have made investments – social, cultural, political, individual emotional ones (p.8).

They further go on to argue that adopting ethnography as an approach allows one to view language as being embedded within society and it therefore “appears in reality as performance, as actions performed by people in a social environment” (Blommaert and Dong Jie, 2010, p.8) and hence the study of language in itself is deeply embedded in the study of society. As pointed out at the end of Chapter Two, this study adopts an approach that looks at language practices as being tied down to social practices. Consequently, due to the theoretical lens taken by this study, the ethnographic approach is deemed to be the most appropriate approach that will sit well within the theoretical framework adopted by the study as the study looks at linguistic repertoire as being embedded within the society.

Before moving any further, the term **Ethnography** will be looked at briefly. Over the decades, what was understood by the term 'ethnography' has evolved due to the shifts in its ontological and epistemological underpinnings. Hence, from being associated with early positivist ideas as perceived in the anthropological work of Malinowski (Leach, 1957) and Strenski (1982) to the emergence of the quite criticised “naturalist” strand (Hammersley, 1992) within it (Guba, 1978; Denzin, 1971; Schatzman and Straus, 1973), it was later influenced by post-structuralism and post-

modernism (Gubrium and Silverman, 1989). The era from which linguistic ethnography stems and the use of the term ‘ethnography’ has been understood differently by many (Creese, 2008).

Ethnography stems distinctively from the ‘nineteenth century Western anthropology’ (Atkinson, 2007, p.14), which was then defined as being “a descriptive account of a community or culture usually one located outside the West”. Blommaert and Dong Jie (2010) further go on to describe the approach used in Malinowski and Boas’s research as

part of a total programme of scientific description and interpretation, comprising not only technical, methodical aspects (Malinowskian fieldwork) but also, for example, cultural relativism and behaviourist-functionalist theoretical underpinnings. Ethnography was the scientific apparatus that put communities, rather than human kind, on the map focusing attention on the complexity of separate social units, the intricate relations between small features of a single system usually seen as in balance (p.5).

Consequently, ethnography was seen as a scientific tool to study different communities and understand the functioning of these communities. Emphasis was put on communities rather than the individual. Reduced often to being seen as a method for collecting a certain kind of data, equated with fieldwork and description (Fabian, 1983; Clifford, 1988), ethnography is not often perceived with as much respect due to this reductionist notion. Although it is highly influential in the social sciences, ethnography was said to lack scientific rigour as methodology (Fabian, 1983, 1995; Hymes, 1972, 1996). However, Hymes (1981, p.84) emphasises that “some social research seems incredibly to assume that what there is to find can be found out by asking” and ethnographic research can often help to shed light on embedded patterns of people’s livelihood which are often overlooked and not perceived as being important. Taking into account that in the Mauritian context apart from the study of Rughoonundun-Chellapermal (2007) and Auleear-Owodally (2012), not much ethnographic research has been conducted previously looking at the way the linguistic repertoire of learners develops within the multilingual educational system, this study by using the ethnographic approach seeks to explore this phenomenon in a different way. For this purpose, ethnography is defined in this research as being an in-depth and rich way of seeing a phenomenon by becoming aware of the reality of the participants by living it whilst at the same time being conscious of one’s own reality. Ethnography in this study can be equated with a way of being as a researcher which needs to be learned through the different experiences that unfold in the process of living the research. In the following section, the specific type of ethnographic research chosen by this study will be looked at, namely, linguistic ethnography.

3.1.2 Linguistic ethnography as an approach

Creese (2008, p.229) claims that the definition of what is meant by linguistic ethnography “is in its infancy”. It aligns itself as a discipline with ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1968, 1972), which is a shoot-off of anthropological traditions to the study of language and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1972, 1982). Rampton et al. (2004) claim that

linguistic ethnography generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping and that close analysis of *situated language use* can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the *mechanisms and dynamisms of social and cultural production in everyday activity* (p.2).

In so doing, Rampton argues that the epistemological stance of linguistic ethnography has a lot of similarities with contemporary sociolinguistics, where the aim is to study the dynamics of language and the social settings, which correlates with the objectives of this study. The next section will move on to depict how linguistic ethnography came into being and, although being very similar with contemporary sociolinguistics, distinguishes itself as a different approach, which is deemed to be most suitable to this study.

Although Linguistic Ethnography (LE) is very much UK-based, its origins are entrenched within the developments that occurred within the field of linguistic anthropology (LA) in the 1950s in USA (Creese, 2008). Creese (2008) outlines that the UK-based linguistic ethnographic approach has been influenced heavily by the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1968, 1974), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982, 1999) and micro ethnography (Erickson,1990,1996). Moreover, as an approach it has a narrow focus on minute “observational and textual analysis interpreted through an ethnographic understanding of the context” (Creese, 2008, p.232).

Referred to as being an “umbrella term” by Rampton (2007) and Rampton et al. (2004), linguistic ethnography distinguishes itself by bringing two terms ‘linguistics’ and ‘ethnography’ that both come from two different disciplines and attempts to see how joining these two terms can be beneficial as an approach to research. Linguistic ethnography is very much ingrained in a certain epistemological tradition which claims that ethnography has much to gain from the rigorous analytical frameworks stemming from the discipline of linguistics have to provide. On the other hand, linguistics as a discipline can open up to gain from what ethnography has to offer in terms of the processes of “reflexive sensitivity” (Creese, 2008, p.232). Whereas ethnography brings to

linguistics a sharp reading of context, linguistics looks closely at the analysis of language use which is normally not present in ethnography (Rampton et al., 2004).

Rampton (2003, p.2) contends that apart from having “strong roots in British applied Linguistics”, those who use LE as an approach “move from teaching to ethnographies of education, from sociology to anthropology”. They (Rampton et al., 2004) further state that linguistic ethnography as an approach has been moulded by five current fields of socio- and applied linguistic research; notably *local literacies*, as is depicted in the work of New Literacy studies (Barton, 1994; Barton, Hamilton and Ivanic, 2000; Gregory and Williams, 2000; Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000; Street: 1984, 1993; Tusting, 2008), within the field of ethnicity, *language and inequality in education and in the workplace* (Lytra, 2003; Martin-Jones, 1995; Rampton, 1995; Roberts, Davies and Jupp, 1992), *ideology and the cultural dynamic* of globalisation (Fairclough, 1990, 1993, 1996; Kress, 1993), the *classroom as a site of interaction* (Bruner, 1985; Creese, 2005; Maybin, 2003, 2006; Vygotsky, 1963) and applied linguistics for *language teaching* (Brumfit, 1984; Strevens, 1977; Widdowson, 1984).

One of the main characteristics of linguistic ethnography as an approach is that it takes language as main object of study rather than culture, as has been the case within ethnographic studies carried out within the field of anthropology. It should be highlighted that this study looks at the study of language as main object, language as it is embedded within the individual and within society. As was highlighted in Chapter Two, Mauritius offers an opening up of a new contextual avenue along which the phenomenon of multilingualism can be explored anew. The specific formal introduction into the primary schooling system of the dominantly spoken language, Creole (viewed as having low status as a formal official public language of learning and teaching), constitutes a valuable opportunity to understand how languages of different sociolinguistic values coexist as new attempts are made to elevate former marginalised languages. The opening up of the new contextual avenue and the use of the reconceptualised theoretical lens which has not been used before within any studies conducted on languages in the island necessitates an approach against which the new theoretical lens will best sit. As was put forth earlier in the chapter (Refer to 3.2.1), there is a dearth of ethnographic research which has been conducted in Mauritius to understand how the repertoire of multilingual children develops within the multilingual educational system.

Hence, to best understand this phenomenon, linguistic ethnography is deemed to be the most appropriate approach as it allows for a deeper insight, with ethnography offering me the means to

observe the *situated language use* of the Mauritian primary school learner and analysing this *situated language use* with grounded linguistic analytical frameworks to be able to shed light on the different *mechanisms and dynamisms of social and cultural production in the everyday activity* of the multilingual learner as a means to acknowledge the complexities of language learning in our current and changing multilingual national and global reality. As mentioned before, the impact of the global sociolinguistic forces on the small island within the Indian Ocean and their ramifications for local languages open up a contextual avenue not researched in past linguistic ethnographies. Indeed, as an approach, linguistic ethnography is heavily marked by the seal of UK, European and Western contexts, where multilingualism comes into being as a condition of immigration (Heller, 1999; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Jaffe, 1999; Creese, 2005; Rampton, 1995; Eckert, 2000; Alim, 2004; Mendoza-Denton, 2007; Pahl, 2007; Charalambous, 2009). On the other hand, using the linguistic ethnography approach to look at the Mauritian case of multilingualism will address one of the gaps in the literature noted in current linguistic ethnographies.

3.1.3 Criticism of Linguistic ethnography as an approach

Although an understanding of what is implied by the term ‘Linguistic Ethnography’ has so far been highlighted and that it has also been shown how this approach may be appropriate for this study, yet, like all other approaches, linguistic ethnography has some limitations and poses some challenges which will be discussed in this section.

Indeed, a number of debates which have ensued on linguistic ethnography have been made available in the special issue of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (2007, p.5). Maybin and Tusting (2007) claim that there is much to be gained by combining the two disciplines. However, the very fact of bringing these two disciplines together is highly challenging, as they both emanate from two different paradigms: one ranging from a positivist structuralist discipline, and the other emanating from a social theoretical framework. They (*ibid.*) further claim that

(s)ocial interaction can be directly observed. But social inequalities, class structures and ethnic identities cannot simply be ‘read off’ linguistic data. Broader patterns of language use can be inferred from social interactions – but does this mean that they ‘exist’, in any meaningful sense, or are they just an analytic construct? Similarly, to explore class, ethnicity, or globalisation requires theories about broader forces in the social world. But do such things really ‘exist’, or are they merely theoretical constructs we use to talk about data? (p. 12).

They argue that within the paradigm that is created through the merging of linguistics and ethnography as disciplines, a tension arises between the social constructionist and the realistic

perspective. This can in turn bring forth a questioning of the validity of the analysis that one comes up with from using linguistic ethnography as an approach. Creese (2008) further argues that, when put alongside ethnography, certain purely structuralist linguistic traditions do not necessarily sit comfortably together as both stem from two different worldviews. This is also argued by Rampton et al. (2004, p.3), who claim that “(l)inguistics is a massively contested field”. There are a number of very robust linguistic sub-disciplines which treat language as an autonomous system (separating it from the contexts in which it is used).

Indeed, as was claimed in Chapter Two, past structuralist notions from the discipline of linguistics have viewed language as being a monolithic, bound and autonomous entity which can be studied as a separate entity. This clashes then with the very essence of ethnography, which views the phenomenon being studied as embedded within its context. Certainly, this tension which stems from the combination of theoretical and methodological frameworks to study different aspects of a social phenomenon might lead to a variety of knowledge claims which might then put into question the validity of the analysis that such a research might entail (Maybin and Tusting, 2007; Creese, 2008; Jacobs and Slembrouck , 2010).

The use of these two disciplines under one single approach and the tension that arises as a result of this has indeed been one of the main problematics of having used this approach to undertake this study. It has been challenging to maintain the right balance when analysing the data produced during fieldwork using the linguistic analytical frameworks that are available. Much reflection has been done before opting for the analytical frameworks which are available from the discipline of linguistics to avoid going down the structuralist end, a perspective from which this study has veered off at the very start (see Chapter Two). Hence, whereas ethnography focuses on the importance of context as the object of the study, certain aspects of linguistics also look at language as being dissociated from contexts. One of the ways in which this study addresses this issue is by opting for a reconceptualisation of the object that has been put under the lens. Thus, the construct of ‘linguistic repertoire’ has been put forward at the very beginning to shift away from the biased concept of language as being a bound, monolithic and discrete entity. In so doing, this study amalgamates language and context and allows for both disciplines to be combined without posing much challenge. Moreover, when the data sets were constructed, the interaction was embedded within a rich description of the context in which it was produced, and this is evident in the transcripts produced.

It should be noted that linguistic ethnography sets itself apart from ethnography through the use of different discourse analysis frameworks which are brought forward to look at interaction during the analytical process; notably stemming from the six traditions of discourse analysis, namely conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis, Bakhtinian research and Foucault's discourse analysis framework. As said before, choosing one tradition of discourse analysis which would sit best with the theoretical construct framework of this study has also proved to be a challenge as some of these discursive analysis processes have received vehement criticism for their structuralist edge (Li Wei, 2002; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Wetherell, 1998; Billig, 1999) and their usage to 'tie down' the ethnography in linguistic ethnography has led to analyses which actually undermine context at the expense of linguistic data.

Indeed, conversational analysis as analytic framework (Rampton, Lefstein and Bezemer, 2010, p.5), which argues that "the ongoing, moment to moment construction social reality" can be seen if one looks at "the ways in which people build up an interactional event turn by turn" (*ibid.*) is one such discursive analytical framework which has been much criticised. Conversation analysis (CA), which originated from the realm of sociology within the works of Goffman, Sacks, Schegloff and Garfinkel (Goffman, 1963, 1974, 1981; Garfinkel, 1967), brought forth the notion of conversations as being sequentially organised (Psathas, 1995; Duranti, 1997). Turn-taking is taken to be the main analytical focus in an interaction within conversation analysis and it is argued that CA does not "assume in advance the relevance of social structure and does not impose any classificatory frameworks" (Cashman in Wei and Moyer, 2010, p.286). CA as an approach is vehemently criticised as it emphasises inconsequential details without taking in the wider scope of the context (Billig, 1999; Li Wei, 2002; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). This is precisely one of the main criticisms levied against linguistic ethnographies which have been carried out using the CA as analytical framework, studies which actually provided the foundation for linguistic ethnography as an approach. Indeed, CA as used within these research studies is found to be limiting for my study, as the minute analysis of turn taking in the interactions produced within the study will not enable me to answer the critical questions asked by this research.

One serious challenge in making use of any of the discursive analysis tool traditions that do exist (including conversational analysis, which has a very strong structuralist perspective) is that the

variety of choices that are actually available to the linguistic ethnographer can bring up methodological issues which might be problematic, as each of these discursive analysis traditions has a specific epistemological stance which influences how the phenomenon is conceptualised and studied. Each of these discursive analytical traditions has received a number of criticisms, notably because with such analytical frameworks it is deemed that meaning is always subject to change and therefore, there are always different ways in which meaning can be interpreted and negotiated (Morgan, 2010). Hence, there is not one single interpretation that can be termed down as being a final analysis and there is always room in such cases for further interpretations. Moreover, none of these discursive analysis traditions comes with any single prescribed method on how to proceed when it comes to tying down an analysis, which has also been quite challenging.

Moreover, another limitation of the linguistic ethnography approach is that since it stems very much from the Western world and that since most researches done using this approach lie very much within a Western context, apart from the few carried out in Mozambique (Chimbutane, 2009) and in Syria (Almohammad, 2014), there is hardly any research which is done within a linguistic context such as the one that exists in Mauritius, except in the case of Vanuatu (Willans, 2013), which is shaped by a double colonial history³⁰ like Mauritius. Since this approach is very much Western and more so UK-based ideologically and culturally, re-appropriating this approach so that it can be used within a Mauritian context has been problematic. In much of the studies that were carried out within the field of multilingualism, where linguistic ethnography was used as an approach, multilingualism was a construct that stemmed from immigration as a condition and many of the studies actually focused on power issues that brought to the forefront the hegemony between the usage of the majority language – which, in many cases was English – and the minority languages that the immigrant children brought to class. Consequently, there hardly exists any research which deals with the study of a repertoire as has been advanced in my study. Therefore, the choice and use of an adequate analytical framework has been one of my main concerns as linguistic ethnographer undertaking a linguistic ethnography in Mauritius.

Another limitation of the linguistic ethnographic approach is that the linguistic ethnographer cannot but avoid impacting on the language practices that are being studied and that was my case indeed. There was no way in which I could refrain from shaping interaction in many instances (these will be discussed at length in further sections) and therefore I had to be very much aware of

³⁰ A country which has been shaped from having been colonized both by the French and the British.

this whilst producing data. Rampton (2007) argues that instead of thinking that linguistic and ethnographic methods are complementary, linguistic ethnographers should allow for a good deal of methodological reflexivity whilst producing data and recognise what the limitations of the approach taken are, so as to be fully aware of its implications.

Therefore, having pinned down the theoretical constructs within which linguistic ethnography, and reporting on its different limitations and challenges, I will move on, in the next section to look at how data was produced. For this purpose, I have tried to encapsulate within my writing the process as it shaped during that stage of the research, seeking to capture the process of becoming a linguistic ethnographer. As said earlier, I have used episodic writing to depict to depict the critical episodes in an attempt to map out the whole process which led to the final data production plan that was applied within this study. The choice of mapping out the data production process as such is also reflexive in nature. In so doing, the attempt has been to ensure the validity of the data produced within the tenets of ethnographic research. I would also like to point out that to maintain the anonymity of my participants, all names used for locations as well as persons are pseudonyms. Moreover, honorific titles have been given to all adults within this study while only forenames have been used for the learners. This has been done keeping in mind the ethical dimension of the research.

3.2 Section Two: Journeying into becoming a linguistic ethnographer: prior fieldwork

3.2.1 Choosing a research site

When I set out initially on this journey, my choice of a research site was mainly based on the principle of ease of access and the amount of time I had for data production. Since it is understood in this study that ethnographic research cannot “claim representiveness for a (segment of the) population, (cannot) be replicable under *identical* circumstances” and that “the object of investigation is always a *uniquely situated reality*: a complex of events which occur in a totally unique context, time, place, participants, even the weather” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, ppp.18-19), this study sought by no means to be representative of all types of schools of Mauritius but instead to capture the phenomenon within one given context. Moreover, the criteria of pragmatism also required from ethnographic research (*ibid.*) was adhered to. Thus, a realistic research production plan was deemed necessary as the fieldwork would span over only two terms of the Mauritian school calendar, one of which was relatively quite short, given that most summative exams were scheduled within that semester. Thus, this study chose to look at only a single case study of one

school to be able to explore the phenomenon fully. Furthermore, the two factors that were also taken into account were: firstly, that KM should be offered as an option in the school as the study would be looking at the multilingual educational system which also comprised the teaching of KM as a subject; and secondly, the geographical location of the school was of much importance to me as an ethnographic researcher. The school would have to be oneone which I could easily drive to and fro every day, hence the choice of schools in the region where I lived.

Keeping these two factors in mind and having in mind Amin's (2008) concern about how hostility of her participants made her task of producing data problematic, I decided to get in touch with two previous trainee student-teachers who worked as KM teachers in my locality. These teachers were familiar with me as they had been my students when they were doing their training at the teacher education institute where I work as lecturer. My aim behind doing so was to gain easy access to their class as I already shared a rapport with them and would thus not need to waste time building relationships with teachers who were secondary participants to my study, with my study focusing on understanding how the linguistic repertoire of learners developed within a multilingual educational system. The first teacher I contacted worked in one government school which is very well-known for producing very good results at the end of the primary school and is consequently regarded as one of the best primary schools. Sorely tempted by the profile of the school, I called up the headmaster and requested for an appointment with him to describe to him my research before contacting the required authorities to gain official permission. The reason I am taking time to describe this first attempt at gaining access at a research site is because it gave me an inkling even at that time of how ethnography as a research hallmark is not only not well-known but is also viewed as being problematic within the educational arena. I left the initial chosen research site in total distress after having met the headmaster of the school (See below vignette from field notes)

When I met the Headmaster, although I had taken an appointment to meet him, I could feel that he was not really pleased to meet me and was very busy. I started to explain about my study and he interrupted at times to ask me some questions, one of which was whether I was going to be conducting a survey. The moment I mentioned that my study was ethnographic and that meant I had to stay in the school for a while, I could feel a change in his demeanour. I reassured him and told him that he did not need to give me an answer immediately. He replied that it was all subject to his teachers' approval as I would be in their class. He then took me to meet his teachers immediately. When I started explaining to them, I could see from their very body language that they were not pleased and that they would not appreciate me being there. However, I tried to be reassuring and told them to take some days to think about it. I thought as I walked out, I knew I

would not be calling back as I overheard the headmaster telling them that he was giving them the permission to refuse, using a rudely loud tone so that I could overhear what he was saying. The very fact that I was asking permission to spend six months in the school, to sit in as an observer and to make use of an audio-recorder was viewed to be a threat to the teachers. I could see their visible distress even though I highlighted that I was interested only in the language practices of their learners and not their pedagogical practices and also reassured them that that my presence would not disrupt the ongoing activities of the school, and that I would not produce data during the period of exams so as not to create any disruption. The headmaster, on the other hand, was more disturbed by the fact that I wanted to access the research site for six months and he perhaps feared that my presence would hinder the good performance of the pupils although he did not voice this out. The interplay of shifting responsibility from headmaster to teachers to parents to tell me that they were not willing to have me around and the forced attempt at politeness was the trigger that made me walk away from the first research site chosen, disappointed but ruminating ruefully on how this one episode shed light on how challenging carrying out ethnographic research would prove to be within the Mauritian educational system.

This was the first teaser to this incredible ethnographic journey which I started two years ago, full of thorns indeed but enriching in the way that each challenge shaped me as a linguistic ethnographer in the making. I would stop here to say that one is not born a linguistic ethnographer, but one learns to become one by meeting each challenge that comes our way and choosing and shaping the course of one's action as a researcher as the research is ongoing, allowing for the dynamism of the field to have a destabilising effect and reaching par rapport to it. Blommaert and Jie (2010, p.24) rightly point out that being a linguistic ethnographer "is humanly demanding" as he/she "will need to give proof of all the good qualities in life: patience, endurance, stamina, perseverance, flexibility, adaptability, empathy, tolerance, the willingness to lose a battle in order to win a war, creativity, humour and wit, diplomacy, and being happy about very small achievements" (*ibid.*). They further argue that the only way to be a good linguistic ethnographer is to be open to the dynamism of the field and allow for one to be unsettled, ruffled and "adapt (our) plan and ways of going about things to" (*ibid.*) deal with what the field asks from one. Indeed, this very complexity and dynamism was highly relevant to the object of my study, which entailed looking at language as being dynamic, complex and fluid.

After that first incident in my journey into fieldwork, I contacted via Facebook the second trainee student with whom I had worked previously and asked her advice as to the school she deemed it

preferable for me to conduct the study in, as she taught KM in three schools of the locality. She chose St Marie Primary School (a pseudonym) because the management would have no issues to the research being carried out within the institution and that was how I ended up doing the study at St Marie Primary School.

3.2.2 Gaining access to the research site

This choice was made at the beginning of 2013. Before entering the site, I called the headmistress of the school and she advised me on the way to proceed to gain official access to the school.

Before moving ahead with how access was gained, a parenthesis is necessary to distinguish between the three types of primary schools that exist in Mauritius: state governed schools, private aided schools (schools which are financed by the government as well as the private sector, one of which being the Romantic Catholic Church) and private unaided schools (schools which receive no funding at all from the government and are fee paying). In Mauritius, only state and private aided primary have opted for the teaching of KM.

St Marie Primary school was a private aided school, then governed by the Bureau de l'Education Catholique (BEC)³¹. This regulatory governance organisation is considered to be one of the main private partners of the MOEHR in Mauritius and “is the executive office of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Port-Louis for its education services” (BEC, n.d.). It oversees the operations of 46 primary schools in Mauritius which are private aided and 17 secondary schools. The BEC aims to provide education to children with three declared official axes: an educational mission, an evangelical mission and a catechetical mission. The catholic education has as objective to provide a holistic education to children for their academic, physical, cultural, social, emotional and spiritual development. It also seeks to place the gospel at the core of the school life and introduce the children to the teachings of Jesus Christ (BEC, n.d.).

I thus sought an appointment with the secretary of the BEC and I was invited to meet him in his office on a given date. On the day of appointment, I was warmly welcomed by the secretary and we actually spent an hour and a half discussing not only what I was going to research, but also about the importance of the mother tongue, Creole, in the school curriculum and the impact its introduction in the educational system might have. Having fought for a long time for the language to be introduced within the educational system, the secretary found my take on linguistic repertoire very interesting and gave me free access to take as much time as I wanted to conduct my study and

³¹ Now known as the 'Service Diocésain de l'Education Catholique (SeDEC).

was not intimidated by the fact that I asked to spend six months in St Marie Primary School. He asked me to disseminate the results of my study once it had been completed to the teachers who worked for R.C.A. schools in the hope that it would change the negative attitudes many had towards the introduction of KM in the educational system.

I did not need to press much to convince the secretary that the anonymity of the school and participants would be maintained in my study. I also reassured the secretary that my presence would not disrupt the ongoing activities of the school and that I would not produce data during the period of examinations so as not to interrupt the good flow of the process. I was given the permission to go ahead with the study and allowed to get in touch with the headmistress of St Marie primary school as soon as I wanted.

Bonacina (2012, p.270), whose study focused on access in multilingual school ethnography research, argues that “successful access negotiations depend on the relationship between the researcher and researched (gatekeepers and/or participants)”. With hindsight, I also think that my study, along with being seen as a cause of hindrance to the smooth running of the day-to-day school business, held no personal interest to the first school that I sought access to. The fact that I had highlighted my focus as being the study of the multilingual educational system which also englobed the teaching/learning of KM as a subject was not seen as something that would bring any advantage to the school as such. Beynon (1983, p.40) contends that he was able to negotiate access to the settings he selected due to the fact that both the researcher and the researched held common interests, which was not the case with the first school I tried to negotiate access to. On the other hand, the BEC, the organisation with which I had to negotiate to be able to gain access to my participants, had been for years an active proponent of the inclusion of KM within the educational system, participating in the struggle in a number of ways. Hence, when I outlined my research interest, the secretary saw in my research something that held an interest and an advantage for those who not only worked for the R.C.A. schools but also for the society at large. He saw through my study an opportunity to change people’s mentality about the introduction of KM in the educational system. Therefore, my study seemed advantageous to the agenda of the organisation from which I sought access, and I consequently got the permission to do my study in the school chosen without much problem. Below follows a thick description of the contextual surroundings in which the data was produced, which is represented by the rich narrative of the research site. This reported contextual reflection drew from my ethnographic engagement and documented

recordings in my personal researcher journal where detailed observation notes were taken on an ongoing basis. Interactions with a range of sources within the context were reported in my journal chronicling my evolving interaction and understanding of the school context over nine weeks.

3.2.3 St Marie primary school

St-Marie primary school is located in the suburban region of Pierreville, St-Marie, around ten minutes from where I live. Pierreville is one of the oldest towns of Mauritius and is considered as being one of the main urban centres of the island. Whilst driving to St-Marie primary school through Pierreville's town centre, one can witness a mixture of historical and modern infrastructure blending with each other on both sides of the road, with some of the island's oldest and prestigious colleges, amongst which many Roman Catholic colleges facing the modern buildings which stand high in the sky. Both sides of the road are flanked with shops, supermarkets, shopping centers, banks, restaurants which make up the architecture of the town centre.

Driving further down towards the suburb of Pierreville, which is flanked with a blend of different buildings, amongst which a church, a college, sky-raising flats, leaving the junction to go towards St-Marie primary school one can spot a small stone built chapel on which there is a board where the name of the chapel is written and the schedule at which masses (religious services) are conducted in French. Just behind the chapel, one can catch glimpses of St-Marie primary school, which is sheltered behind the chapel and can be seen behind the metallic gate which separates it from the chapel. Turning left the St-Marie Chapel Street, one can see multi-coloured and different sizes of houses, some symbolising the religious belonging of the members who live in the house through the choice of colours as in the small green house on the right-hand side of the school. Amidst these houses is nestled St-Marie primary school, which is closed behind the huge gates, kept shut so that the children do not go outside.

I have never parked my car inside the school for the sole reason that I did not want my car to create a stir amongst the children due to its size and make and I also did not want to carry a symbol of who I was by bringing my car in the compound. I usually parked it on the side of one the houses which flanked both sides of St-Marie primary school. The students who later spotted me in it on their way home when school would break or when we would be leaving the school compound at the same time found this quite interesting about me and very often, they would talk about the car that I drove and about my key, which I kept with me.

According to the school records, St-Marie primary school exists since hundred years and was a school which was founded when the nuns of the Congregation of the “Bon et Perpétuel Secours” decided to educate the children coming from the region of St-Marie. The first primary school was located in the chapel situated in the town centre of Pierreville. In 1957, the Diocese of Port-Louis, exchanging one building it had in another town, obtained the plot of land and the building which now accommodates St-Marie primary school. In 1958, new classrooms were built and the costs were incurred by the parish committee. Since then the school holds the name of St-Marie primary school.

On the left-hand side of the site there is a small garden patch that the school has, with the science laboratory, the art room and the canteen situated besides the garden path. On the right-hand side, there are the separate toilets of the school with 5 boys’ toilets and thirteen toilets catering for the girls. The L-shape one-storeyed building of St-Marie primary school rises on higher grounds (Appendix Four: Diagram of layout of school). All the lower primary classrooms catering for Standard One up till Standard Three classrooms are on the ground floor. On the ground floor are also found the ICT lab, the kitchen, the store, the staff room and the head mistress’s office, which is at the centre of the L-shape building. On the far end of the ground floor are found the two classrooms which have been allocated for the Oriental Languages which are taught in the school, namely Hindi and Urdu. On the first floor, there are all the upper primary classrooms which cater for the students who are in Standards Four to Six. On the first floor there are also a multi-purpose hall and another room allocated for the teaching of Hindi and Tamil. The school has a large yard in which there are old green trees, one of which has grown so old that its branches are falling. The students have been forbidden to go sit under that tree, as it might be dangerous. However, there is another tree in the middle of the yard under which very often they gather and have their food or play. The yard is huge and spacious enough to gather its 512 students during the recess time and within its midst it comprises of a grotto which has been built and is dedicated to Notre Dame de Lourdes.

The school’s logo comprises of a dove which is linked to a number of humans who have joined hands. It reads out as follows, ‘With the Holy Spirit, we live, love and learn’ and the school song comprises of the following lyrics,

“Nous les enfants de St-Marie

Sommes très heureux d’être à l’école

Tout le monde nous admire

*Parce que nous sommes de bons enfants*³²

The languages which are taught in the school apart from English, French and KM are Hindi, Urdu and Tamil, which are slotted at the same time as the KM class. The school also has a library which has 793 English books, 532 French books and 63 Asian languages books, but there are no KM books available. The school is headed by Mrs Suzy, who has been managing the school since five years already and counts amongst her staff, three (3) deputy headteachers, twenty (20) General Purpose teachers, two (2) Asian Languages teachers, two KM teachers, an IT support officer, a school clerk, caretakers and casual labourers, most of whom are female and of Creole ethnic origin.

3.2.4 Meeting Mrs Suzy

My trainee student referred to the headmistress of St Marie primary School as being like a mother hen looking after her little chicks, and I was warmly welcomed the day I met her in the same kind of spirit. Mrs Suzy (pseudonym) was a motherly figure, aged in mid-fifties, warm and open and we had a long chat when I met her about the introduction of KM in the educational system and about my study and how I planned to produce my data. Mrs Suzy had fought in the 1970s with the other members of the BEC for the use of Creole in the educational system, as she often tells me and she thinks that the use of the mother tongue is very important in the education of children. She feels grieved that many of her colleagues as well as those teachers who work with her – and even those who themselves teach KM – do not share her view about the necessity of having the mother tongue in the primary curriculum. However, she ensures that the children are allowed to use their mother tongue, especially in the lower primary. Hence, she advises those teachers who teach in Standards One and Two to use Creole when teaching and lead learners towards French in the earlier years, with more emphasis being put on English as from Standard Three.

When I met her, I explained the longitudinal nature of my study and the fact that I was asking permission to sit in classes and record the language practices of learners. I gave the same reassurance I had given to the secretary that I would not disrupt the ongoing flow of school activities and would absent myself from the fieldwork during the end-of-year examinations period. Moreover, I left Mrs Suzy stating that I would start producing data the moment I got ethical clearance from the university. All these procedures were done in May 2013 and by the end of May

³² We the children of St Marie are very happy to be at school; everyone admires us because we are good children

2013, I was already in possession of the official letter from BEC stating that I could proceed with my study.

3.2.5 Disruption of study plan

Having gained access with much ease after the initial incident mentioned previously in May 2013, I set out to develop a data production plan (See Appendix Five: Data Production Plan 1) spanning over six months, over three different periods; notably the first observational phase which would be carried out in June 2013 to produce a good understanding of the contextual intricacies of the field. The second phase was planned in August-September 2013 and the last phase was planned in January 2014, and this phase would be the longest as it would last till end of March. It was believed that since this study focused on understanding the development of the Mauritian primary school learners' linguistic repertoire, the best way to produce data would be over a semi-longitudinal study. As in May 2013, there were only two levels at which KM was taught, it was deemed necessary to prolong the study till the end of the first school term in 2014 to be able to compare the linguistic repertoire chronologically.

The initial plan being as such, I applied for leave from work because I wanted to have sufficient time in the field to immerse myself to understand the contextual intricacies of the field I was studying. However, although all the official exigencies pertaining to access to the field had been dealt with and I was ready to set off for fieldwork, with my neat plan in hand, as I said previously – and as all researchers get to know by the end of their study! – nothing is at neat and never gets as near to being neat as the plan that one has before getting into the field; and what ensued totally disrupted my initial plan. It was only in September 2013 that I got my formal ethical clearance, four months after I had already received access and resumed work after my leave had expired and done nothing at all except read and write up my theoretical framework chapter.

Since October was the month in which exams would be held and I was no more on leave, I considered it pointless to set off in the field in such conditions, thereby deciding to postpone entry in the field till the following year, as the students would be on holiday after their exams finished and till January 2014. This disruption in my initial plan made me reconsider the options I had and to rework the design of my study.

3.3 Section Three: Journeying into becoming a linguistic ethnographer: getting into the field.

Since I was planning to complete my dissertation by the end of 2014, the disruption in the initial study plan left me with less time than I had planned at the beginning. Therefore, one of the first

challenges I had was to shorten my data production stage to only a three-month period, dating from the beginning of the school term in January 2014 to the end of the 1st school term, that is in the first week of April 2014 (See Appendix Six: Data Production Plan 2). This disruption also implied that I could no more do a semi-longitudinal study, spanning over two different years and this orientation of my initial study plan had to be dropped. Since I had gained access to the field in 2013 and finally started fieldwork approximately a year after, I had to renegotiate access to the field. To my dismay, I was informed that the teacher who was my initial contact and with whom I was already acquainted and had already built a rapport with was no more a KM teacher and had shifted to becoming a General Purpose (GP) teacher again, going back to teaching the core subjects within the primary curriculum, that is English, French, Mathematics amongst others. This, therefore meant that I did not know anyone at the school at which I was doing my study when I stepped into the field.

Nonetheless, I asked the teacher to identify eight pupils with whom she had worked and who could be my participants. I asked her to give the names of four Standard Two pupils and four Standard Three pupils. Keeping the focus of my research in her mind, she sent me a list of those students with a small note on each of them (See Appendix Nine: Students' Profile). I now found myself with the names of my participants in hand and after renegotiating access to the field following the same procedures as done previously, I met Mrs Suzy at the beginning of January with the permission letters to be given to my participants' parents so that the children could be allowed to be part of my study. Out of the eight pupils, four of them were in the same Standard Two class; three of them were in one Standard Three Class whilst the eighth one was in another Standard Three class. It hence implied that I had to divide my time in the field producing data in three classrooms initially.

The Headmistress very amicably said that she would get the respective pupils' GP teachers to meet the participants' parents during the Parents' Teacher Association meeting that was to be organised in the month, in order to talk and explain to them what my research was about and get them to sign the permission letters. I asked for permission to meet the pupils' GP teachers as soon as the letters had been signed and also informed them that my fieldwork would start as soon as my leave would start, that is in the last week of January. As mentioned previously, one of the main characteristics of a good linguistic ethnographer is said to be his/her ability to adapt flexibly to the reality of the field (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). One of the biggest realities that I had to face before stepping in

the field was that I had lesser time at hand than what I had initially planned, and that totally changed the study from what it had been conceptualised initially. It had indeed lost the chronological angle that I wanted to give to it and that would have enabled me to analyse the data over a longer period. I had thus to adapt my data production plan according to the exigencies of the numerous reality checks I got even before getting into the field. Indeed, it is not for any haphazard reason that ethnography is equated very often with chaos (Blommaert and Jie, 2010)

3.3.1 Meeting the teachers

The first day of fieldwork started by meeting the teachers of the participants, Miss Veronica, who taught the Standard Two class, and Miss Ariana, who taught the Standard Three class. I had already arranged with Mrs Suzy for the teachers to be released for half an hour during which I explained my research to both and discussed how I would proceed. I informed them about who the participants of my study were and how I intended to proceed and spread out the time I had at my disposal to start the initial phase of my observation. I explained that this would be done only so that the learners could get used to my presence in the classroom and for me to get acquainted with the participants, since I did not know them beforehand. It was very clear to me that although I reassured them that I would try to make myself as unobtrusive as possible, and not interfere in any of their activities, the very fact of having me around from morning till afternoon with a recorder in hand was not something they looked forward to. I made a note so as to make sure not to bother them too much with my presence, seeing that they were clearly reluctant to having me around in their classroom but could do nothing else but comply with Mrs Suzy's instructions. With time, Miss Ariana – in whose class I spent more time during my fieldwork than in Miss Veronica's – got used to my being there and at times would acknowledge my being in her classroom by even inviting my participation when she was interacting with the children during the classes. Initially, she got the students to share their cakes with me if they offered it to her and acknowledged my presence in the classroom with politeness and respect. At a later stage, during her teaching, she would invite interaction from me in certain instances and I would be happy to indulge. Yet, by the end of my fieldwork, although Miss Ariana had accepted my presence in her classroom and was extremely cordial with me, it was still very clear to me that my presence had been accepted because they had no choice but accept the order given by the Headmistress. However, neither Miss Ariana nor Miss Veronica – in whose class I spent lesser time – showed any resistance during my data production stage and I was able to produce data in their classrooms.

I could unfortunately not meet the KM teacher of the pupils as the school had not yet got the additional KM teacher it needed. There was only one KM teacher and six classes of approximately twenty-five pupils who had opted to learn KM as a language. As the ministry was having to handle the issue of the increasing number of pupils opting for the language and fewer staff – some of whom having reverted back to being GP teachers as they had a two-year contract which allowed them to go back to the teaching of the core subjects once the contract was over – the Ministry had not yet solved the problem of allocating KM teachers to the different schools over the island. Most of the staff they had recruited were still following training at the MIE and would not be done with their training until the end of 2014, in some cases middle of 2015. Hence, the sole KM teacher who worked at St-Marie primary school was having to spread out the time that she had at school over the various KM classes on a daily basis, which meant that there were days when the learners were left unattended, as some classes were run at the same time everyday.

This was a problem that Mrs Suzy had to handle at the beginning of the term. In one of the discussions I had with her in regard to when the participants I was observing would be allotted a KM teacher, she mentioned that the decision to introduce KM as a language in the educational system, despite being a sound one, had been done without any planning as such. In the 1970s, she had been involved in the struggle to introduce Kreol within the educational system, as she felt that the teaching of the mother tongue could only be advantageous to the children in their development and she grieved over the fact that the language had been introduced in such an unplanned way. As mentioned in Chapter One and Korlapu, the introduction of KM within the educational system was very much a political move to cater for the needs of a particular ethnic community rather than a pedagogical move (Jean-François and Korlapu-Bungaree, 2012). Moreover, Mrs Suzy was also quite disappointed that her best KM teacher, that is my ex-trainee student with whom I had got in touch initially, had reverted back to being a GP teacher and that the one who had opted to remain a KM teacher in the school was not as motivated to teach the subject. She mentioned that she was there only because of the additional allowance that the government provided to KM teachers as an incentive.

In a paper presented at the 45th British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL) Conference, Mahadeo-Doorgakant (2012), in a study conducted on the language attitudes of trainee educators who had opted for the special training to teach KM to primary school pupils and were the first batch to teach KM in 2012, argued that many of the trainee educators shared mixed views about

the language they had chosen to teach. Despite having positive attitudes towards KM, there were mixed reactions concerning its teaching and its use within the classroom and many advanced that the reason why they had opted to teach KM was because of the number of incentives that had been given to them, notably the additional allowance, the advantage to travel from one school to another and the fact that they had to teach only one subject and not a number of subjects, contrary to the General Purpose teacher. One possible interpretation therefore is that the introduction of KM was not done with much systems and human resources planning and the lack of trained staff to cater for the increasing demand of those children who wanted to study KM as an optional language was one of the main issues that schools had to face with its introduction in the educational system. To deal with this problem, the MOEHR had posted those full-time trainee students who were following a two-year training course at the MIE as full-time educators in schools despite the fact that they had not completed their training. Hence, most of the KM trainee educators that had been recruited by the MOEHR in Mauritius since 2013 had to juggle between teaching in schools on a full-time basis and being at the MIE one day per week to follow their training.

At the beginning of the semester, very often the children would find themselves free during the slot that was allotted to the teaching of KM or alternatively, their GP teacher would use the slot to do a Catechesis class with them. This issue was only solved by the end of February, a month before the first term ended, when a second KM teacher was finally allotted to the school and who ended up becoming one of the secondary participants of my study.

3.3.2 Meeting the children

As such I did not really have an informal explanatory meeting with my participants because, given their age, I could not discuss my research with them. As mentioned before, Mrs Suzy had already asked Miss Ariana and Miss Veronica to speak to their parents and ask for permission for the children to participate in my study. I did not know any of them before I set foot in their respective classrooms, as it was my ex-student, the children's former KM teacher, who had selected them after I had outlined to her what my study would be focusing on. She let this knowledge guide her in her selection and when she chose the students, she drew up a small table to describe each of them (See Appendix Nine: Students' Profile) so that I could have a surface knowledge of them as students. The selection of my participants hence was very much context-driven. Before entering the classroom, I had already asked both Miss Veronica and Miss Ariana to subtly point out to me who were the participants of my study, as I did not want them to feel conscious that I was paying

attention to them only and thus not act as they would normally do in circumstances when they are not under observation. Miss Veronica, however, on the first day, forgot what I had asked her and was going to pinpoint to me who my participants were when I stopped her from doing so. I gleaned these details from observation and from seeing who she was addressing herself to when she solicited the attention of my participants for any given task. On the first day, I didn't meet my fourth participant, as she was absent, but subsequently I met her when she resumed school.

Miss Ariana found a better way for me to meet my participants by getting them to hand me the permission letters which their parents had signed and through this way, I got to know my three participants: Stevie, Larry and Piper, who ended up being my three primary participants.

3.3.3 The field speaks

As I said previously, people are not born as ethnographers (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). I had my fat notebook in my bag, my smart pen recorder, my other audio-recorders and time to spend in the field at my disposal. I thought naively that writing down all my observations in my notebook and audio-recording the speech of my participants were all I needed to do for the production of my data almost by magic. But I quickly found myself up the wall as the first few days of fieldwork left me in a haze as the field started speaking and at times screaming.

Despite all that I had read about ethnographic fieldwork being messy and chaotic (Blommaert and Jie, 2010), I was naïve enough to think that I would walk in the classroom, put my audio-recorder near my participant, write down everything I would see, and magically data would be *collected*. It was during the first few days of fieldwork that I really understood how linguistic ethnography with young children aged 6-8 years could be totally chaotic. The intricacies of the data production stage really started hitting me as a linguistic ethnographer. The literature describes observation as being the “hallmark of ‘classical’ ethnographic methodology” (Harklau, 2005, p.180). Observation simply refers to the act of registering things that strike one “whenever (one’s) eyes and ears are open and (one is) in a clear state of mind” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.29). Keeping this in mind I stepped in the field not only ready to audio-record the participants’ linguistic repertoire but also mentally record what was going on around me to get a better sense of the context in which my data was produced. Seated at the back of the Standard II classroom by the corner where the story books were kept, I spent the first two days in what Amin (2008, p.67) calls the “innocuous phase” of observation, getting a feel of my field and knowing the participants. Most of the time I spent seated

was devoted to noting down almost absolutely everything that was happening in the class, except when the children got their breaks and wandered off to my side to get to know me.

The one fact that I have learnt working with children is that they are extremely curious about anything and everything that is new to them. They were curious about everything, ranging from the researcher to any little thing that came out of the researcher's pocket. Everything interested them: my pen, my notepad, my hairclip, my earrings, including my audio-recorder. Moreover, building a rapport with them was not a huge problem. The literature abounds with arguments that put forth that building relationship between the researcher-researched is crucial in allowing the ethnographer to be able to produce data (Amin, 2008; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Feldman, Bell and Berger, 2003; Heller, 2008a; Wanat, 2008; Woods, 1986). Yet, with children I had no issues in regard to building a rapport, as the moment I stepped in either class, most of the children were all over me, fawning on me, sharing their food, seeking hugs and kisses, wanting to be noticed (The relationship of the researcher-researched will be discussed at a later stage). However, I soon realised that getting access to their linguistic repertoire and recording would be a very challenging process.

3.3.4 Limited amount of time

I had eight participants in all, spread amongst three different contextual classroom realities and only around nine weeks left to produce data with all participants; with a number of days being excluded from the data production schedule, as there were a lot of public holidays during the first school term of the year. Moreover, data production had to be rescheduled on some days due to the fact that school was closed because of cyclone and torrential rain warnings. Moreover, the school time table was quite rigid in its distribution. All the classes started at nine and ended at three thirty. Throughout the day, the children had only two breaks, each lasting around fifteen to twenty minutes, during which they were allowed to go to the toilet and come back to class and eat. At quarter to noon, the bell would go and they would have a half-hour recess time during which they were allowed to play outdoors in the yard. This was the only time that they were left alone without teacher supervision. The standard three participants had Enhancement Programme (EP) classes after school hours, three times a week (See in further section), and on those days, they finished at quarter to five. Hence, most of the time the children spent in school within the four walls of the classroom was done in the presence of their GP teacher.

Although they talked with each other during classroom time when the teacher was teaching, they did so only when they were solicited to participate by their teacher or else in small asides to their neighbours, which were often carried out in whispers or miming of words for fear of being reprimanded and being punished. In the first week of the term, the students had worked with the teacher on a poster establishing the classroom rules and regulations that they needed to follow and it was quite clear that they knew that they were not allowed to talk out of the space that had been assigned to them by their teacher. The first few days after listening to the talk that had been recorded within the classroom I was observing, I slowly came to the conclusion that recording the participants' linguistic repertoire during normal school hours would only yield number of hours of data which would not be relevant, as it would be dominated by teacher talk only. As has been said before, the learners did not have the permission to talk when they were doing their classwork and interaction was solicited only when the teacher conducted her class and invited them to participate. However, whenever they would be assigned work to do in class, as they were seated in groups, they would converse with each other, however keeping in mind the rule of not talking loud and most of their interaction was done in whispers, which I could not overhear at all and which was very often unintelligible when recorded due to the low tone in which they conversed with each other. Not only had I limited amount of time at hand but I also had to deal with the issue of how to produce relevant data considering the dominating presence of the teacher's voice, and the minimal amount of relevant learner talk being recorded daily.

During that period, my data production plan was being disrupted and undergoing changes almost everyday (See Appendix Seven: Data Production Plan Three) due to the different issues that kept cropping up at that time.

3.3.5 The challenges of producing data with children, aged 6-8years old within the classroom

Initially, I had two recorders and a smart pen when I set off for fieldwork. After keeping the recorder with me the first few days, I gradually positioned the recorder on the table where my participant was seated, most often besides him or her. At first since I had the major concern of spreading out the limited time I had so as to be able to produce data with all eight participants, I thought of getting more recorders so I could record all participants at the same time and thus maximise on the time I had. However, I quickly gave up this idea because although observation entails the opening of one's eyes, I did not have additional pairs of eyes and seated at the back of the classroom as I was – most of the time far from my participants – I could not split myself in

three or four parts and would not be able to observe fully all three or four students at the same time if I wanted to produce data. Heller (2010, p.257) states that in ethnography, “many people spend a lot of time worrying about how to be a fly on the wall”. I was still at that time, determined to make my presence felt as little as possible and sticking to the chair that had been given to me at the back of the class was one way of doing so.

However, I was very much aware of the fact that observation meant “discovering where it is that things relevant to our concerns occur, and under what circumstances” (Heller, 2010, p.257) and thus I decided to concentrate on only one participant at a time and spread the time I had left producing data with my participants, one at a time. After the initial skimming of the contextual realities of both classes, I decided to spend the next two weeks in the Standard Three classroom to work with Stevie, Larry and Piper. As was outlined previously, just putting an audio-recorder near my participant whilst being seated at the back of the classroom as silent observer was not going to work in this study. I neither had lapel micro-recorders which I could attach to their lapels, as was the case in the research done by Blackledge and Creese (2010). During that period, I decided to drop my eighth participant in the third class, realising that the time I had at my disposal would not be sufficient for an immersion into a third classroom context. It was also dawning on me that the initial week spent to get a feel of the classroom context of the two classes was indeed very superficial and more time needed to be devoted to better understand each of my participants for me to find the best strategy to produce data with each of them, considering the number of challenges I was currently facing to record each of my participants’ linguistic repertoires.

I returned home after having spent the whole day observing Larry, seated at the back of the classroom trying to make myself as small as the fly on the wall. I had kept a recorder on Larry’s desk to record his linguistic repertoire and had kept one in my hand as a safety measure. I had around eight pages of field notes and approximately six hours of recording but hardly much of it was relevant data since most of the data was dominated by teacher talk. I, thus, realised that being the fly on the wall and maximising the number of hours of audio-recorded data was simply proving to be a total waste of time. Of course, I understood the relatively non-engagement of the learners within the circumscribed classroom rule-based and teacher-framed environment as being useful data, but I wanted more. Heller (2010, p.257) contends that doing ethnographic research means that ethnographers are “present by virtue of the question (asked) and what (they) attend to, and (they) are best off taking (their) participation fully into account”. It was around that time that I also

realised that becoming a linguistic ethnographer entailed taking control of the data production really and being responsible for producing data instead of just sitting and expecting that data would collect itself in the recorder for me. I, hence, decided to shorten my recording time by recording instances of talk instead of stretches of classroom conversation, which was dominated by the teacher's voice.

Since the children still did not have a KM teacher, I decided to make the most of the time available and after asking permission from the GP teacher, Miss Ariana, I moved from being a fly on the wall to being the producer of data, right in the centre of action. From that day, I started my chitchatting phase where I made the most of the time I had at my disposal when the learners were free from the teaching activities to engage them in a conversation and thereby record their conversation (See later section). But before doing so, I still had to deal with the problem of learning how to audio-record the repertoire of children aged 6-8 years old. All the decisions³³ that I made during the those initial days only led me to understand that I could not just sit back and erase my presence but that I had indeed to get my hands dirty and be responsible for producing data, whether it was to engage in conversation with my participants, moving to sit with them and holding the recorder in my hands.

3.3.6 Chatting with my participants

As I quickly realised at the end of my initial observation phase, which was done to get accustomed to the field and understand its contextual intricacies, I was running up the wall and wasting my time in regard to producing data as till that point I still had not managed to obtain one relevant piece of recording of any of my participants. As the children still did not have a KM teacher, they had a free slot during the day and they were either asked to complete their homework or they did Catechesis classes with Ariana. I decided promptly to make use of that slot to chit chat with my participants. After coming home with an amount of recording time that was hardly relevant to my research pursuit, I hence started this initiative with Larry on 10th February, only to quickly realise

³³ I put the recorder under the desk of the participant and walked around with a recorder in my pocket to test whether this could be used as a strategy to record the participants' linguistic repertoire. I got the participants to carry one in their pockets only to realise that Stevie – who liked to play with the recorder – would switch it on and off at least ten times during a recording session thereby losing out on valuable data. I asked the participants' neighbours to carry a recorder with them as safety measure to make sure that the participants' conversation would be recorded and finally, I got to the stage where I moved from my place at the back of the classroom, stopping to be the fly on the wall, to sitting with each of them depending on the days I had allotted to working with each of them myself;

again that I had naively nurtured a lot of preconceived notions about talking with my participants. Indeed, I was to be sadly mistaken about the thought that I could have a one-to-one conversation with my participant.

Being in a classroom with approximately twenty children aged 7-8 years and moving from being the fly on the wall to sitting on one of their chairs in their midst is not something that goes unnoticed by children. As I said previously, children are curious about anything new in their environment and I was new and they all clamoured for my attention the moment they saw that I was seated beside Larry. There was nothing structured about chitchatting with children and I quickly gave the reign of leading the conversation to Larry, letting him talk about whatever he wanted, interrupted at regular intervals by the different children around who sought my attention. This posed some challenges during transcription stage but this aspect will be discussed in a later section. Via that first chitchat, I had found the best data production strategy to audio-record the linguistic repertoire of children aged 7-8 years old. Getting close to them and engaging them in conversations – however trivial – was the way through. The moment they feel they have attention, children open up and talk without any feeling of hesitation or reticence. All one needs is lend an ear to what they have to say and give them attention and be curious about what happens in their world. Hence, I realised that being in control was the best way to produce data with my participants, whether it was to choose to sit by their side, hold the audio-recorder in my hand so that the children could not play with it or to initiate a chitchat with them. Obviously, this realisation was met with more challenges, the first one being to find a suitable slot in which I could chitchat with them as sometimes the free time they had during the slot allotted to the teaching of KM was taken up by their teacher for other purposes, or else their teacher was present during these slots and the conversation had to be carried out in whispers to avoid disturbing her or getting her to scold the learners because they were not following the classroom rule which asked of them not to talk when they were doing a work that had been assigned to them.

During that period, I started spending time with them during their break time and even during recess time, but that posed challenges of its own. When it came to my male participants, there was no way I could audio-record them during recess time, as their play time was spent running around, fighting, playing football, doing cartwheels and I could not run around with them carrying an audio-recorder in hand or put it in their pockets, as it would most of the time be switched off during their playtime or fall off. However, with my female participant, the audio-recording of her

linguistic repertoire was possible during recess time, as I joined her during her play time, which was not spent in the way that boys did. I often became her playmate but I had a lot of issues transcribing the recordings of her repertoire during the recess time because first of all she did not stay put in the same place for a long period and kept moving around and mostly due to the cacophony made by hundreds of children shouting and playing in the open air.

3.3.7 Settling down to the final data production stage

After spending two weeks with Larry, Piper and Stevie (pseudonyms) in Standard Three, it was time for me to move back to the Standard Two class according to my data production schedule. I renegotiated access by seeking permission from the new KM teacher, who had finally joined on that day, early in the morning, and set down to follow his class. As I sat in the class that day and tried to focus on what was happening around, I felt that something was amiss and I was probably being led astray within the field. I did not stay long in the Standard Two class. I left after half a day there, as I had to be at work for some reason. As usually happened, I spent some time at work talking to my critical group support, comprised my colleagues, about how the fieldwork was going and about my concerns about changing classroom situation.

From the conversation that ensued with my critical support group and my supervisors, I clearly saw that as a linguistic ethnographer, I was being called once more to take the decision to narrow down and focus only on the Standard Three participants, with whom I had already bonded. Since I had only five weeks left, I strongly felt that moving to another class would mean starting afresh, as each classroom context was as unique as the participants were and it would mean giving more time to knowing and understanding the classroom as well as my participants. Patton (1980, p.184) claims that “there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry” except that these actually depend on what the researcher seeks to understand what data the researcher thinks will be valid and credible and what is pragmatically feasible. Moreover, as my study has as focus the study of individual learners’ linguistic repertoire in educational settings, it entailed taking upon what Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) call the *phenomenological approach* to look at the linguistic repertoire of my three participants. I realised that the data that I would produce with them would be enough to answer my critical questions as long as it was rich and thick, and hence I made a case to narrow down my sample to only Larry, Piper and Stevie with my supervisor. I developed a more refined data production schedule, dividing the time I had to producing data between the three of them equally. Since the KM teacher had finally joined and keeping in mind the patterns that had

already started emerging from the data produced in Ariana's class, I decided to focus on producing data during the KM class only and the EP classes scheduled thrice a week in the afternoon, after school hours, as these instances provided for a more open space than the normal classroom hours which followed a rigid structure. This thus became my final data production schedule (See Appendix Eight: Data Production Plan Four) and I followed it till the end of my study without it undergoing any major changes. A whole month in the field had been necessary for me to finally understand the exigencies of ethnographic research and to start to mould myself into becoming a linguistic ethnographer.

3.3.8 My final destination within the field

Larry, Piper and Stevie were all three students of the Standard Three Jade classroom, and hence, during the final stage of my data production, I inhabited the four walls of Standard Three Jade, which was a classroom comprising approximately thirty students. Standard Three Jade was not a very large classroom and was found on the ground floor of the school building. On the left-hand side, it had windows which made up half of its left façade facing the huge school yard and through which one could see not only the tree but beyond the gate which overlooked the road on which passing vehicles could often be seen. On the half of its right façade on the right-hand side of the classroom, one could see a large creamy orange house with a big garden, having in its midst a mahavir swami³⁴ and an Om symbol³⁵ logo on its front wall.

Standard Three Jade was fairly small compared to its neighbouring class, Standard Two Onyx, in which I had spent some time in my initial days of fieldwork. The room could barely accommodate its occupants, with the desks almost reaching the whiteboard which flanked the front of the classroom as one got in. The walls were blue coloured, with a lighter blue making up the upper half of the walls and a darker blue on the lower half. The polished concrete floor had lost its red colour along the years. The checkered blue curtain draped the two upper halves of the right and left façades of the classroom and when they were drawn, they allowed a soothing light inside the classroom. However, on most occasions, they were tied up so that the sunlight could stream in the classroom.

³⁴ A small house house-shaped building which stands on a cement foot and in which most Hindus place the idol of Hanuman, a Hindu god who was the devotee of Lord Rama. The presence of Hanuman in a Hindu house's yard is believed to ward off evil and protect the house.

³⁵ Om is a sign of Hinduism philosophy and theology.

The front and the back of the classroom both had spaces which were shaped in a very definite manner. On the left- and right-hand side of the classroom, the upper half of the wall was taken up by windows and the second lower half had smaller blackboards which the teacher used to display different concepts depending on what she was teaching. In the front of the class, there was a whiteboard affixed in the middle of what once used to be a blackboard. There was a map of Mauritius which could be read in English pinned to half of the blackboard to the left. The upper half had a sheet of paper pinned to it, on which the verb 'To be' had been conjugated and written down in big font size. To the left of the blackboard there was a poster of a body which had been drawn by a student and which had been named with the different vocabulary items related to body parts. The right-hand side of the blackboard had the different days of the week, written with chalk in English. The right-hand side of the whiteboard had numbers written in English.

Apart from these fixed materials which constituted the linguistic landscape of the classroom, there were mobile signs which had been prepared throughout the term, depending on the topics that the teacher taught and which found their way on the wall. For instance, I noted the presence of posters dealing with different shapes drawn and named in English which were stuck to the wall when the teacher was teaching shapes in Mathematics. To the right of the classroom, beneath the windows, there were smaller blackboards on which children's works were often displayed. One such example was when they had worked with leaves and paints and all their drawings were stuck on those smaller blackboards with their names written on them. At the back of the class, the wall was often used to display a number of posters which had been prepared by the teacher and the learners. Apart from the poster of shapes noted, when the teacher was teaching the learners about the names of different animals and of their young ones, there were posters affixed to the back of the classroom displaying the pictures and vocabulary items taught. Moreover, there were also posters prepared for the different verbs conjugated in French that were taught and which were affixed at the back and very often the children would be asked to look at the back and they would recite these verbs. On the right of the class, there was a book corner, a small table on which books were kept comprising both books in English and French, but none in Creole. Moreover, the whiteboard itself was used more fluidly in terms and hence there would be continuous shifts of languages depending on what topic and subject was being taught. When the teacher was teaching French, the vocabulary or verbs or texts taught would find their way on the whiteboard. When the teacher was

teaching English or other content subjects through English, English found its way on the whiteboard.

The classroom had six groups of tables, with each group comprising around five to six students sitting on their chairs at blue or red desks. The class was quite crammed for the number of students that it contained. The teacher's desk was found at the back of the class, in the right-hand side corner, and the teacher could be found sitting there whenever the pupils were doing their classwork. A filing cabinet was placed just behind her. The front right-hand corner had a filing cupboard in which the teacher kept stationery and a number of other items. The students' huge bags were often propped up on their chairs or else latched at the back of their chairs. Their lunch bags were kept at the back of the classroom on a table near which I would often be seated. At the initial stage of my fieldwork, I could often be found seated there, crammed at the back between two groups of desks, but as the days evolved and I finalised my data production schedule, I moved from being seated at the back to sitting with the students at their desks and on their chairs. Similarly, the outer grounds of St Marie primary school became my final destination in the journey to becoming a linguistic ethnographer. The next section will now look at the different processes through which I had to go before coming up with my final data sets and moving on to analysing them.

3.4 Section Four: Journeying into becoming a linguistic ethnographer: post-fieldwork

3.4.1 Transcribing the data

After having narrowed down on the final data production plan and discarded the initial data produced due to the fact that it had been generated during the period when I was still tentative and hesitant within the field as a linguistic ethnographer, I stepped out of the field with approximately thirty eight instances of data production amounting to around thirty eight hours of recording of Larry, Piper and Stevie, produced during the EP classes and KM classes, including the break times before EP classes. These instances were each accompanied with thick field notes within which were encapsulated the different events shaping to the speech acts focusing on each participant, depending on whom data was being produced. The next thing that I had to do was to transcribe these thirty-eight instances.

Blommaert and Jie (2010, p.68) define transcription as “the process of representing oral language with orthographic conventions”. They further argue that “transcription is never ‘neutral’ and never ‘complete’ ” (*ibid.*). Having done some reading about how to transcribe data and rejecting the idea

of appointing a research assistant to transcribe my data, I set out to transcribe the different instances. The first thing I did was to read my field notes again to have a look at the instances that I had found noteworthy at the time of data production, keeping my critical research questions in mind and listening to the recordings again. Not being able to narrow down initially, I decided to transcribe all forty hours I had. Blommaert and Jie (2010) claim that

one important thing (that) needs to be kept in mind when (one transcribes) it is terribly time-consuming. Even if the result of transcription is that (one) virtually knows the material by heart, it will take a colossal chunk out of (one's) time plan. That is if (one) decides to transcribe everything. (p.68).

I did not realise how that claim was true until I was head deep into transcribing the audio-recordings, having to stop and rewind every single word uttered by every participant of the discourse and again running up the wall as I was trying to be true to my oral data. One major issue with transcribing classroom discourse is that it can include sometimes as far as twenty students participating in the speech, many talking simultaneously. As I mentioned previously, the very fact of being seated in the middle of the children and trying to chitchat with my participants attracted other students who would not hesitate to join the conversation. As I started to transcribe, I quickly saw the layers of conversation that were present in one minute, with my participant whispering an aside to me or his or her neighbour, and the teacher talking in the background with other pupils participating in that conversation or simply talking amongst themselves within their own groups. I realised that the decision not to appoint a research assistant was totally valid as no one apart from myself could have differentiated and recognised the voices who participated in the speech acts, having spent sufficient time with the children to recognise the voices of each one. One thing that I found extremely helpful was that much of the data produced was in Creole and I found that it took less time to transcribe utterances in Creole than in the other languages which were used within the data produced. However, I started quickly making pragmatic choices as I was transcribing, becoming confident enough to edit chunks of conversation which I felt were not important, replacing them by a few lines narrating what was happening in that instance. Whenever I transcribed, I kept my field notes in front of me, and as I was listening to the conversation, I read my field notes and tried to capture what was going on in the transcript, hence the transcripts were produced taking into account the context as described in the field notes.

Another choice I made as I moved forward was not to transcribe all of Larry's recordings, since I started with data produced with Stevie. I could see many reduplicating patterns when I transcribed

data produced with him, especially in KM classes. Hence, I focused mostly on data produced during break times and the Enhancement Programme classes. By the end, I created nine data sets of Stevie. I made the same choice with Piper, narrowing down to nine data sets as well for her. Creating these eighteen data sets took me around three months and when I had finished with them, I decided not to transcribe data produced with Larry. I felt that it would be time consuming and moreover, since all three participants were in the same class and Larry sat near Stevie or Piper at times, almost all data sets were interspersed with Larry's utterances. I also felt that the data sets produced with Stevie and Piper were valid, rich, authentic and relevant enough to answer my critical questions.

Therefore, as Turrell and Moyer (2012, p.194) claim, "transcription is already a first step in interpretation and analysis". Roberts (1997) claims that transcripts are viewed as constructs which are neither objective nor natural. Although I did start out by trying to transcribe the oral data, trying to be as true as I could to the data, I quickly started making some distinct choices (which will be discussed in the following section) and moulding the data sets through this choice. One challenge I faced whilst transcribing was to be able to use the appropriate orthographic convention for standard KM. Having been taught literacy in English and French, it was easy for me to write in these languages, but since standard KM had been introduced in 2012, I myself did not know how to write it. Therefore, I transcribed using the spelling system I was equipped with (which was not the official standardised accepted KM that was adopted in 2011). I later sent my transcripts to be validated by an ex-trainee who was a KM teacher, who checked and edited the spelling of the KM utterances according to the new official standardised form to be represented in my data sets.

3.4.2 Transcoding and translating

After my initial data sets were ready, I moved on to code them. Initially, I set out to transcode them using the LIDES system (Language Interaction Data Exchange System) which "(provided) a system for transcribing and coding plurilingual speech along with a set of tools for analysis" (Turrell and Moyer, 2012, p.197). After having spent quite some time understanding the coding system of the LIDES and spending half a day coding a fifteen-page data set accordingly (See Appendix Ten: Transcript One), I then presented this transcript within the PhD cohort programme in one of my seminars. It was after my peers had worked on it that I realised that although I could understand the data set – being knowledgeable about the conventions of LIDES – other people who read my work found my data sets obscure, as most of my peers had a lot of issues to understand

the very technical transcript that I had presented. Therefore, I decided to drop the LIDES coding system. Instead I moved on to creating data which had an initial table at the beginning which stated who were the participants in the interaction, gave a brief outline of the situation, state what languages were involved in the interaction, the date of the recording and the raw field notes. Different font outlines were used for the three different languages: KM was expressed in bold, French in italics and English through underlining. Moreover, colour codes were used to highlight when Stevie, Piper or Larry would formulate an utterance (See Appendix Eleven: Transcript Two Second version).

After having coded the data sets and numbered the lines, I set out to translate the data sets as most of them were not in English. These translations have been inserted alongside each utterance so that international readers can understand the propositional content of what is being said in the interaction. The original non-translated transcript remains true to the actual representations of language utterance in the field. As the utterances involved the use of Creole and French mostly, the final version of each transcript that will be appended will be the ones that contain the translation of each utterance (Appendix Twelve: Final transcribed data set).

This transcription recording, I believe, constitutes an innovation which more accurately captured the nuances of the focus of the study and the multilingual characteristics of the data production moments. The final transcript also provides access to a non-Mauritian readership. The final transcript form therefore codes propositional and representational detail, as well as updating with respect to the use of the newly standardised written KM (arguably amongst a first such record in present Mauritian language studies research) and allows for multiple levels of analysis as a synthesised data record.

3.4.3 Analysing data

After having created the data sets, which – as outlined above – involved a lot more effort than I had originally anticipated, I then proceeded to do a first level analysis of the data sets by extracting all the utterances of Stevie and Piper over the span of all data sets and putting them within one single document. I then sought to analyse the record of these two participants only, firstly by using language shifts as contextualisation cues within their linguistic repertoire, derived from Gumperz' notion of contextualisation cues (1982). It is argued by Nilep (2006, p.9) that language shifts, like contextualisation cues, may “provide a means for speakers to signal how utterances are to be interpreted”. It is acknowledged that contextualisation cues derive from the field of code-switching

and this study has signalled a shift in theoretical lens at the beginning, with language not being viewed as a monolithic bound entity, but instead as a fluid, dynamic system. The term ‘linguistic repertoire’ requires an understanding not of the usage of separate linguistic codes themselves. Instead, when analysing the linguistic repertoire, one is engaged with the process of showing how different functions of the codes are appropriated and activated by the individual in their simultaneity, each having dialogical interrelations with the other in the meaning-making process. The reference to a “dialogic between codes” is perhaps an overstated analytical device which purists of ‘linguistic repertoire’ studies might argue is more a characteristic of the analyser of the data than of the user of the data.

Since this study challenged the dominant structuralist linguistic paradigm and moved on to a more holistic perspective of how the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual learner develops, the ethnographic perspective overrode the linguistic perspective. As a matter of fact, Blommaert and Jie (2010, p.9) contend that “questions about language take the shape of questions of how language works and operates for, with and by humans-as-social beings”. Moreover, as was highlighted in Chapter Two, this study sees the linguistic repertoire as being embedded within a whole and not existing as a vacuum, as the repertoire is seen to be part of an individual who in turn is embedded within the society at large. Consequently, the deliberate decision was taken to foreground the individual that is the user of the linguistic repertoire rather than the use of the linguistic repertoire in order to generate a fresh perspective on the phenomenon. This resulted in representing the case studies as case studies of the individual’s linguistic repertoire, therefore offering nuanced textured personal accounts, thereafter leading to the abstraction of the linguistic elements. Thus, Stevie and Piper’s world has been represented and analysed taking into account their own individualities. It should also be highlighted that the purpose of a case study is definitionally to be generative rather than present a generalisable finding for all Mauritian learners which is why the data of only two learners were chosen.

The case studies were constructed at two levels. The first level dealt with an impressionistic portrait of the participants by relying largely on my field notes. It went to some extent towards locating the background of the learner participants from the available information within the site of the school context. I interwove into the portraits the teachers’ impressions of the targeted learners as well as the brief profile that the initial teacher who had helped identify the children as potential participants. I also constructed portraits of the secondary participants, i.e., the teachers who

interacted with the targeted learners, generated from my observations of their classroom interaction, especially with Stevie and Piper.

I have chosen to present these portraits for two main reasons. Firstly, I choose to recreate a feel (Sikes, 2005, p.87) of how their teachers and myself saw Stevie and Piper, and how the relationship between researcher and researched developed. This constituted my own reflexive “memories of field experience” (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p.143), engaging with a little more critical summative distance after fieldwork was completed. These portraits had the challenge of representing the learners’ *past*, the researcher’s (and their teachers’) involvement in the ethnographic moments of production (*present*) and the more critical (*future*) oriented interpretation and analysis of the participants.

Martin (2012) argues that one of the difficulties with the representations of written ethnographies of children is “that of giving voice to the participants and representing their emic perspectives” (Martin, 2012, 315). The notion of *voicing* entails addressing matters about choosing how to present the viewpoints of the children to avoid any hegemony of power distribution. He advises that the researcher/analyser in this research context should be “well-positioned to discern and explain the ways in which asymmetries of power are played out in the lives of (the) participants (...) and to offer pointers as to how to mediate” with this problematic (*ibid.*).

I chose to do so by not erasing my own voice and signature (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p. 149) and by representing the narrative portraits to include my acknowledged role assertively as the first-person narrator allowing my own positionalities to mediate how the context and the situation were being interpreted. In so doing, I also took responsibility as a linguistic ethnographer for the construction of this account (Heller, 2012, p. 251) which is embedded within my own “historically and socially situated subjectivity”. Secondly, I tried to “open (...) up” (Rampton, 2004, p.4) the interpretations produced, by bringing into focus my own and other interpretations of the participants. These significant others included the teachers, the learners and their peers who consolidated the data generated in the fieldwork. Our multiple voices were consciously presented in these representational analyses.

Albeit looking at the learners’ individualities, an attempt was also made to draw out a comparison between the two case studies. The particularity of a linguistic ethnography study being the use of discourse analysis strategies at the data analysis stage, various linguistic ethnographers have chosen to work with distinctive discourse analysis strategies depending on the phenomenon under

study (Maybin and Tursting, 2011). For this study, I made use of the **nexus analysis** of the Scollons (2001, 2004, 2008), which focuses on how discourse is mediated through the intersection of language, semiotic as well as material tools. For this study, I chose to use more specifically their concept of bodies. Thus, '(b)odies' as a term was appropriated from the Scollon and Wong Scollon's (2007) theory of Nexus analysis, which was used as analytical framework in this study and their usage of the term 'historical body'. According to Blommaert (2013, p.30), 'the Scollons' preference for material aspects of discourse "(...) makes them choose the body rather than the mind as the locus for (...) individual experiences". The concept of "historical bodies" was deemed appropriate to this study as within each interaction that occurred in this study, bodies came in contact, 'bring(ing) along their own skills, experiences and competences' together (Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2004, p.46). Recognising each body as "the life experiences of the individual social actors" (*ibid.*) enriches the understanding of how the linguistic repertoire develops. Thus, in this study, the learners as well as the teachers were seen as historical bodies bringing with them their life trajectories and histories which in turn shaped their utterance when they interacted with each other, also explaining the choice of foregrounding the representation of the individuals' linguistic repertoire as case studies rather than extracting the purpose, contexts as well as interlocutors within which the utterance was produced.

The concept of bodies was also merged with the linguistic landscape (LLS) framework of Blommaert (2014). Blommaert (2013) claims that

physical space is also social, cultural and political space: a space that offers, enables, triggers, invites, prescribes, proscribes, polices or enforces certain patterns of social behavior: a space that is never no-man's-land, but always *somebody's* space; a *historical* space, therefore, full of codes, expectations, norms and traditions: and a space of *power* controlled by, as well as controlling, people (p.3).

He further goes on to expound on the theory of a genuinely materialist theory of signs within the linguistic landscape analytical framework, defining it as a theory of the

semiotics that sees signs not as primarily mental and abstract phenomena reflected in 'real' moments of enactment, but (which) sees signs as material forced subject to and reflective of conditions of production and patterns of distribution, and as constructive of social reality, as real social agents having real effects in social life (Blommaert, 2013, p.38).

The classroom was seen as such a space, a space which has been historically constructed and which constructs set patterns and norms for the bodies which occupy it; therefore, this concept was used when analysing the interactional data that was produced. Space as well as the bodies present,

namely the learners, the teachers as well as the semiotised object/feature that characterised the speech of each learner within the interactional speech acts were looked deeply into. Moreover, the classroom linguistic landscape was also analysed keeping in mind the argument of Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) who claim that situations which are defined by how space and place are construed of and constructed influence the language practices of individuals. These frameworks helped to come up with the different categories at the level of the context which shaped the utterance. Hence, the concept of space and bodies led to the categories of the two domains within which the utterance was produced and the interlocutors which formed part of the speech act.

Also, the concept of “*the semiotised object/feature*”, which refer to a dominant use of a particular chosen linguistic form that the participants favoured, was set up as the third category shaping the learners’ linguistic repertoire. Within the category of space, a distinction was made between the *formal* domain – which was further classified into the different *taught lesson environments*, led by different teachers – and *informal* domains, which refer to utterance produced within and outside of the classroom. This variety of spaces allowed the breadth and scope of the learners’ linguistic repertoires to be presented. Table Three (See Part Two) shows the variety of *contexts* within which the data was produced, as well as the *interlocutors* present and how they will be represented in the following chapters.

Thus, the first level analysis which looked at language shift as contextualisation cue was in the case of Stevie analysed within different categories created for him and which took into account the different spaces within the school where it was produced, notably within the KM classroom and the EP classroom. Further categories were then created to look at the data in light of the different speech interlocutors of the interaction, with notably the four teachers who worked with the participants, their classmates and myself, to be able to study the diverse instances of production language practices (To be discussed in Chapter Four). In Piper’s case, the analysis has been broken down into one category which looks at instances of her interaction with the four teachers who taught her regardless of whether it was a KM or EP class, and another category which will look at Piper’s language practices in an episodic way (To be discussed in Chapter Five).

In the case of this study, after having analysed at this level the contextualisation cues and categorised them as explained above, this study also moved on to an eclectic mix of analytical strategies. Hence, I used the Bakhtinian (1981, 1986, 1994) concept of **heteroglossia** and voice to

deepen the scope of the analysis. Bakhtinian discursive analysis sees language as a living and dynamic entity and looks at the “co-existence and struggle between diverse social languages and between centripetal and centrifugal forces” (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p.126). Moreover, Bakhtin’s notion of voice sustains that within an utterance, the voices of others are brought forward to demonstrate how voices relate to other voices (Blackledge: 2005; Luk, 2008; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Blackledge and Creese (2010, p.126) argue that according to Bakhtin, all our discourses are already embedded within the discourses of others and that our voices contain voices of others and that “discourse bears the traces of the voices of others, is shaped by them, responds to them, contradicts them or confirms them, and in one way or the other evaluates them”. Therefore, the dialogicality within the different discourses embedded within the discourse of the learners was one of the foci of the analysis. This therefore ensured moving to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study, and allowed me to identify the different macro-contextsmacrocontexts which shaped the data.

Furthermore, the theory of discourse genres was also used to look at the interactional acts of the learners. According to Lefstein and Snell, “discourse genres encompass multiple social and semiotic dimensions. These include thematic content, compositional structure, styles, lexical items, interactional roles and norms, interpersonal relations, and evaluative frames, among others. (2011, p.41).”

Moreover, basing themselves on the way Bakhtin used the term, they argue that discourse genres “serve both as resources for fashioning utterances and as constraints upon the way those utterances are understood and judged by others” (*ibid.*). Consequently, the genres that shaped the repertoire of the learners were also looked into whilst analysing the data produced.

Hence, the data has been analysed within this eclectic mix of analytical frameworks to be strongly engaged with the context within which the multiplicity of meaning has been produced. Consequently, these various frameworks of Bakhtin, Blommaert and Scollons provide a means to probe the data to shed light on the critical questions asked by this study. In the next section and in a reflexive attempt to show how the data was produced, I will put forth my own positioning in the study. This will be done to ensure better validity, reliability and trustworthiness.

3.5 Section five: My position within the study

I am of Hindu ethnic origin, I am an adult whom the participants had never seen in the school before and notably to them I was a stranger. I cannot change these aspects of who I am but I can

only try to be reflexive about any issues that might have cropped up from my own being and see how these might have shaped the production of data. Below I report on the issues which I think have shaped the participants' understanding of who I am and which might have influenced the shaping of data production.

3.5.1 Being Hindu

I clearly remember that the first day I stepped into the Standard Two class, I was called Devina by one of the children immediately throwing up my ethnic identity through the name chosen. Indeed, I quickly realised on the first few days that I was in the field that my being of Hindu ethnic origin was one of the reasons that attracted the interest of the participants towards me. St-Marie primary school is a Roman Catholic-Aided school, and hence one of its main aims whilst subscribing to the national educational orientations is to provide an education that is inspired from the gospel. Emphasis is put on integrating Catholic evangelical education within the school environment with the morning and afternoon session classes starting by prayers recited in the school assembly and a recitation of a prayer to thank Jesus before eating during each break that is given. The majority of the student population as well as the teaching and non-teaching staff are of Afro-Mauritian ethnic origin. There are a number of students who are of Hindu ethnic origin or are Muslims, but they account for a minimum percentage in the school.

In the classroom where I ended up undertaking the study, the students were mostly of Catholic ethnic origin. There were also some students who were Hindu and one who was Muslim. My being a Hindu was often a topic of conversation, as outlined, amongst the participants and I was very often asked about my ethnic background and whether I celebrated the different Hindu festivals that came up during the school first term, namely Maha Shivratri and Holi. I was also often asked by the children of the classroom who were Hindu why I sat in the KM classroom, instead of the Hindi class, which was conducted at the same time. I was also called 'behenji'³⁶ at times. Although this was not a feature highlighted by the adult population community, it was something that I felt myself. Not accustomed within my life to such a setting, I strongly felt this distinction at the beginning of my fieldwork

I felt awkward when the students tried to share their lunch made up of bacon and sausages and I had to refuse because I do not eat pork (Vignette from fieldnotes).

³⁶ Teacher in Hindi. This is an appellation that female teachers teaching Hindi in Mauritius have. Children call their female Hindi teachers 'behenji'.

This first incident which occurred at the beginning of my fieldwork left me with a jarring realisation of my otherness and it took me a while to get accustomed to being immersed in a strong Roman Catholic community, getting used to the recitation of the Catholic prayers on a daily basis and the different features of evangelical education which were imbibed within the school culture (discussed in further section). Although I have lived in a multi-ethnic, multiracial country, I have never had prolonged contact with anyone from the Catholic ethnic background; hence I did feel myself as an outsider within the school community.

The debate as to whether being insider/outsider yields more valid data has raged since the beginnings of traditional ethnography which saw the stranger, often of Western origin, going to study a community, a culture in a foreign exotic location (Atkinson, 2007, p.50). Styles (1979) aptly describes the tension that reigns between both worldviews;

In essence outsider myths which assert that only outsiders can conduct valid research on a given group; only outsiders, it is held possess the needed objectivity and emotional distance. According to outsider myths, insiders invariably present their group in an unrealistically favourable light. Analogously, insider myths assert that only insiders are capable of doing valid research in a particular group and that all outsiders are inherently incapable of appreciating the true character of the group's life (p.148).

I will not go into this debate and try to prove that having an outsider's view is better. I was the outsider, not only by being Hindu but by not belonging to the school community as such. There was no way that I could erase who I am. I was the stranger member in the school, whose presence got accepted (I believe and will show) by the end of her study. In this line of thought, Heller (2010, p.251), taking a post-structural realist position, states that "ethnographies are not about what is sometimes referred to as 'giving voice' to participants. It is about producing an illuminating account for which the researcher is solely responsible" and "it means taking on the responsibility for what one says and for the effects it might have on others". This is the position that I sought to adhere to by reporting my detailed above account of the social phenomenon in question, with my historically and socially situated subjectivity shaping my account of this journey.

3.5.2 Being the adult

According to Yaacob and Gardner (2012), researching multilingual children can be very demanding, especially if the children's perspectives want to be understood. They further go on to observe that although grown-up data collection methods such as observation, collection of artefacts and unstructured interviews are adapted for children, "these techniques offer limited access to detailed or nuanced young learner perspectives" (Yaacob and Gardner, 2012, pp.241-242). When

I set off for fieldwork, I had no knowledge of how children aged 6-8 years would be, behave and react, being myself back then thirty one and not having a child as yet. Also, I neither had a niece nor nephew with whom I had prolonged contact. The only understanding I had of what it meant to be a child was from the glimpses of childhood I had gleaned from visits to see my trainees in primary schools, but those had not been that frequent. I remember being told before I set off for fieldwork that I needed to find a way to get into the children's world and become part of it. I find this image of Alice from Alice in the Wonderland (See Figure 3.1) looking at the small door and wondering how to get through it highly apt as I wondered at that time how I could become one of the children and therefore gain access to their world (Heavenly Xitila: Perhaps I fell down, n.d.).

Figure Two: Alice In Wonderland



This distinction of being adult was actually brought forth the very first day I stepped in the classroom. As the teacher went to fetch me a chair, the children thinking that I was their new KM teacher greeted me as such. In both classes, they saw the adult figure that I was as being a teacher figure, coming to me to seek help to do their classwork or asking for me to intervene in case the teacher was absent when there was an argument or a fight; or simply just because they were curious about me and every little thing I brought to class, whether it was my own self or my clothes or anything in my bag, or just because they wanted to get my attention.

Initially, I was very uncomfortable when they sought my help for classwork because I did not want the teachers to think I was trying to usurp their position in the class, thereby creating disturbance and questioning their authority. Moreover, the fact that they associated me with the teacher figure also influenced the way they talked to me at first (Discussion will follow in coming chapters). However, the more time I spent with the children, I quickly noted that my adulthood was in fact the passport to their world. Although I tried to minimise my presence as adult to the extent of

sitting between them on their chairs, I could not erase my adulthood and it was this very fact that kept their interest in the first place. They sought my attention because I was an adult. Having me around, talking to them was a matter of pride to them. I was an adult doll in a way which they could show off to their friends and upon understanding that, I discovered that the best way to move ahead with the data production was to take cognizance of this fact and accept responsibility of my adulthood and make use of that to produce rich and thick data rather than try to shrink this essence.

3.6 Synthesis

This chapter started out by depicting the theoretical underpinnings of the methodological approach that has been adopted by this study, namely the linguistic ethnography approach. It was noted that most linguistic ethnographies had been done in contexts where multilingualism stemmed from the phenomenon of immigration. On the other hand, Mauritius offered an opening up of the contextual avenue in which multilingualism could be researched into using the linguistic ethnography approach.

Following the methodological narrative that highlighted the different data production processes of my journey as linguistic ethnographer, it was found that linguistic ethnography could only be conducted in Mauritian contexts where the research was viable for the researched. Hence, one of the main learning points as a linguistic ethnographer was to realise that having a plan was not always important. What was important was being open to the exigencies of the field, whether it was before gaining entry into it, or whilst being in the field or post-fieldwork and adapting the plan to suit the demands of the field. A linguistic ethnographer cannot adopt a rigid stance with his or her plan, as the field is highly dynamic and flexible. Flexibility is therefore one of the main characteristics that a linguistic ethnographer should have.

I also found that there was no way that data could be produced before engaging with the context, understanding it, and becoming a part of it by developing basic human contact with the researched. A linguistic ethnographer can in no way be a fly on the wall. In fact, the main research instrument in a linguistic ethnography is the researcher himself/herself. Although the object under study is the linguistic repertoire of the learners, I also found that I could not refrain from shaping interaction in many instances, especially when it came to working with young learners aged from 6-8 years. Indeed, I deemed it necessary to intervene at several instances initiating many interactional acts to be able to produce data. However, one way to deal with this was to be reflexive throughout about my own position in the field.

The analytical frameworks were also brought up in this chapter; notably the Bakhtinian concept of voice, Blommaert's linguistic landscape theory, the Scollons' nexus analysis framework, and the discourse genre theory. This will enable the reader to read the data which will be presented and analysed according to the analytical frameworks introduced in this chapter and which makes up part two and part three of this thesis, before leading to generating of the thesis of this study. This chapter marks the last one of this part which sought to put forth the background and literature review underpinning the study. The following part will now delve into the representation of the three case studies.

PART TWO

The second part of this thesis comprises three case studies which are *re-presentations* of the data describing the linguistic repertoire of **two primary participants**, Stevie and Piper (learners), **of secondary participants**, as well as that of their General Purpose (GP) and KM teachers, Miss Ariana and Mr Dev. According to Divita (2010, p. 24), “case studies enable researchers to focus on specific phenomena as they occur and unfold in natural settings and to account for the highly contingent nature of their objects of inquiry.” The primary participants constitute Case Studies One and Two, and the teachers constitute a comparative secondary Case Study Three.

The third case study juxtaposes the *linguistic repertoire of the teachers* – Miss Ariana and Mr Dev – within the context of the classroom, with that of Stevie’s and Piper’s. In so doing, I aim to provide a linguistic narrative record in all its complexity (without a detailed analysis) drawing on the tradition of narrative inquiry which first presents a “narrative analysis” (largely descriptive) before proceeding to an “analysis of the narratives”. This linguistic representation will then be further analysed in the following future chapters (Chapter Seven and Eight).

Table Three: Categories Shaping Linguistic Repertoire

		FORMAL DOMAIN			INFORMAL DOMAIN	
		<i>KM CLASS</i>	<i>CATECHESIS CLASS</i>	<i>EHNANCEMENT PROGRAMME CLASS</i>	<i>INSIDE THE CLASSROOM</i>	<i>OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM</i>
AUDIENCE					Classmates	Classmates
	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher		Researcher	Researcher
						Siblings
						Teacher
SEMIOTISED OBJECT/FEATURE						

Chapter Four

Linguistic Repertoire of Stevie

4.0 Orientation

This chapter is a representation of the data that was produced with Stevie. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section of this chapter comprises a thick portrait of Stevie, the first participant of my study. As mentioned in Chapter Three, this portrait has been constructed from my own observations of him which were recorded within my fieldnotes, as well as from the information that was given to me about him by his General Purpose teacher, Miss Ariana; by his ex-KM teacher; and his current KM teacher, Mr Dev. The latter information was gleaned from unstructured interviews conducted with these three teachers. The second section represents the repertoire of Stevie as has been produced within the two different domains, formal and informal, during his interaction with different interlocutors. The focus is on looking at the shifts that occur in Stevie's linguistic repertoire within his speech. It is thus clearly noted that within the formal domain, his repertoire is shaped mainly by the presence of the adult interlocutor, namely his teachers. Within the informal domain, wherein he interacts with his peers and the researcher, Stevie makes use mostly of KM, except when he is using his multilingual resources in linguistic play. His linguistic repertoire also comprises a repertoire of different songs he sings and thus, it can be noted how he shifts from one language to another when engaging in the act of singing. This chapter only puts forth a first level analysis, which will be developed fully in Chapters Seven and Eight.

4.1 Section One: Stevie's portrait

"Miss il est amoureux de vous", Stevie's friend blurts out to me to tell me that Stevie is in love with me! The children are then queuing up to go practice singing the National Anthem for the flag raising ceremony which will be held on the 11th March 2014, on the occasion of Mauritius' 46th Independence anniversary. I turn around to look at Stevie, who is standing beside his friend and who looks at me, grinning mischievously. Mischief is an understatement when it comes to describing Stevie. Many would call him naughty at school. Stevie is eight years old. Born in January 2006 and of approximately 80cm in height, Stevie is amongst the shortest boys in the class, but undeniably one of the loudest. He is also agile and often jumps into cartwheels during break times in the yard or on the steps outside of the classroom.

Stevie has a heart-shaped face. Of fairly dark brown complexion, his eyes are small, round and always twinkling with mischief and naughtiness. He sports a crew cut hair style. Stevie is most of

the time clad in the school uniform, which comprises mid-length shorts and oversized white shirt. At times, he wears the school tracksuit pants as well as a jacket whose colour is a mixture of dark and cobalt blue and which has white stripes at the edges. Very often, Stevie also has a long chain with a symbol of the cross of Jesus hung on the front of his shirt, something he wears quite proudly as I often caught him taking it out when it was tucked under his jacket and displaying it on his chest. Stevie also attends the weekly Saturday Catechesis classes that are run in the school.

This image of Stevie being one of the loudest, naughtiest and most mischievous boys of the class was certainly not the first impression I gathered of him on the first visit to their class. It was only after a while that I realised that I was actually seated beside him, as I did not recognise my participants at first. Glad to be able to sit so near him, I was on that day extremely worried because although I was seated near him, his voice was so low-pitched I could hardly hear anything. Very often called at the board to write down the names of those who would be talking or to take classmates through the notes written on the board with the help of the ruler, Stevie acted out the responsibilities given to him by Miss Ariana with a lot of seriousness. However, what struck me that day was the fact that whenever Miss Ariana asked him a question, he would respond immediately and almost always with the correct answer. His teacher describes him as a student who “works very well”. Even on that day when I visited his class for the first time, he was asked by the teacher not to read during their chorus reading sessions because his voice was the loudest and the teacher could not check if the others were really reading or miming when he was reading along with them.

As the days passed gradually, Stevie’s demeanour towards me kept undergoing fluid changes. From being extremely polite with me on the first day and hardly talking with me to constantly teasing me by calling me ‘*sorsier*³⁷’ and ‘*nene pwint*³⁸’, our relationship moulded as I spent more time with him. When he realised at first that he was being observed, Stevie would often put himself on display for me, making facial grimaces in class, pulling his teeth out to look like a rabbit, taking off his shoe and hopping around or breaking into cartwheels on the steps outside his class during break times. I soon realised that although initially he put on a show to catch my attention, he never sat still in class, whether it was in Miss Ariana’s classes or those of the other teachers. He was always moving around, going to his classmates’ desk to chat or help them with their work. Often,

³⁷ witch

³⁸ Sharp nose

he would break into dance steps in the class or start singing or fidget in his chair. He would always have something to keep his hands busy under his desk, whether it was while making a paper crown, a drawing for one of his classmate or me, or while playing with a pair of scissors. He did all these whilst correctly answering questions asked by the teacher.

Stevie looked up a lot to Miss Ariana and this could be seen in the way he interacted with her. Although some of the teachers termed him as being naughty, even violent and nasty, due to the fact that he was always breaking into fights with his classmates, Stevie was very polite and charming with Miss Ariana. Not only did he interact with her, showing more respect than he did with other teachers, he also obeyed everything she asked him to do and did not like being looked down upon by her. However, in Mr Dev's class, who was his KM teacher, Stevie was unmanageable. Mr Dev did not like him at all and even once when talking to me, mentioned that nothing could be done with such a chap, attributing it to the locality from which Stevie comes and which Mr Dev said was one full of ruffians. Not only was Stevie loud in Mr Dev's classes but he was unruly, boisterous and cheeky when reprimanded by Mr Dev. In almost all classes, Mr Dev went on a tirade against him and his bad manners, although recognising that he was very sharp. This made Mr Dev all the more antagonistic towards him as he felt that Stevie was cocky due to his intelligence.

Stevie gave me quite a tough time before I could manage to produce data with him as he would constantly switch on and off the recorder, with me coming back home with ten stretches of audio-recording instead of a single one due to the fact that he had switched it on and off ten times. But once I managed to refine my data production techniques, I produced very rich data with him. As I said, I became like his playmate and he did not hesitate to tease me like he teased his classmates, going under the desk and pulling off my shoes and pinching my ankles, hiding my recorder, pinching my cheeks, fist fighting with me and giving me all kinds of nicknames. He relished teasing me and making his classmates laugh at his antics towards me.

Once in a conversation, he just pulled off his shoe and showed me how his sole was torn. I found it quite strange how he turned it all in a joke and laughed at it. Indeed, I had already known that Stevie came from a very difficult environment, having been told by his teacher – whom I had interviewed – that both his parents were unemployed and that his mother often got beaten by his drunk father. In fact, once in a conversation, Stevie related me an anecdote how his father in a drunken state had peed at his front door's entrance, and how he had recently discovered that he

had an elder step sister who was much older than him. Stevie often complained of his bread as most of the time it contained butter and he would usually ask his classmates for a piece of burger which he would put in his bread to eat. As I said, although often rebuked for the excess of energy he possessed as well as for the signs of violence he displayed, the image of Stevie that stayed with me even after having stepped out of the field was that of this dark-complexioned mischievous short boy with his cackling laughter, pulling off the shorts of his friend Jonathan, the poorest boy in the class, whilst they were playing. But I also recall the image of that loyal friend who would dare to stand up for Jonathan when the other boys would laugh at him for the skin problems he had, due to his poverty-stricken condition.

I never got the opportunity to “interview” Stevie as such although we chatted a lot, the proof being data produced together by both him and I. We bantered, or I should say, he bantered a lot with me, sharing titbits of information about anything that would come up in his own world as a child, and I participated in all the conversations that he started, at times joking or playing with him, at times teasing him and at times even arguing mockingly with him. I wondered a lot about Stevie as a growing child, and why he behaved so well with Ariana; or why he was so boisterous in Mr Dev’s class despite the numerous scoldings he got from him. I also have not been able to enquire in a more in-depth manner into his family background, keeping in mind that he was a child and ensuring to protect his anonymity. Hence, although I was aware he came from a family with a number of “issues”, notably the unemployment of his parents, the violence and alcoholism of his dad, these were issues I never really tried to dig into it. I only relied on the anecdotes he counted to me about his home and his family, and which have been interwoven in this text in an attempt to share my own story of my encounter with Stevie and how he was perceived by me, the researcher, and the other teachers with whom he worked.

4.2 Section Two: Stevie’s Linguistic repertoire within the formal domain

As mentioned earlier, Stevie’s linguistic repertoire has been firstly categorised according to the formal and informal domains. This section deals with his linguistic repertoire produced within the formal domain, that is in the classroom. This is further divided according to the three different spaces in which it was produced, namely: the KM classroom, the Catechesis classroom and the EP classroom. As outlined in Chapter Three, after the initial data production within the normal classroom hours and the challenges faced to produce data with the participants within these slots, I finally narrowed down on producing data in the KM classroom and the EP classroom which was

held after school hours. The section that deals with the Catechesis class was produced when the KM class was turned into a Catechesis class when Mr Dev was absent from work.

Therefore, the section below deals with his linguistic repertoire produced in the KM classroom with his KM teacher, Mr Dev. It is acknowledged that this constitutes one slice of Stevie's formal linguistic engagements circumscribed by the peculiarities of this setting. This setting is selected to accentuate the tension in the repertoire in a contesting space.

4.2.1 In KM class

4.2.1.1 The Kreol Morisien class

As has been mentioned in the previous chapters, this study focuses on the linguistic repertoire produced within the KM classroom as one space. Stevie has opted to study KM as an additional language within primary schooling and was in his third year of learning of KM. When the term started and fieldwork started, the students had no KM teacher for around a month and it was only at the end of February that Mr Dev was assigned to them as KM teacher. The KM class usually started at 09.50 in the morning and was usually conducted in the same class in which the children were taught the other subjects by their General Purpose teacher, Miss Ariana. When Mr Dev came, Miss Ariana left the space and Mr Dev used the space provided to teach KM. The students were joined by other students of the other classes of Standard Three who had opted to learn KM as an additional subject. The class normally lasted for an hour, during which a break was given for the students go to the toilet and came back to class to eat their food. Mr Dev used in his class a textbook that had been prepared by the Ministry of Education, a copy of which all students had, and the class was normally conducted in the medium of instruction for KM, namely Creole. However, Mr Dev moved to and fro from KM to French in some instances. The following section will look at the linguistic repertoire of Stevie when he interacted in the presence of Mr Dev.

4.2.1.2 With Mr Dev: the KM teacher

After having constructed the data sets of Stevie's linguistic repertoire represented in the form of the transcripts produced, the whole of Stevie's linguistic repertoire was copied and put in one document which amounted to around two hundred pages. A look at these pages shows clearly that KM is predominant within his repertoire. For this reason, the section below will only look at those rare extracts when Stevie shifted from KM to another language in the KM classes. This is done in an attempt to make meaning, keeping in mind the theoretical framework of the study.

The following extract looks at Stevie's linguistic repertoire when he interacts with Mr Dev. This extract had the teacher asking the children whether they knew the story of the hare and the tortoise in trying to teach the students that they should not rush whilst reading the comprehension passage. To this, Stevie engaged in a story-telling act, reinventing the story in a creative manner, in Creole.

Extract 4.1: SKM 17.03.2014 (I 255-269)

- TEA: **torti wwalazot konn zistwar torti** {tortoise there!do you know the story of tortoise?}
 S: (shouts)**wi torti avek liev!** {yes the tortoise and the hare}
 TEA: **ale rakont enn kou** {ok tell me the story}
 S: **ti ena enn torti!** {there was a tortoise}
 TEA: **ein!ein!** {yes!yes!}
 S: **torti(...)si(...)ein liev la ti pli malin(...)sanse(...) sanse li konn(...)li konn galoupe lerla torti pe pe marse pe marse marse marse** {tortoise (...) if (...) well the hare was smarter (...) as if (...) as if he knew (...) he knew how to run then the tortoise was walking slowly}
 TEA: **ein?** {what?}
 S: **lerla** {then}
 TEA: **ekoute!** {listen!}
 S: **lerla zot inn tom dan enn (...)**{then they fell in a (...)}
 TEA: (shouts)**ekoute!** {listen}
 S: **kot tiena lanez(...)zot reste laba** {where there was snow (...) they stayed there}
 TEA: **lanez tou?ein?** {snow isn't it?}
 S: **ler(...)ler(...)lerla zot tou lede in gagne per(...)lerla zot zanfan in perdi** {then (...) then (...) both of them were scared (...) then their child was lost}³⁹

KEY:TEA= teacher; S=Stevie

The ease with which Stevie narrated the story creatively was noted and he did so using his repertoire of KM. He preferred KM and this was also noted in the following extract below. Addressing Mr Dev in an informal interaction, Stevie spoke of his preference for KM. The teacher, after having got them to read one part of the passage chosen for the week, was quite impressed with the way the children read, and in an aside with them, joked that since they knew how to read, he (the teacher) could resign from his job. Stevie came forth and said that it was because of the fact that it was in KM that they knew how to read. When the teacher probed further to know whether this was also the case for English, Stevie and the other children admitted that when they had to read English, they made excuses to leave the classroom.

³⁹The codes for the languages were highlighted in different the use of different font styles. KM was highlighted in bold, French was highlighted in italics and English was highlighted through underlining.

Extract 4.2: SKM 13.03.2014 (I 228-247)

- TEA: **Zot konn lir** {You know how to read}
SS: **Li kriye** {he shouts}
S: **Ey!** {hey!}
TEA: **Zot kapav lir par zot mem aster** {you know how to read by yourselves now}
S: **Wi nou kapav lir par nou mem** {yes we can read by ourselves}
TEA: **Be mo kav ale aster (...)** **mo aret travay** {well then I can go now (...) I stop to work}
S/SS: **Non(...)**{no}
TEA: **Mo kav ale? (...)** **mo arête (...)** **be zot fini konn lir (...)**{Can I go?(...) I stop (...) well you already know how to read}
S: **Akoz (...)** **akoz lor lang kreol nou kone** {because (...) because it's in Kreol language that is why we know}
TEA: **Bon ase ase korek korek byen parye si ti angle la** {ok it's enough it's fine well I wonder if it was in English then}
S: **Ayo (...)**{oh no (...)}
TEA: **Ki pou arive** {what would have happened}
S3: **Bizin kit lekol (...)** **bisin dir nou malad sa** {we need to leave school (...) we need to say that we are ill}
TEA: **An bizin dir zot malad?** {oh you need to say you are ill?}
S3: **Bisin dir nou latet pe fer mal lerla nou al dan biro nou pa kone** {we need to say that we are suffering from headache then we go to the office because we don't know}
TEA: **An zot al dan biro tou zot al dir** {oh so you go to the office and you go tell..}
S: **Weh kan (...)** **kan nou fer angle la** {yeah when (...) when we do English then}
TEA: **Be kan mis fer zot lir?** {well when miss makes you read?}
S3: **Nou dir mis (...)** **nou dir mis nou latet pe fer mal** {we tell miss (...)we tell miss that our heads are aching}
S: **Ou sa nou dir miss nou vant pe fer mal nou al dan biro** {or else we tell miss that our tummies are aching and we go to the office}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; S3=Classmate

Although Mr Dev often talked with me about the importance of KM in the education of the children and often mentioned that a KM class was much richer in terms of learners' engagement than an English class, what was interesting to see was the reaction of Stevie. He immediately retorted that he could read because the passage was in KM. Although he could read some words and sentences in English (Refer to Section 4.2 below), Stevie was more at ease reading KM and his repertoire comprises mostly KM

One rare occasion when Stevie shifted to another language within his repertoire in the KM class can be seen in the following extract when he shifted to French in the classroom.

Extract 4.3: SKM 01.04.2014 (I 549-553)

- S: *première tipti* {first small}
TEA: (overlapping)**nou relir sa ankor enn kou** {let's read this one more time}
S/SS: (reading loudly) *première tipti derier lwin lar(...)*{first small behind far lar (...)}
S: **lar(...)****nwit!** {lar (...) night}

TEA: **ale travay par zot mem apre nou pou koriz sa lor tablo(...)**{ok you work by yourselves then we will correct this on the board (...)}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie

This extract was taken during Mr Dev's class and he had asked the students to work out the antonyms of some words as given in the textbook. Before they could do the classwork, Mr Dev got them to read the different words, among which featured the word '**premie**'. Stevie, who knew how to read, read all the words quickly and loudly. When Mr Dev got them to read the words several times, Stevie – who was, by then, bored – read in an exaggerated tone to show off that he already knew how to read. It was within that instant that he played linguistically with the word **premie** and made use of its French gendered counterpart *première*, which does not exist in KM. Unlike French, where adjectives are gendered, in KM adjectives take no gender marker. They do not agree in gender with the subject, as is the case for French, where things are either masculine or feminine. Some minutes later within the same class, Stevie shifted to English in his repertoire to address Mr Dev, as shown in the extract below.

Extract 4.4: SKM 01.04.2014 (I 808-815)

TEA: **ale** {ok}

L: **g r a n** {big}

TEA: **(overlapping)garson!** {boy}!

S: good morning

TEA: **(overlapping)nou guet sanla la** {let's see this one}

S: **tipiti!** {small}

TEA: **ki nom sa?** {what name is this}

SS: **tip(...)ti!** {sma (...)} ||

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; L=Larry

This episode occurred when Stevie got into an argument with a girl at the back about the spelling of one of the words that had been assigned for the classwork. He thus went to the front of the class to ask for clarification from Mr Dev, as the latter did not pay any attention to him when he was calling him. As the teacher was still not paying attention to him and continued talking to the rest of the class, Stevie shouted 'Good morning' to Mr Dev in English. The practice of greetinggreeting in English was something encouraged encouraged by Mrs Suzy, the headmistress of the school, and often when she stepped in the class, the students greeted her in English. They did so to strangers as well, as was the case when I had stepped in their class. Previously during the term, they had had a special lesson on classroom rules and regulations (refer to fieldnotes) and they had been taught to greet in English in that lesson. However, in this case, Stevie linguistically played with the English greeting to get the attention of Mr Dev, who was not paying any attention to what

Stevie was asking from him. It could be suggested that the choice to shift to English instead of French to grab the attention of Mr Dev was dictated by the fact that Mr Dev often contrasted the ease with which the learners interacted in KM classes with the difficulties they faced in their other classes to interact and understand because these classes were taught in English. As was the case previously, when Stevie used his multilingualism to linguistically play within the interaction by using a French word in his repertoire to show off his own reading prowess, shifting to the English greeting in the class was made to secure the attention of Mr Dev, as the latter was not paying any attention to what Stevie was saying.

4.2.1.3 Interacting with Miss Ariana when she steps into the KM class

One instance that cropped up and struck me was where the linguistic repertoire of Stevie was influenced due to the shifts that occurred within the KM classroom space. This happened when Miss Ariana (GP teacher) stepped into the classroom whilst Mr Dev was teaching KM. Although Stevie conversed mainly in Creole in the KM class, on the last day of fieldwork, Ariana entered the classroom to fetch something from her table whilst Mr Dev was conducting his class. The children were working on the classwork that Mr Dev had given when she stepped into the class. What was quite revealing was the way that Stevie shifted within his multilingual repertoire at that moment.

Extract 4.5: SKM 01.04.2014 (I 1161-1182)

- S15: **non!**(...)**guete** (unintelligible){no! (...) watch}
- S: **Stacy!**(...)**guet sa gro madam la**(...)**guete!**(...)**ein linn guete**(...)**li apel soz**(...)(noise in the background as children are talking){Stacy! (...) look at that fat lady (...) look! (...) so he watched (...) he is called thing (...)}
- TEA2: (comes in the class)*Qui c'est qui as fait ça?* {who has done this?}
- SS: *c'est pas moi!*{it's not me}
- TEA2: *regardez là!*(...)*regardez au bas crayon jaune aiguisée*(...){look at this! (...) look down yellow pencil has been sharpened}
- S: **ha lui!**(...)*c'est lui!* {it's him! (...) it's him!}
- SS: *c'est lui*(...)(noise as children are talking at the same time) {it's him (...)}
- S1: *toi aussi tu as aiguisé crayon!* {you also you have sharpened pencil!}
- S: **pou moi c'est vert!** {mine is green}
- S1: *pour lui c'est vert;pour toi c'est jaune!* (...) *il a aiguisé*(unintelligible) {his is green;yours is yellow! (...) he has sharpened (unintelligible)}
- S15: *mais pour lui c'était vert!*(noise in background as children are talking) {but his was green}
- S: **ein guiciano!** {see guiciano!}
- S2: *miss Jonathan va venir là!* {Miss Jonathan will come now!}
- TEA2: (in background in very low tone)*non il va partir chez lui*(unintelligible)*jusqu'à la rentrée*(...){no he will go at his (unintelligible)till the start of the term (...) }
- SS: *Non!*(...)*pourquoi?* {no! (...) why?}

KEY: TEA2= Ariana; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; S15=Classmate

In this episode, it can be seen that Stevie shifts from using his different multilingual resources depending on his interlocutor. Whereas at the beginning of this extract, he was interacting with his neighbour, a girl named Stacy, and asking her to look at a woman about whom they were talking, the moment Miss Ariana stepped into the classroom and interacted with the children asking them who had dirtied the class, the other students responded in French. Stevie did the same too by pointing out who had dirtied the floor by saying ‘**ha** lui!...*c’est lui*’. What is interesting is Creole word within this French utterance which demarcates the shift within his multilingual repertoire. ‘**ha**’ is a Creole word which is often used in the place of its counterpart ‘**sa**’, which is equivalent to the French word ‘*c’est*’. Having used the sentence ‘**ha** lui’, he realised he had mixed both languages in his repertoire and knowing that Miss Ariana liked have to speak correct French, he corrected himself using the sentence ‘*c’est lui!*’. When the other students retorted in French that he also had sharpened his pencil, he added that his was green by using the sentence ‘**pou** moi *c’est vert!*’. He shifted from KM to French within his repertoire.

The mere presence of Miss Ariana was enough to get him to start moving to and from within his repertoire from Creole to French. Whereas with his peer, he interacted in KM, the presence of Miss Ariana was a strong factor which influenced the development of his linguistic repertoire. This instance of dynamism and flexibility within his repertoire will be discussed in further details in Chapter Seven.

Thus, what is noted is that despite being in the KM classroom space, Stevie shifts to and fro within his repertoire depending on the person he is interacting with and on the purpose he is using his repertoire for.

4.2.2 Re-appropriation of the KM class into Catechesis class

A further episode that will be looked at below occurred within the slot that had been allotted to the teaching of KM but which – as highlighted earlier – had been replaced by the Catechesis class. On this day Mr Dev was not present at work, and Miss Ariana took charge of the class. The children usually had their Catechesis class on Saturdays in the school and they had a book which they used for these classes. Since most of the classes which had been allotted were usually a free slot for them until Mr Dev would arrive, Miss Ariana often taught them Catechism during those instances so they would not remain free. This was the only Catechesis class I attended during my fieldwork, and it is interesting to note Stevie’s linguistic repertoire within this class. The students

were told that they would be celebrating ‘La Fête de l’amitié⁴⁰’. On that day, Miss Ariana started the class by talking about feelings and the different types of feelings that existed and getting the learners to mime feeling the different emotions.

Extract 4.6: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 659-663)

- SS: *je suis ton ami tu es mon ami(...)* (TEA continues interacting with the learners) {I am your friend you are my friend (...)}
- TEA: (in the background)*maintenant exprimez le chagrin!(...)* {now express sadness!}
- RES: (laughs)
- TEA: (in the background)**zot pa pe kompran isi la...pa pe ekoute!(...)***exprimez le chagrin(...)*{learners mime being sad} (...) *chagrin ki sa veut dire?* {you do not understand you here (...) not listening! (...) express sadness (...) what do you understand by sadness?}
- S: *quand on pleure!*{when we cry}
- TEA: (in the background)*la tristesse!(...)***encore(...)** (children mime being sad and crying) {sadness! (...) again (...)}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; RES=Researcher

In this extract, when Miss Ariana gave an instruction in French for the students to show how they felt when they were sad and got no response, she shifted to using KM in her utterance and said, ‘**zot pa pe kompran isi la...pa pe ekoute!**’ checking whether they had understood and then reprimanding them for not listening, then she moved on to instruct them in French by saying, ‘*exprimez le chagrin*’. Furthermore, she moved to and fro from French to Creole within her repertoire to ask them whether they understood what was meant by sadness. Although she herself shifted to Creole within her repertoire, it is interesting to note that Stevie answered her in French. What can be seen throughout the instances mentioned above when Miss Ariana re-appropriated the space that was meant for the teaching of KM and used that space to teach Catechesis was that Stevie shifted to French when he addressed Miss Ariana. He did so even though he was within the space where the students could use Creole and Miss Ariana herself conversed in Creole.

As seen in the previous instances, Miss Ariana’s presence was one of the main factors that influenced the development of the linguistic repertoire of Stevie. When she is present, it is found that Stevie moves to and fro from Creole to French within his repertoire at diverse instances. The reasons as to why her presence acts as a catalyst within each speech act of Stevie will be analysed in depth in Chapters Seven and Eight. The following section sets up more this determining factor which is Miss Ariana’s presence. We will, thus, look at the development of Stevie’s linguistic

⁴⁰ The Festival of Friendship

repertoire within the space allotted to the Enhancement Programme and which is mainly taught by Miss Ariana herself and by two other teachers, namely Miss Veronica, who teaches the English part of the programme and, Mr Alain, who teaches the Creative Arts part of the programme.

4.2.3 In Enhancement Programme Classes

4.2.3.1 The Enhancement Programme Class

The EP classes were taught after school hours, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. On Mondays and Thursdays, the one-hour programme was divided in two parts: on Mondays, the first part was taken care of by Miss Ariana and the second was taught by Miss Veronica. On Thursdays, however, for the second part, children were under the custody of Mr Rodrigues, who took them out to do physical education. Miss Veronica taught English on Mondays, and on Wednesdays the programme was divided into three parts. The first part was usually devoted to the teaching of an Oriental/Asian language or KM; the second part was taken by Miss Ariana and the third part was taught by Mr Alain, who taught Creative Arts. Since there was no one to teach KM for the Enhancement programme during the first part, the students usually remained free and sat outside of the class on the steps. Miss Ariana looked after the rest of the subjects that were taught within the Standard Three curriculum and the lessons I observed dealt with the teaching of French and that of Health Education.

4.2.3.2 With Miss Ariana: the General Purpose teacher

The following extract details one of the first instances I observed and recorded when I started producing data within the slot allotted to Enhancement Programme. It was taken at the start of the class. Miss Ariana was teaching French through the use of a big book, called, 'Le Bonhomme de Massepin⁴¹'. She started with a pre-reading activity tapping into the prior knowledge of the students and many of them already knew the story for having done it in KM when they were in Standard II. As usual, Stevie, who liked participating in the class, answered and added an additional information by saying that the story was in their KM textbook and he was asked by Miss Ariana to narrate to the others what he knew of the story.

Extract 4.7: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 375-387)

TEA: *On regarde avec les yeux!(...)/mais tu connais déjà l'histoire?(...)* {we watch with the eyes!
(...) but you already know the story (...)?}
SS/P: *Oui!(...){yes! (...)}*

⁴¹ Gingerbread Man.

- S: *C'était(...) c'était dans le livre de Kréol Morisien!* {it was (...) it was in the Kreol Morisien book!}
- P: (overlapping)**kreol!** {creole!}
- TEA: *allez racontes moi l'histoire Stevie!(...)* {come on Stevie tell me the story! (...)}
- S: *il(...)il y avait une dame(...)* {there (...) there was a woman (...)}
- S19: *Une vieille dame avec un monsieur!(...)* {an old lady with a man! (...)}
- TEA: *Ey!lassieds toi!(...)Stevie!(...){hey!sit down! (...)* Stevie! (...)}
- S: *Il y avait une monsieur(...)* {there was a man (...)}
- TEA: *un monsieur!(...){a man! (...)}*
- S: *un monsieur avec les dames(...)quand le dame l'a vu de(...)*on a fait (unintelligible)*le petit massepin(...)* il a(...) il(...) il a(...) il a courrir derrière lui(...){a man with the ladies (...) when the lady has seen him (...) we have done a small cake (unintelligible) the small cake (...) he has (...) he (...) he has (...) he has run after him (...)}
- S18: *Oui!* {yes!}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; P=Piper; S19=Classmate

He started narrating the story in French, and he was helped by one of his classmates who usually participated as much as him in the classroom. Her name was Alexandra. What was interesting to note was his hesitation in telling the story although he knew it already in Creole, as could be seen in his pauses in between. He took time to come up with the appropriate sentences to narrate what he knew of the story. This was evident when he used the sentence, '*Il y avait une monsieur...*'. He was immediately corrected by Miss Ariana as he had used the wrong gendered article with the noun '*monsieur*', which should have been the masculine gendered article. He often made such mistakes when he spoke and wrongly concorded the gender of the articles with their subject and was often corrected by Miss Ariana. He went on to do the same mistake in the next sentence, where he again wrongly concorded the noun '*dame*' with the preceding article and the verb '*courrir*'. However, he was not stopped by Miss Ariana this time. His unease to use French to tell a story, although he had knowledge of it in Creole, was seen through the hesitating tone he adopted when trying to narrate the story. This extract can be compared to the story-telling he indulged into during the KM class when he reinvented the story of the tortoise and the hare and where he was much more eloquent than he was at this instance. Although he had difficulty expressing himself, he did not shift to using Creole within his repertoire though. This is because the mere presence of Miss Ariana acted as a catalyst. It is the presence of Miss Ariana which determined which linguistic resources he would call upon within his repertoire whether he addressed her or his classmates in a whole classroom interaction. It can thus be contended that Miss Ariana was associated with French whatever language practices she herself indulged into with him during their interactions.

The fact that he associated Miss Ariana with French is quite evident in the extract that follows below and which related to an interaction during an EP lesson taught in March by Miss Ariana on Health Education. As the subject needs to be taught in English, Miss Ariana made use of English to teach them the vocabulary in relation to the topic ‘body parts’. It should be remembered that the ethos behind the Enhancement Programme was to consolidate, through the use of creative pedagogical approaches after school hours, the teaching and learning of subject matter dealt with during the day. The topic of that day was ‘body parts’ and since the teacher had already taught them this topic before during her normal class hours and in the previous EP classes, the children were expected to already know this topic and the class was conducted mostly to check the understanding of vocabulary items, the spelling of vocabulary items and word recognition.

Extract 4.8: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 360-363)

TEA: **kouma apel sa?** {how is it called?}
 S2: leg!
 S: *c’est la jambe(...)* *la jambe(...)*{it’s the leg (...) the leg (...)}
 TEA: show me your legs everybody (...) (murmurs) (...) my leg!

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S2= Other child in class; S=Stevie

Using a picture of the leg, Miss Ariana asked in Creole how this body part was called. Whilst a classmate of Stevie answered in English and said that it was a leg, Stevie answered using French in his repertoire, saying ‘*c’est la jambe...*’ Miss Ariana then continued her class using the answer provided to her by the classmate of Stevie and instructed the children to show their legs making use of English. As can be noted, even within the interplay of the three different languages within this interaction, Stevie opted for French when addressing Miss Ariana, as he associates her with French.

Stevie’s repertoire comprises French when Miss Ariana is present within his speech act, irrespective of whether it is during formal or informal interaction. In the extract below the conversation topic dealt with his proposal to bring a gingerbread man cake in class. This was done in an informal aside to Miss Ariana after she had instructed the students to draw the gingerbread. Stevie, thus, called her to tell her he would do it tomorrow and Miss Ariana misunderstood thinking he was referring to the drawing of the gingerbread when in fact Stevie was referring to the gingerbread man cake he was proposing to bring in class. In the previous EP class, he had proposed to bring such a cake to class but had not done so.

Extract 4.9: PEP 26.02.2014 (I 74-80)

TEA: ey! (...) ey! (...) *allez à votre place!* {ey! (...) ey! (...) go in your place!}
 S: (overlapping)*miss ariana je vais faire demain* (...) {miss ariana I will do tomorrow (...)}
 TEA: **Kifer demain?** {why tomorrow?}
 S: *je vais faire ça demain!* {I will do this tomorrow!}
 TEA: *Tu vas emmener ça pour nous(...) pour manger(...)* (noise in the background)*allez!(...)* (TEA has a conversation about the different food items the children will bring to class when they have their bring and share)*dessinez un petit bonhomme de massepin!* {you will bring this for us (...) to eat (...) come on! (...) draw a little cakeman!}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S=Stevie

Moreover, it is observed that although his repertoire comprises French when he interacts with Miss Ariana in most cases, his repertoire also comprises English in class, mostly when Miss Ariana teaches in this language. The extract taken below was during the class when Miss Ariana was teaching the topic ‘body parts’ and she asked the children what they could do with their head. As usual, Stevie participated by offering the answer which had been rote-learned in prior classes, namely ‘I fink’. He used the sound [f] instead of [θ], which is the opening sound that is normally used when pronouncing the word ‘think’.

Extract 4.10: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 269-274)

TEA: what can you do with your head?
 SS: I can (...) I feel
 S: I fink (...)
 S/SS: finks with my head!
 TEA: gressy what can you do with your head?
 S: **ki to kapav fer ar to se(...)ar to latet?** {what can you do with your (...) with your head?}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie

His teacher, who was used to Stevie answering most of the time and who knew that he had understood, chose to focus on those students who she knew had problems understanding English and therefore she chose to ask the question to one of his classmates, in English. Since Stevie knew that his classmate would have difficulty understanding the question, he shifted immediately to KM and translated the sentence for her. However he stumbled on the word ‘head’ and would have used the Creole counterpart of the word ‘hair’, **seve**, instead of **latet**, which is the Creole counterpart of the word ‘head’. What can be seen is that English is brought in the linguistic repertoire of Stevie mainly when there are formal teaching situations and where the repertoire of Miss Ariana herself comprises the use of English to question them, whilst at the same time she seeks to expose them to chunks of English vocabulary.

The extract below highlights this use of English finds its way within Stevie’s repertoire only when he had to answer questions asked by the teacher during the whole classroom interaction, as is the

case below when Miss Ariana asked them how many toes they had. He at first answered correctly and then corrected himself to use five instead of ten, hesitating because he didn't understand whether the teacher was referring to one foot or to their feet. The teacher had to reformulate the sentence in French so that the students could understand what was being asked from them. She, then repeated herself in English to get them to answer in chorus 'ten', getting them to rote-learn the answer through the drilling of the word.

Extract 4.11: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 309-320)

TEA: how many toes you have?
S2: ten (...) ten (...) ten
S: ten (...) five!
TEA: ey!how many toes do you have?
SS: two!
TEA: combien? {how many?}
TEA: how many toes do you have?
SS: ten!
S: ten!

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; S2=Classmate

Hence, it can be claimed that the usage of English is restricted mostly to formal academic situations when there is the presence of a textbook or when English is taught by the teacher, although it has been seen that English vocabulary has been used in rarer instances to linguistically play around in the class.

Throughout the data sets produced with Stevie during his encounters with Miss Ariana, there was only one instance when he shifted to using KM within his own repertoire when addressing Miss Ariana. That was within one of the EP classes which dealt with the teaching of body parts. They had been instructed to cut the different words given to them and glue over them over the relevant body parts. As the children were working on their picture of body parts, one of Stevie's classmates, Jonathan, asked for a pair of scissors. Stevie reacted immediately shifting to KM within his repertoire. Very often during classroom interaction, students would argue over whom the different stationery found on a desk belonged to as they worked in groups. This was often due to the fact that many had stationery items that looked identical. It could be seen that Stevie reacted in a similar manner claiming to be the proprietor of the pair of scissors that his classmate was using. Although he was addressing Miss Ariana, his utterance was also directed to his classmate and this could be seen with the repetition of the sentence, '**pou mwa ha**'. Shifting to KM, he was trying to stake

forth his right on the object found, and in so doing he moved forward to snatch the object from Jonathan.

Extract 4.12: SEP 17.03.2014(1 471-475)

S2: *miss je peux(...)tu peux leur dire de me passer un ciseaux* {miss I can (...) you can tell them to lend me a scissors}

S: **miss pou mwa ha!pou mwa ha!** {miss this is mine!this is mine!}

TEA: (unintelligible)

S: **pou mwa ha!** {this is mine!}

S2: **mwa kinn gagne ha dan bife!** {me who got that in the drawer!}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S2= Other child in class; S=Stevie; S2=Classmate

Some moments after, during a scuffle between Stevie and Jonathan that saw Valerie intervening and getting hurt, the latter started crying and all the children brought this fact to the teacher's attention. Miss Ariana intervened by asking Valerie, had been hurt in her hand, what had happened. Immediately, Stevie shifted from using KM with his classmate Jonathan to using French with Miss Ariana. He did so, shifting the blame for the scuffle on Jonathan. The teacher, who was taken up with Valerie, didn't pay attention to him and he continued trying to explain how Valerie had ended up hurting herself. His apparent distress and hurry to exonerate himself from the blame of this incident found him moving to the Creole word 'rise', instead of its French counterpart 'tiré'.

Extract 4.13: SEP 17.03.2014 (1484-489)

TEA: *aurélie pourquoi tu pleures?* {aurelie why are you crying?}

S12: (unintelligible:crying and explaining why she is crying but cannot be understood because of her tears)*ma main!* {my hand!}

TEA: *viens je regardes!* {come I see!}

S: *c'est pas moi ça(...) jonathan!* {it's not me that (...) Jonathan!}

TEA: *viens(...) viens(...) viens* {come (...) come (...) come}

S: *c'est Jonathan qui a riseça?* {it's Jonathan who pulled this?}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; S12=Classmate

Moreover, when Miss Ariana finally wanted to get to the bottom of the incident after looking after Valerie's hand, and started interrogating the two boys to know who had hurt Valerie in French, Stevie shifted to French to simply state that it was Jonathan. However, when Jonathan blamed him, he felt the need to explain and shifted to KM using the sentence '**ha ti dan la main ha**'. After this, he paused, shifting to using French within his repertoire. What is noteworthy is although he made use of the French sentence structure, he blended the Creole word with the French past tense marker *a* when he felt the need to explain himself and prove himself innocent. It is evident that Stevie lacks the French vocabulary to make meaning within this context; so he thus has to use the

linguistic resources available to him to make himself understood by Miss Ariana. Once he seemed to be reassured that Miss Ariana would not blame him for the scuffle and trusted his statement, he relaxed and shifted back to using French with her to further the explanation. He reiterated the use of the word ‘rise’ to describe the action done by Jonathan which led to Valerie being hurt.

Extract 4.14: SEP 17.03.2014(1 490-498)

- TEA: *qui a fait ça?* {who did this?}
 S2: *Stevie!*
 S: *c'est Jonathan!* {it's Jonathan!}
 S2: *Stevie!*{noise as the girl is crying a lot at the teacher's desk}
 TEA: *va laver(...) va laver la main* {go wash (...) go wash the hand}
 S: **ha ti dan la main ha(...)** Valerie (...)jonathan **a rise sa** dans sa main {this was in the hand this (...) aurelie (...) fabio has pulled this in her hand}
 TEA: *c'est dangereux ça* {it's dangerous this}
 S: *j'étais en train de le (...) de le dire de me prê(...)* donner et puis Jonathan **a rise(...)** (murmurs) {I was trying to (...) to tell her to (...) give and then Jonathan has pulled (...)}
 TEA: *qui t'as donné encore les papiers là?(unintelligible)chercher ces papiers là(...)* (murmurs)*il y a une paire de ciseaux là(...)* tous les fois vous oubliez à la maison {who gave you again these papers now?look for these papers (...) there is a pair of scissors here (...) all the times you forget at home.}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S2= Other child in class; S=Stevie

As can be seen, Stevie's linguistic repertoire is not only shaped by who his interlocutors are, but also by the purpose for which he is using his repertoire, as seen above.

Although Miss Ariana was the main teacher teaching most EP parts, some parts were also taught by other teachers; namely Miss Veronica and Mr Alain; and Stevie's interactional patterns within their presence will be examined further below.

4.2.3.3 With Miss Veronica and Mr Alain: the Enhancement Programme teachers

Miss Veronica taught the English part of the Enhancement Programme. Although Miss Ariana uses the materials that are prepared for the EP classes for the other subjects, Miss Veronica did not make use of the materials for English, as she told me that these were not available. She thus came up with ideas to teach English through the use of role plays, poem recitation and miming of the actions in the poem. Previously, she had got the students to work on roleplaying a butterfly wearing butterfly masks which they had created themselves. In the extract below, she had brought in the class a poem which was called, 'They're calling Nan'. She got them to read silently first and then got them to recite using chorus reading. At the end of her class, she got the students to interact with her on the poem she brought to class and on any other they happened to know. At the beginning of the extract below, the students were reciting one such poem using French. What is

interesting to note is that although Miss Veronica taught English, English was used mostly when she got the children to recite the poem. However, when she interacted with them, she shifted/shifted to French within her own linguistic repertoire, allowing the learners to shift as well.

Extract 4.15: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 700-705)

SS/P: *Mirabelle* (unintelligible; as many are saying different words in chorus so cannot hear what is being said) *noir sur les ailes (...)* *jolie demoiselle (...)* *qui (...)* *vole (...)* (unintelligible) *sur les fleurs (...)* *pour* (unintelligible) *de miel! (...)* {*Mirabelle (...)* having black wings (...)
pretty miss (...)
who (...)
flies (...)
(unintelligible) on the flowers (...)
for (unintelligible) of honey! (...)}

S19: *On a appris ça en seconde (...)* {we have learnt this in standard two (...)}

S: *Miss c'est dans ta classe même ça! (...)* {miss it was in your class itself! (...)}

S18: *oui dans ta classe! (...)* {yes in your class! (...)}

KEY: SS= Other children in class; S=Stevie; P=Piper; S19=Classmate; S18=Classmate

In this extract above, Stevie intervened at the end of the recitation when his friend gave an additional piece of information concerning the poem and told Miss Veronica that they had learned the poem in her class, using French. As can be seen, Stevie shifted/shifted to French to address Miss Veronica within this speech act which occurred in French.

The extract that will follow was taken around a month after the class that dealt with the teaching of the poem, 'They're calling Nan'. Having finished with the teaching of the poem recitation classes, Miss Veronica came to class on that day without any materials, as she usually did. She picked a book from the classroom's book corner which was Cinderella and told the students that she would tell them a story. Again, what can be seen is that although Miss Veronica was supposed to teach English – and the book that she had chosen was actually in English – she shifted/shifted to French when narrating the story to the students, translating from the contents of the book.

Extract 4.16: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 736-743)

TEA3: *c'est bon?ok! (...)* (noise) *alors (...)* *je vais vous raconter une histoire* {is it good?ok! (...)
then (...)
I will tell you a story}

L: *le petit chaperon rouge! (...)* (noise) {the little red riding hood! (...)}

TEA3: *alors (...)* *il était une fois (...)* *une pauvre petite fille qui s'appelait cendrillon (...)* *elle habitait avec son papa (...)* *sa belle-mère et ses deux vilaines soeurs (...)* *elle la faisait travailler très dure pour garder la maison propre (...)* *un jour un prince arriva d'un palais* {then (...)
once upon a time (...)
a poor little girl who was called Cinderella (...)
she was living with her dad (...)
her step mother and her two horrid sisters (...)
she made her work very hard to keep the house clean (...)
one day a prince came from the palace}

S: *le prince* {the prince}

TEA3: *le prince avait organisé un grand bal (...)* {the prince had organized a big ball (...)}

S: *pour les femmes* {for the woman}

TEA3: *les deux vilaines soeurs, excites (...)* *étaient très excites (...)* *très heureuses (...)* *mais (...)* *cendrillon savait elle (...)* *on arrive pas à lire cette partie là*

(unintelligible)*regardez moi ces deux vilaines soeurs là* {the two horrid sisters excited (...)*were very excited (...)*very happy (...) but (...) cinderella knew her (...)we can't read this bit here (unintelligible)*look at those two horrid sisters here*}

KEY: TEA3= Veronica; S=Stevie; L=Larry

On that day, Stevie was seated at the back and he was colouring a drawing he was making for a classmate under the desk when Miss Veronica started narrating the story of Cinderella to the children. At the time of this extract he was seated at the back with me and there was no one around. The children already had a knowledge of the story. In asides addressed to no one in particular, Stevie took up certain words that Miss Veronica used in French and either repeated them with an exaggerated tone, as in the case of '*le prince*', and added an additional commentary to note that the prince had organised the ball for women, using a cocky knowing tone. The tone used by Stevie denoted that he was knowledgeable about the adult aspect of the relationship within love which was found within his aside, '*pour les femmes*'. By shifting toto French within his repertoire, he mimicked the voice of a knowing adult in that instant.

In the following extract which was taken a few moments later in the class, after he had been joined by one of his classmates at his desk, he responded to Miss Veronica's questions and showed his knowledge by adding titbits of information to the story Miss Veronica was narrating. Hence, he added that the fairy godmother had changed Cinderella into a princess through the sentence, '*en un...un princesse*'. It can be noted that he hesitated within the sentence with the article and again wrongly gendered the subject within his utterance. He also answered correctly the question asked by her to get them to interact with the story to check whether they knew what kind of clothes Cinderella had worn before she was changed into a princess, taking up on the words that Miss Veronica used in both instances.

Extract 4.17: SEP 17.03.2014 (1782-795)

TEA3: *et elle changea cendrillon* {and she changed Cinderella}

S: *en un...un princesse* {in a...a princess}

TEA3: *alors (...) cendrillon qu'est ce qu'elle avait sur elle?un joli vêtement où bien des vilains* {then (...) Cinderella what did she have on her?a nice outfit or else ugly ones?}

S: *vilain* {ugly}

S12: *joli* {beautiful}

TEA3: *elle avait de vieux vêtements qui étaient sales(...)* *elle a change ses vieux vêtements sales en une* {she had old clothes which were dirty (...) she changed his old dirty clothes in a}

S: *belle* {beautiful}

TEA3: *belle robe avec des chaussures en glace* {beautiful dress with glass shoes}

S: **toor!!!(...)***sa fonn ha!* {wow!! (...) this will melt!}

TEA3: *sa marraine lui dit tu dois rentrer avant minuit sinon tout va changer* {his godmother told her you have to return before midnight else all will change}
 S: *elle va devenir sale!beurk!(...) (noise)* {she will become dirty!beurk! (...) (noise)}
 TEA3: *alors cendrillon passa un très bon moment au bal et elle dansa avec le prince(...)*{then Cinderella had a lovely time at the ball and she danced with the prince (...)}
 S: **larry bien kontan sa** {larry loves that (...)}
 TEA3: (overlapping)*toute la nuit elle dansa avec le prince* {(overlapping)all night she danced with the prince}

KEY: TEA3= Veronica; S=Stevie; S12=Classmate

However, he moved on to adding his comical asides as Miss Veronica moved on with the story to say that the fairy godmother had changed Cinderella's dirty dress into a beautiful gown and given her glass slippers to wear. He linguistically played on the French word 'glace' choosing to comment on the homophone of the word which denotes ice cream, exaggeratedly stating that the ice cream would melt, shifting to Creole within his repertoire. Shifting to Creole within this instance is revealing, as he didn't want to belong to the adult world as in the previous instance, but instead, wanted to joke on this word to include those seated around him in his laughing asides. He shifted to Creole to entertain and humour his audience. This can be seen when after the teacher had narrated that Cinderella had a good time at the ball dancing with the prince, he commented that Larry would have loved this, getting his classmates to smile at the back. Thus, it can be said that when Stevie interacts with an adult teacher apart from Mr Dev, he shifts to French. It is only in asides to himself or when he has to entertain his classmates that he shifts to using Creole within his repertoire except for that one aside when he sought inclusion into the adult world. It thus seems that Stevie associates the adults working within the school with French.

This is further exemplified through the extract below. The teacher, Mr Alain, was teaching them how to draw a line. He drew one on the board and asked them a question to get them to interact with the drawing and check their knowledge of how the line was. The whole classroom interaction in this extract was in French. Stevie responded to the question of Mr Alain by saying that the line was small, shifting to shifting to the French word, 'petit', and Mr Alain corrected him to say that it was thin. He furthered his description in French as the interactional act continued.

Extract 4.18: PEP 26.02.2014 (I 647-652)

TEA2: *regardez bien(...) d'où ça commence et où ça se termine(...)comment c'est au bas?* {look well (...) where does this start and where does this end (...) how is it below?}
 S4: *euh!* {euh!}
 TEA2: (overlapping)*c'est* {it's}
 S: (shouts in background)*petit!* {small!}
 TEA2: *c'est fine!* {it's fine!}

S: *Et en haut c'est(...)* {and on top it's (...)}
KEY: TEA2= Alain; S=Stevie; S4=Classmate

What one observes is that within the formal domains, Stevie's linguistic repertoire is moulded mainly by his adult speech interlocutors, namely his respective teachers. Whereas in KM class, he shifts to Creole to interact formally as well as informally with Mr Dev; in his EP classes, he shifts to French mainly to interact with his EP teachers. It is also noted that English is kept to a minimum within the formal academic teaching situation. It should equally be highlighted that he calls in interplay the linguistic resources available within his repertoire for the different purposes that he uses them for, irrespective of the space where the interactional act occurs.

After having looked at the linguistic repertoire of Stevie within the formal domain, the following section will look at the linguistic repertoire of Stevie within the informal domain.

4.3 Section Three: Linguistic repertoire of Stevie in informal domain

Stevie's linguistic repertoire within the informal domain was mostly recorded in his case, within the desk space which he occupies. Being a very talkative boy, Stevie was made to change place at different intervals during the fieldwork period, thereby transiting within different spaces in the classroom. However, what remained fixed were the desk and the chair which made up every child's space in the classroom, as all chairs and desks were identical. Therefore, the learner's desk and chair are highly representative of the space that is moulded by the learner when he or she takes over the space allotted to him or her. Looking at the linguistic repertoire within this domain which is referred to as the informal domain allows for another perspective through which the data can be read. Within this space that can be termed as his world, Stevie interacts mainly with his peers as well as myself who sat beside him during these data production sessions. These interactions occur irrespective of whether formal instruction is being carried out within the classroom in the background or whether it is break time. There are fewer instances of data produced outside the classroom with Stevie, as he was not recorded during break times outside the classroom (Refer to Chapter Three).

4.3.1 With his peers.

When it comes to informal conversations with his classmates, Stevie shifts to using Creole within his repertoire. The example chosen below is very telling of this fact. Stevie had just asked Miss Ariana why one of his classmates was not doing anything and Miss Ariana responded that he had already done the work at home. Stevie completed her sentence by saying in French, *'tu avais dit*

on allait faire dans enhancement... . He then turned to me, shifting to CreoleCreole to tell me how many words he was left to stick. Moving on to address his neighbour, he sang out, telling Larry that he could go sit and that when he would be done with his scissors, he would then lend these to him. What is striking to note are the different shifts within his repertoire to address the three persons to whom he is talking within this utterance, notably Miss Ariana, me and his neighbour.

Extract 4.19: SEP 17.03.2014 9(1 524-526)

- TEA: *non il a déjà fait à la maison(...)* j'avais dit {no he did already at home (...) I had said}
 S: *tu avais dit on allait faire dans enhancement(...)* (murmurs) **mo res de miss(...)** **mo res de(...)** (J is singing an answer to a neighbour) **to kapav al asize aster asize kan mo fini lerla mo pou donn twa** {you had said we will do in EP (...) I have two left miss (...) I have two (...) you can go sit down now sit down when I finish I will give you}
 S2: *j'ai fini de coller* {I have finished sticking}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S=Stevie; S2=Classmate

The extract below, which was taken during break time when he was engaged in a conversation with his classmates, portrays his preference to shift to Creole when interacting with his classmates. It was an instance when I was in class with two of his classmates who were cleaning the class during break before the start of EP class. Stevie came in class and started talking with his classmate about an incident when he saw a guy carrying a bag of water and who was drinking from his bag as he was walking along. His classmate who was in disbelief over what he said questioned him a number of times and got him to narrate what he saw. The whole interaction happened in Creole only.

Extract 4.20: SEP 27.03.2014 (1 4-10)

- S: (addressing S3) **ey sak delo la mo trouv enn dimoun pe sarye ha pe ale!** {hey that bag of water I see a person carrying that and going}
 S3: **ki zafer?** {What thing?}
 S: **ein(...)** **mo trouv enn dimoun pe sarye ha lor so ledo pe bwar pe ale** {what? (...) i saw a person carrying that on his shoulder drinking and going}
 S3: **ki zafer?** {what thing?}
 S: **sak delo la ta** {that bag of water}
 S3: **ki?** {what}
 S: **sak delo(...)** **kouler nwar koumha koumha(...)** **mo trouv li pe ale ar ha enn misie ha(...)** **mo trouv li pe ale ar ha(...)** **pe ale** {bag of water (...) black colour like this like this (...) I see him going with that man (...) I see him going with that (...) going}

KEY: S=Stevie; S3=Stevie's classmate

As mentioned before, when Stevie indulges in linguistic play, his linguistic repertoire shifts and comprises the different resources that make up his repertoire. The following extract was the only

one when he shifted within his repertoire whilst interacting with his classmates. This extract was taken during break time, in the middle of the KM class. Stevie had just come back from the toilet and was getting down to eat his bread.

Extract 4.21: SKM 17.03.2014 (I 1070-1075)

- S: *li pe fer koumha*(...) *bonzour stevie*(S9 is chuckling) {he is doing like this (...) goodmorning Stevie} (They both start laughing).
S *bonjour Stevie!*(...) *ouhou!ouhou!*(S9 is chuckling){goodmorning Stevie! (...) ouhou!ouhou!}
S9: *mo amenn dipain* {I will bring bread}
RES: *manze Stevie!* {eat Stevie!}
S: *manze Stevie!* {eat Stevie!}

KEY: S=Stevie; RES=Researcher; S9= Stevie's classmate

As usual, he was joking around and teasing his classmate in Creole. He was narrating to his classmate how he was greeted by someone, mimicking using the Creole greeting **bonzour**. This got his classmate laughing and he joined in the laughter. He then indulged in linguistic play by using an exaggerated tone, this time pronouncing the same word but using the French pronunciation, which differed in one respect. The play in intonation and sound shifts from one language to the other were intentional, as he sought to entertain his friend. He then moved on to mimic my voice when I told him to eat. In this extract therefore, he made use of different voices within his repertoire in an attempt to humour and entertain his audience, hence showing his aptitude at playing with his different linguistic resources in a myriad of ways.

4.3.2 With researcher

Another instance when a lot of data has been produced within the informal domain is when the researcher herself was involved. I have chosen to look at three extracts taken over three different points in time with Stevie.

The first extract was one of my first interactions with Stevie. It was taken during the free slot that they had when they had no KM class. Stevie was seated at the left-hand side of the classroom at the back, making drawings. Surrounded by the children that day, including Larry and Piper, I also chitchatted with Stevie, who was making a drawing for me. Stevie navigated from French to Creole within his linguistic repertoire when talking to me. At the beginning of my fieldwork, when I used to be seated at the back, Stevie was very polite with me; would get chairs for me to be seated and interacted with me in French. It could be noted that since at the beginning, I formed part of the formal domain of the classroom in which he interacted mainly with his teachers, I was associated

– like his teacher – with the use of French. This therefore explained the interactioninteraction in French with me, as can be seen in the extract below.

Extract 4.22: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 369-374)

- RES: *C'est quoi ça?*{what is this?}
L: *C'est un lion*(overlapping){this is a lion}
S: (overlapping)*miss il est sec il faut mettre de l'eau ladan! l'ean ladan non?*{miss it is dry we should put water in it shouldnt we?}
RES: *non(...) tu dois mélanger je crois, pas dedans, séparé*{no (...) no you need to mix I think, not in this, separately}
S: *non il faut mettre de l'eau ladan*{no we should put water in it}
RES: *C'est sec?* {it's dry?}
S: *Il est sec(...)* (noise) {it's dry (...)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; S=Stevie; L=Larry

However, as I moved on to sit with the children at their desks during my last stage of data production and started becoming part of his world, Stevie's linguistic repertoire changed. Thus, he interacted with me using his repertoire of KM. The extract below was taken during a KM classroom in March, when we were chitchatting during break time as the children were eating. As I was talking to his neighbour, he addressed his other classmates and pointed to me, teasing me and asking them to look at the witch. He further went on to tease me about being a witch because I have a sharp nose. I responded to his teasing in French and saying that he was a frog. He continued teasing me using Creole saying that I had a small pimple.

Extract 4.23: PKM 04.03.2014 (I 534-541)

- S19: Ciara!
RES: *Tu as un joli nom?*{You have a nice name?}
S: (overlapping)*ey guet sa sorsier la! (...)* (noise in the background as children talk at the same time){Hey look at this witch here! (...)}
RES: (unintelligible)*sorsier?*{witch?}
S: *sorsier! (...) guet so nene!*{witch! (...) watch her nose!}
RES: (overlapping)*lui c'est un crapeau! (...)* (noise in the background as children laugh and talk)*Stevie qui est crapeau(...)* (noise in the background as desks are being pushed and children talk){he is a frog! (...) Stevie who is a frog (...)}
S: *to ena enn ti bouton la (...) hihi! (...)* (noise in the background as children are talking and playing){you have a small pimple here (...) hihi!}

KEY: RES=Researcher; S19=Ciara; S=Stevie

The informality of the interaction is to be observed. As I neared the end of my fieldwork and got closer to Stevie, he started viewing me as one of his classmates and would address me in very much the same way as he would address any of his classmates, teasing, fighting and chatting with me at length using KM mainly.

What can be noted hence is that within the informal domain – whether it is with his peers or with myself, as I became part of his world – Stevie's linguistic repertoire comprised mostly Creole.

4.4 Section Four: Songs within the linguistic repertoire of Stevie

Another specific feature of Stevie's world which was noted in almost all data sets produced with him was the importance of singing in his repertoire. Very often, during the time that was allotted to classwork in the classroom or at the start of the class, before the teacher settled the class, he could be heard humming songs to himself, sometimes in a low tone and sometimes in louder ones. This happened most of the time during class hours when the teacher had stepped down from the centre of the class and was seated at her desk looking over them as they were working.

There were two instances within the data sets produced with Stevie which can be termed as live performances. What is interesting was the choice of songs for those two performances. The first one was taken at the beginning of the EP class when the children had just got back in the classroom and not yet settled down. As I took out my recorder to place on the Piper's table, the children – including Stevie – surrounded me and again started asking what it was and whether their voices were recorded in it. As I was chitchatting with them, Larry started singing a Christian holy song in the background and Stevie joined him, shifting to French as he was singing, this time loudly. As the other children continued talking to me, Stevie took the recorder and sang loudly in the recorder in French and he was joined by Larry.

Extract 4.24: PEP 26.02.2014 (l 32-45)

- L: (singing in the background) **dan la campagne(...)**li res dan gos (...){in the village (...) he stays in the left}
- S: (starts singing loudly in the background) *les anges donnent en champagne (...)*{the angels give in village (...)}
- RES: (overlapping)**ase ase(...)**{enough enough}
- P: *Moi?*{me?}
- S2: **frot miss!**(...) (noise in the background as the children are making a lot of noise)**sens!**{rub miss (...) (noise)smell!}
- RES: *Ça sent bon!*(...) (noise in the background){it smells good!}
- P: *moi moi moi*(...){me me me}
- RES: *donnes!*{give!}
- S: (sings in the recorder)*les anges donnent en campagne* (unintelligible)*de liberté*(unintelligible because he has his mouth just over the recorder)*montagne*(unintelligible)*aujourd'hui le feu est allumé aujourd'hui(...)* *le feu est allumé aujourd'hui(...)**chantons hallelujah!* (...) *le feu est allumé*(...)(noise in the background as children talk as he moves away from recorder){(sings)the angels give in the village (unintelligible)of freedom (unintelligible)mountains(unintelligible)today the fire is lit today (...) the fire is lit today (...) let's sing hallelujah! (...) the fire is lit (...) (noise)}

L: (singing in the background; unintelligible)*lui en moi!(...) lui en moi!(...)lui en moi!(...) lui en moi!(...)* (Noise in the background as children are shouting){(singing)he in me! (...) he in me (...) he in me (...) he in me (...) (noise)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; S=Stevie; P=Piper; L=Larry; S2=Classmate

It was quite obvious that the act of singing within that instance – accompanied by the taking of the recorder and placing it near his mouth to sing in it – was an act of performance for Stevie. The Christian holy song brings forth both French and Creole within their repertoire. The choice of staging the song as a performance is highly interesting. In so doing, Stevie puts his religious Catholic identity on display for me, at the same time showing me the main thrust of what makes up his world to me.

Another instance which is just as interesting is taken in one EP class. As we were seated within Stevie's group, which – on that day – was on the left-hand side at the back of the classroom, one of Stevie's classmates came up to me. She asked me whether I recognised the song that she was singing. The moment she started singing, Stevie started performing for me, singing another song. He then moved on to sing in a seggae style another song, as can be seen in the extract below.

Extract 4.25: SEP 27.03.2014 (I 231-237)

S10: (overlapping)*tu connais cette chanson la(...)* (starts singing)**katrer dimatin(...)** (unintelligible){(overlapping) do you know this song (...) (singing)at four in the morning (...)}
S: (joins her in the singing)**papa kot to ete?papa kot to ete?ar mwa (...) ey mo konn enn sante (...) lor kline* man**(pronounced as [maen]) {dad where are you?dad where are you?with me (...)hey I know a song (...) on kline man}
S10: **mo konn enn sante(...)**{I know a song}
S:(overlapping singing in seggae style)**mo kamarad ti**(unintelligible){my friend had}
S10: (singing with him)**yeyeye(...)**
S: (still singing;cannot get the words as he is singing in a low tone and in seggae form)
TEA: *quand monsieur Gerald va venir*{when Mr Gerald will come}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S10= Other child in class; S=Stevie

Although the words were not easily understood, what came out was the style that he used to sing and how he stylised this utterance. This was yet another type of show that he put up in the classroom. What is revealing within this instance is how Stevie re-contextualised, shaped and stylised this utterance by giving to it a Rastafarian style, through the choice of style more than song. To do so, he used Creole within his repertoire but mixed within it the English word **man**, which is re-appropriated and stylised within the seggae genre.

Moving on, the subgenre that is recurrent and which is really very vivid within his repertoire is the use of sega as a subgenre. Most of the data which has been produced with him finds him humming and singing the sega, in a low tone whilst he is doing his classwork. Unlike the two previous

instances where the element of show and performance really came forth, these instances just came up out of nowhere within the data produced with him and offered more glimpses into his world. Stevie often sang sega songs by famous local singers that spoke of love.

Apart from the sega, the religious song and the seggae song, there were two instances when Stevie brought within his repertoire the pop culture genre, as can be noted in the extracts below. Within the extract below, which was interweaved in parallel with the voice of Miss Ariana interacting with another student in French, he started singing an English song.

Extract 4.26: SEP 27.03.2014 (I 132-134)

S10: *miss pour moi c'est (...) {miss for me it's (...)}*

S: (overlapping in foreground starts singing)what a where do go (...) I want to do (...) I would like to dance (...)

TEA: (overlapping in background)*oui c'est bon!*{yes it's good!}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S10= Other child in class; S=Stevie

The following extract found him chatting with me saying that he could mimic the voice of a girl, to which I replied that he was lying. To prove his point, he shifted to sing a very popular Brazilian song which was number one in the chartbusters in 2008, mimicking a girl's voice. His voice, as he was singing, echoed with that of the teacher who was talking in the background with the students in Creole.

Extract 4.27: SEP 27.03.2014 (I 259-264)

S: (overlapping)*miss mo konn fer lavwa tifi (...) {miss I can mimic a girl's voice (...)}*

TEA: (in the background with a lot of emphasis)my

S: (overlapping)*vremem*{really}

RES: *manti(...) {false (...)}*

S: *atan(...) (starts singing)Melissa(...) melissa (...)asi no se mata(...) {wait (...)}*

TEA: *aryo!*{oh!}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S=Stevie; RES=Researcher

Hence, it can be noted that within the space that he occupies, Stevie's repertoire is also shaped by the different genres of songs that he sings. Hence, his linguistic repertoire shifts from Creole to French, English, and Portuguese depending, on the choice of songs he makes.

4.5 Synthesis

After having gone through the numerous extracts that have been put forth in this Chapter, it is evident that within the formal domain, it is the adult interlocutor, namely the teacher, who shapes the linguistic repertoire of Stevie. Hence, in the KM class, Stevie interacts mostly in Creole with his KM teacher, Mr Dev. However, what is striking is that irrespective of the space where the

speech act occurs, the mere presence of his GP teacher, Miss Ariana, acts as a catalyst and gets him to move to and fro from KM to French in an attempt to make meaning. We could also note that this was the case for the other two EP teachers with whom he shared the same space and who taught him English and Creative Arts. What is surprising also to note within the data sets produced with Stevie his repertoire comprises few instances of English, except in cases where English is being taught by his GP teacher, Miss Ariana.

However, observation that is worth noting is that, despite being quite young, Stevie uses the linguistic resources available within his repertoire to linguistically play in certain situations, where he moves to and fro from Creole to either French or English to emphasise certain things. These shifts from one language to another are very often accompanied by a parodic or exaggerated intonation which denotes the shift in linguistic resources. He does so very often to put himself on show and entertain his audience.

It can also be seen that within the informal domain, where his speech interlocutors are mainly his peers and the researcher, Stevie's linguistic repertoire comprises mainly Creole, except when he is indulging in linguistic play. The other key aspect which characterises his linguistic repertoire within the formal domain is the set of songs he sings. These songs shape his linguistic repertoire according to the genre that they belong to.

This analysis above will be further fragmented in Chapters Seven and Eight to enable me to interpret the reason for which Stevie's linguistic repertoire develops the way it does, as has been seen in this Chapter.

Chapter Five

Linguistic Repertoire of Piper

5.0 Orientation

This chapter is the second case study amongst the three that forms part of this second part of the thesis. After having put forth the linguistic repertoire produced with Stevie, the first participant this chapter deals mainly with the linguistic repertoire of Piper, the second participant of my study, within the setting of St-Marie primary school. This chapter follows a similar structure as taken by the previous one. The first section of this chapter comprises of a thick portrait of Piper. Following this, the data that was produced through audio-recording, and which comprises of Piper's linguistic repertoire at the diverse instances that it was produced has been organised and reconstructed as the main text of this chapter. Piper's repertoire has been organised according to the categories presented previously (Refer to Table One). Following the thick portrait of Piper, there will be four main sections which depict her linguistic repertoire. Thus, it could be observed that within the formal domain of the classroom during formal teaching time, Piper's voice was subsumed with that of the merged class or was most of the times inexistent within this arena.

However, within the informal domain –, whether it was inside or outside the classroom – Piper did not hesitate to put forth her voice. What could be noted was that her linguistic repertoire was less influenced by her speech interlocutors, namely her classmates, the researcher, her siblings and one rare occasional instance, her teacher, but more by the purpose for which she used her repertoire. It was also seen that the topic of interaction as well as the objects present within the landscape shaped her linguistic repertoire.

Hence, whether she was addressing her classmates or the researcher, in the classroom or outside of the classroom, she translanguaged for specific purposes within her repertoire. When she had to request something, she would shift to French and she would shift to Creole to affirm her authority. Whenever emotions are concerned, whether she was exclaiming or bringing in humour in her conversation, she shifted to Creole. On the other hand, when she was scolding her classmates or arguing with them, she shifted to French. Moreover, it was seen that when she needed to narrate an incident, she interacted in Creole whilst when she dealt with normative topics such as rules and regulations of the school or fear of adult authority, she moved to French.

Lastly, it was seen that the objects present in the landscape surrounding Piper also shaped her linguistic repertoire and had her moving to and fro from French to English whenever she interacted with any of these.

5.1 Section One: The portrait of Piper.

5.1.1 My friend Piper

As I am sitting at the back of the class on my first day of observation, squeezed in between the different groups of desks, awkward and trying to make myself as small, Piper leaves her desk and comes to me during the lesson and says, “*Miss vous êtes jolie*⁴²!”. I ask her how she is called and she tells me, “*Je m’appelle Piper*⁴³”. I compliment her using French and tell her that she is pretty as well; and she smiles happily and goes back to her seat. She spends the rest of the lesson, turning to look at me and giving me one of her sweet smiles or at times coming to me with her school stationery and seeking a compliment about them from me.

Piper is seven years old and will turn eight in July. With a pixie-shaped face, framed with coarse long curly thick brownish hair tied neatly in a braid or at times in a bun, Piper comes across as someone agreeably sweet and shy. It is quite telling that her former KM teacher who had suggested I include her in my study had written nothing in the descriptive column that she had used for all the other participants. Her ‘General Purpose’ teacher, Miss Ariana, terms her behaviour as being “gentle” and “kind”. It is only when I interviewed the former KM teacher and asked her what she thought of Piper that she said Piper “was a shy one at the beginning. She’d essentially nod and smile. Her answers were the yes/no types”. Her teacher added that what she remembered most about her was the smile that she sported. Indeed, what strikes one the moment one looks at her is her sweet pleasant smile which lights up her heart-shaped face and her tiny crinkling mousy brown-coloured eyes. There are times though when the smile contains glimpses of mischief and cheek.

Piper is most of the time clad in the school uniform, dark blue uniform with a pleated skirt and white shirt. She usually wears either a grey jacket with a pink hood or a purple jacket. Her hair is usually tied up in a ponytail which is plaited and tied with pink hairbands. She wears studs or small loop earrings at times. Most of her belongings are of pink colour, ranging from her pink Hannah Montana bag to her matching stationery and the shoes she wears. Piper is the second child of the

⁴² Miss you are beautiful.

⁴³ My name is Piper.

André family. Her dad is a plumber whilst her mother is a secretary. She has an elder brother who is nine years and a younger sister who is five. Both study in the same school as her, with her brother being in Standard Five⁴⁴ and her little sister being newly admitted and in Standard One⁴⁵. She plays with her younger sister during recess times and sometimes their elder brother joins them. Piper's former KM teacher noted that Piper's mother is very concerned about her daughter's education and ensures that she follows all rules and regulations and is well-mannered and polite. Indeed, most of the times, Piper comes across as being well-groomed and taken good care of.

Very often the other children point out that Piper "*n'est pas Catholique*"⁴⁶. Piper does not follow the usual Catechesis classes that replaced the KM classes since the beginning because she is not Catholic and has not been baptised. From what I gathered from her teacher, Piper's family are Jehovah's Witnesses and due to this, Piper does not follow Catechesis classes. I remember her look one day when Dev asked her how she spent her birthday and she whispered with a glum face and in an undertone that she did not celebrate her birthday. In a way, this sets her apart from the other pupils in class, most of whom being Roman Catholics. Initially, when I started observing her, Piper had very few friends. During break times, she would eat her food quietly and during recess time, she would play with her sister. Although she sits at a table with around six or seven students forming her group, she does not play with them. As her former KM teacher noted, Piper comes across as being an extremely quiet, soft-spoken girl, who always obeys the teacher. Piper also very often helps Larry to follow in his book when the children have to read in their comprehension books.

However, she very rarely volunteers to give an answer in class and when she does, the answer is often wrong and she is then corrected by her teacher or else at times even if her hand is up to participate, she is not given the floor. Since she is so well-groomed and polite, Piper was chosen by Miss Ariana to teach the boys how to walk in the procession for the flag-raising ceremony due to her elegant gait. Although Piper is an extremely sweet and adorable girl, initially when I observed her in the classroom during the classes I was appalled at how I would be able to record her linguistic repertoire, as when she was asked to participate, she would speak to her neighbours; she would whisper or mime to them, therefore keeping in mind the classroom rule which dictated

⁴⁴ The fifth year of primary schooling in Mauritius.

⁴⁵ The first year of primary schooling in Mauritius.

⁴⁶ Isn't a Catholic.

that they should not talk in classroom. Even if she did not play with the audio-recorder when I gave it to her and it was placed near her, her voice could hardly be heard amongst all the other voices in the classroom. Except for her recorded interaction with me whenever she came to talk to me, I seemed to be running up the wall with her as participant.

Nevertheless, Piper and I bonded on the very first day I started observing in her class. Her very first move towards me on that day started the friendship that would grow till I left the field. In an uncanny way, I found in Piper a lot of similarities with the little girl I was back when I was in primary school: shy, mousy, soft-spoken, silent most of the times with very few friends and who played with her sister during the recess. In Piper, I often saw peeks of my own childhood and as I further bonded with Piper by using any free slot during classroom time I could afford, given that this was the only way I could tap in her linguistic repertoire. My relationship and easy ongoing interaction with Piper allowed me to better understand the intricacies of ethnography and allowed me to tap into my childhood. Furthermore, the qualities I possessed, such as the ease to bond with her through our chitchats, enabled me to produced data with her.

I soon realised that Piper was far from being the shy girl I thought she was. Although she was not as loud as Stevie, she was very talkative and liked talking at length. She was also full of mischief and would enjoy teasing me, pinching my cheeks, sneaking up behind me and surprising me.

She started coming to me whenever she had small issues to deal with. Whenever she would see me in the yard, she would run up and hug me tight. These displays of affection occurred when I started staying with her during recess time when she would play with her sister and any classmate who would want to join her. Piper was the only girl participant of my study, with Stevie and Larry being the other two boy participants, and very quickly the rest of the class realised that she had my attention as she would get the recorder and I would spend a lot of time with her. This drew the other girls and very often, they would tell me where she was when I sought her and would join us when we would be together in the yard during recess. This led to very dynamic interaction and play between them, with me observing them and participating when they required me to do so.

With Piper, I thus spent much time during break times within the classroom, but mostly outside, playing with her at times and at other times just looking on as she played with her sister and friends. The strange thing with Piper was that there was soon a reversal of power in the dynamics of our relationship. As we grew closer, she would scold me if I would not do something or understand something. She would play at being the teacher with me, giving me the classwork to do as her

student or she would untie my hair and play at being the hairdresser. Since I was her friend first before I started getting closer to the other children, she felt she had an authority on me and very often when I had to sit beside Larry and Stevie because it was my turn to work with them, she would order me to come sit with her, or during break times she would just come and sit by my side and not allow someone else to do so.

By the time I was reaching the end of my data production with Piper, I saw some changes in her demeanour. As she had become friends with one of the most popular girlsgirl in the class and who also happened to be the teacher's pet, she had gotten closer to Miss Ariana, even going to drop and fetch her bag during break times and making drawings for Miss Ariana instead of me, as she used to do before when I first started observing her. Reflexively, I think that my presence and our friendship brought to her the attention that she was looking for and which she sought from me when I arrived in her class. Like her former KM teacher, the image that I have of Piper after having left the field was of the pixie smiling face, shy and quiet in class, but mischievous, teasing and always up to pranks and enjoying any attention she got.

5.2 Section Two: Linguistic repertoire of Piper in the formal domain

5.2.1 In the KM Class

5.2.1.1 With Mr Dev

There are very few instances of direct interaction between Piper and her KM teacher, except when these are grouped within a chorus reading of a text or as parts of chorus answers. These instances will be looked at in this section and we will note how the repertoire of Piper is moulded according to the teacher's choices.

In KM classes, Piper interacted in Creole when answering questions asked by the teacher. The following extract was taken from one of her classesclass when the teacher was getting them to interact with the text that they had been reading. Having read about how children go home after school, the teacher asked the students to enumerate the different ways in which they go back home and he asked Piper how she went home. Her answer was 'mo mama'. It should be noted that she didn't answer using a full sentence but only answered by referring to her mum, meaning that her mother came to fetch her. Therefore, it can be highlighted that even in the KM class, Piper hesitated to venture to participate fully in class. The teacher picked up on this cue and asked whether she waited for her mother and rephrased the sentence according to the vocabulary used within the text. Piper turned and in Creole asked me whether she could take out her copybook. As the teacher

moved around to the other end of the class to interact with the other learners, the children seated at the table where Piper was sitting talked about the different ways children go home after school and one of her neighbours stated that he went by motorbike and Piper whispered the Creole utterance, ‘**marse marse**’.

Extract 5.1: PKM 04.03.2014 (I 210-220)

- S1: **mwa mo tousel** (...){me I am alone (...)}
 TEA: (overlapping) **ale bokou atan van**(...) (noise as all children are saying how they go back home after school hours)**kouma to ale twa?** {ok many wait for the van (...) (noise)how do you go you?}
 P: **Mo mama**(...){My mother (...)}
 TEA: **To atan to mama?c’est sa to paran** (...) (murmurs as children are talking;conversation continues as teacher interacts with the learners about how they go home after school hours){you wait for your mother?that’s it your parent (...)}
 P: (in a whisper)**kapav tire?**(...) (conversation continues between teacher and learners){can I take it out?}
 S7: **mwa mo roul motosiklet**(...) (conversation continues between teacher and learners){me I drive a motorcycle (...)}
 P: (in a whisper)**marse marse**(...) (conversation is continuing in the background as well as on the table where M is seated) {walking (...)}
 TEA: (in the background)**ale so papa donn li enn lift?**{ok his dad gives him a lift?}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; P=Piper; SS= Other children in classroom; S1=Classmate; S7=Classmate

Piper’s hesitation to participate within the formal domain is therefore noted. If and when she participates, it is as part of the group of learners, letting her voice be subsumed within the chorus.

5.2.2 In the Enhancement Programme classes

As has been stated previously (Refer to Chapter Four), EP classes were taught mainly by Miss Ariana, Piper’s GP teacher whilst Miss Veronica taught the English part of EP Programme and Mr Alain taught the Creative Arts part. The section below will look at the linguistic repertoire of Piper with these teachers as the main speech interlocutors in each caseinterlocutor.

5.2.2.1 With Miss Ariana

Whenever there is classroom interaction between the teacher and the students during teaching, Piper hardly ever volunteers an answer. The extract below is a good example of such a whole-classroom interaction. It was taken on the day after the students had their break and got back in class to do the French part of the Enhancement Programme. Miss Ariana was working on a pre-reading activity getting them to interact with the title of the story and was questioning them. As usual, there were the whole-classroom chorus answers. When asked whether they knew what a cake was, Piper’s voice echoed with that of her classmates. Piper’s interaction within the formal

domain highlights the strong absence of her voice within such settings. This will be analysed in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Extract 5.2: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 353-356)

TEA: *Vous savez c'est quoi un massepin?(...)* {do you know what is meant by cake? (...)}
SS/P: *Oui!(...){Yes! (...)}*
TEA: *Comment c'est quoi un massepin? (...)* (several children interact at the same time explaining what a cake is)*c'est la foire là!(...)*(children talking with TEA; interacts how a cake is made and how the mothers of the children make cakes in different manners; M stays quiet through this)*bejustement je vais raconter une histoire sur un petit bonhomme de massepin(...)*(children talk in the background)*ça veut dire c'est un petit bonhomme(...)**qui est fait en?* {What is a cake?(...)(explanation by children)We are at the market aren't we! (...)} (interaction between Tea and students)well then I will tell you a story of the small gingerbread man (...)
(children talk)it means it is a small man (...) which is made of?
SS/P: *massepini!(...){cake!}*

KEY: TEA= Teacher; P=Piper; SS= Other children in classroom

As could be seen in the second part of the exchange when the children had responded to the teacher's questions, instance during which Piper remained quiet, the teacher carried on to add that she would move on to narrating to them the story of the Ginger bread man. She completed her utterance by allowing the learners to end her sentence using the appropriate word to describe what the little man was made of, and as usual Piper's voice was merged with that of the crowd. As she moved further down with her activity and got the children to see the book cover of the story, Piper broke into an aside to herself in linCreole to bring in her own knowledge of the story. **Galoupe Galoupe** is a sentence from the lCreole version of the story whereby multiple repetitions of the sentence **galoupe galoupe** can be seen in the KM textbook whenever the gingerbread man runs away. Through this shift in voice, one distinguishes Piper's own knowledge of the story in Creole; therefore it can be noted that although she does not participate, Piper knows the propositional content of the story that will be narrated.

Extract 5.3: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 373-375)

TEA: *ein!(...)ein!(...) regardez l'image d'abord!(...){hey! (...)* hey! (...)} look at the image first!
(...)}
P: (overlapping)**galoupe(...)****galoupe!(...){run! (...)** run! (...)}
TEA: *On regarde avec les yeux!(...)**mais tu connais déjà l'histoire?(...)* {we watch with eyes! (...)
but you already know the story? (...)}
SS/P: *Oui!(...){Yes! (...)}*

KEY: TEA= Teacher; P=Piper; SS= Other children in classroom

Thus, Piper's absent voice is quite vivid within the formal domain.

5.2.2.2 With Miss Veronica and Mr Alain: the Enhancement Programme teachers

This is further noted in her interactions with Miss Veronica and Mr Alain, who are the other two teachers who teach the Enhancement Programme Classes. This extract was taken on the same day when Miss Veronica took over from Miss Ariana to teach English. On that day, Miss Veronica taught a poem and she brought copies of the poem which she distributed to each child in class. Piper was very excited to be working on the poem and wrote down her name on it. After distributing the poems, Miss Veronica called the children to attention and asked them to read the poem in silence. The students who were used to reading aloud with Miss Ariana started reading aloud but they were reprimanded by Miss Veronica, who told them to read silently. Piper started reading aloud and she was followed by the students. Miss Veronica again called them to attention and asked them whether they had understood what she had said, to which Piper added not to make any noise. Miss Veronica gave her instructions once again and told them to read with their eyes.

Extract 5.4: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 483-489)

- TEA3: (Overlapping) *eyen silence là ein!*(...)(children starting to read aloud) *ey!ey!ey!* (...) *en silence!*(...)*lisez que pour vous(...)et puis on va lire tout le monde ensemble*(children read in silence){*hey silence here now!*(...) (children read aloud)*hey!hey!hey!* (...) *in silence!* (...) *read only for you (...) and then we will read in chorus together*}
- P: they
- SS: They (...)
- TEA3: *qu'est ce que je viens de dire là?*(...){*what have I said right now?* (...)}
- P: *De faire doucement!*(...){*To be quiet!* (...)}
- TEA3: *Lisez avec les yeux!*(...) {*Read with your eyes!* (...)}
- P: they (...) (children trying to read by murmuring)*c'est en anglais?*(...) {*they (...)*it's in English? (...)}

KEY: TEA3= Veronica; P=Piper; SS= Other children in classroom

Piper started reading again and after having read the first words and being unable to read the word that came after they, she paused within the murmurs of the children who were all trying to read the poem and asked Miss Veronica if the poem was in English. Hearing this, Miss Veronica asked in a very sarcastic tone who had asked this question and waspishly answered that it was in Creole. She, then proceeded in a very endearingly ironical voice to respond that it was in English calling Piper 'my dear' with a lot of sarcasm. With her pencil, Piper tried to go through the poem, reading it word by word and piecing out only the words that she could read and which formed part of her utterance below. What was interesting to note in this extract was how Miss Veronica not only silenced their voices at the beginning of the class but then imposed her own choice of voice on

theirs, getting Piper along with the other students to shape their voices accordingly and creating evident despair, as most of the children, even the brightest, could not yet read a whole text in English.

Extract 5.5: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 490-507)

- TEA3: *qui c'est qui m'a demandé ça là? (...)* (children murmuring to themselves in the background)*c'est en Kréol! (...)* *c'est en anglais ma chérie! (...)* *allez! (...)* (children try to read in silence) {who has asked me this? (...)*it's in Creole! (...)* *it's in English my dear! (...)* come on! (...)}
- P: (tries to read the poem given in a whisper)Come(...)at(...)on(...)euuh (...) (unintelligible)of(...)not(...) at(...)!(...)talk(...)but(...)!(...)!(...)don't(...)favourite(...) !(...) (noise of tapping of pencil on the paper)
- TEA3: **Pe fer zes ek labous?**(...){You are miming with the mouths aren't you? (...)}
- S20: *Non!*(...) {No! (...)}
- TEA3: (in background)*ein?* (...) (silence as children trying to read the poem in silence; TEA3 starts reading)They're calling...Nan come at once!(...)but I don't answer!(...)It's not that I don't hear!(...)am very sharp of ear!(...)but am not Nan!(...)am a dancer!(...)They're calling Nan go and wash!(...)but I don't go yet!(...)The voices are quiet clear!(...)am humming but I hear!(...)but am not Nan!(...)am a poet!(...)They're calling Nan!(...)come for dinner!(...)and I stop humming!(...)I seem to hear them clearer now that's!(...)now that dinner's nearer!(...)well just for now am Nan and I say coming! (...) *va lire phrase par phrase vous allez mettre le doigt sur chaque mot que je vais dire pour pouvoir (unintelligible)puisse lire ensemble!*(...) *ok?*(...)*je vais lire phrase par phrase (...)*They're calling Nan (...) {what? (...)
go read sentence by sentence you will put your finger on each word that I will say to be able(unintelligible)can read together (...) ok? (...) I will read sentence by sentence (...)They're calling Nan}
- SS/P: They're calling Nan!(...)
- TEA3: come at once (...)
- SS/P: come at once (...)

KEY: TEA3= Veronica; P=Piper; SS= Other children in classroom; S20=Classmate

Piper's interaction patterns within the formal domain can further be seen with her interaction with Mr Alain, who does his class in French. Mr Alain had asked them to take out a sheet of paper and draw a leaf. Piper had a torn sheet and she did not know what to do. I advised her to ask Alain to lend her a sheet. Larry, who was seated at the table, was talking to me at the same time and telling me that he used the sheet he had at home. Piper heeded my advice and called the teacher and told him that '*mon page est cassé*'. Piper interacted in French with Mr Alain but it could be noted that she did not gender her possessive pronoun appropriately as '*page*' is a feminine noun and Piper also used '*cassé*' instead of the verb '*déchirée*', which is the French counterpart of the word 'torn'torn. What can be pointed out is that Piper is still learning French as a language and she

therefore makes herself understood by using the resources that form part of her linguistic repertoire.

Extract 5.6: PEP 26.02.2014 (I 529-534)

RES: (in an undertone)*demandes!*(...) (children talking in the background) {ask! (...)}
L: (overlapping)*jeservià la maison*(...){I use at home (...)}
P: *monsieur*(...) (TEA talking in the background)*monsieur!*...{sir (...)}
TEA2: *Oui!*{Yes!}
P: *mon page est cassé* (...) (children talking in the background){My page is broken (...)}
TEA2: *très bien!*(...) (noise in the background as children are talking amongst themselves){very good! (...)} (noise)}

KEY: TEA2= Alain; P=Piper; L= Larry; RES=Researcher

Piper however did not shift to Creole vocabulary within her utterance to make meaning within the formal classroom setting. She stuck to using French with her teachers in classroom interaction. As mentioned beforehand, Piper's linguistic repertoire is shaped according to her teachers' discourse. What can be noted from the following instances of the linguistic repertoire produced between Piper and the teachers with whom she worked is the absence of her voice. If her voice is not absent in most cases, as in the formal classroom settings, Piper then adapts her linguistic repertoire to suit her audience. She thus shifts to and fro from French to Creole at times when she is interacting with Miss Ariana, Miss Veronica and Mr Alain, while with Mr Dev in the KM class, she interacts in Creole.

5.3 Section Three: Linguistic repertoire of Piper in the informal domain

5.3.1 Inside the classroom

Although she was in the classroom, the desk space that was inhabited by Piper is rich with her interactions with her peers as well as with myself. Most of these asides were recorded in the classroom, with at times the teacher teaching in the background, or during the slot where the children were supposed to do their classwork or during break times. However, much of these asides were often spoken in whispers or with Piper miming the words as she was very conscious of the fact that she should not be talking in the classroom. The following category looks at her linguistic repertoire whilst she is addressing her classmates within the desk space she inhabits.

5.3.1.1 With her classmates

Within the desk space that is inhabited by her, Piper is completely different from the student whose voice is almost absent within the formal domain. Throughout fieldwork, she was made to change her seating several times and what is noted is that irrespective of who her speech interlocutor is,

most of the instances produced with Piper whilst she is addressing her classmates find her translanguaging and moving to and fro from French to Creole.

The extract below highlights this interpretation. It was taken at the end of the day towards the closure of a French class, just before classes would end and EP classes would start. That day, the teacher was correcting their classwork and she had asked the students to take a book from the book corner to read. Since I was seated far from Piper, I did not hear what Piper was saying. However, I find this instance interesting in that she mimicked the teacher's voice to her neighbour. Hence, although part of her utterance could not be transcribed, it looked as if she was repeating the teacher's instructions to her neighbour and telling him that their teacher had asked them to take up a book from the book corner and read. Like her teacher, Ariana, Piper interacted/interacted in French whilst interacting with Larry. Her neighbour then asked her for help in Creole and she shifted to Creole to say she did not know. But then, as I noted from my observations, she went on to help him to read. Mimicking the role of the teacher is something that Piper liked doing a lot and very often she stepped in the shoes of the teacher to help her neighbour Larry who had difficulties to read or she pretended to be the teacher with me to give me work to do.

Extract 5.7: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 20-28)

- TEA: (in the background)*et vous allez faire une phrase pour moi là ein?(...)* (children talking in the background){and you will write one sentence for me right? (...)}
- P: *Miss* (unintelligible)*a pris un livre(...)* *tu as dit(...)*{lots of noise in the background}*montres moi ça(...)* (lots of noise in the background)*qui a* (unintelligible)*qui ont fini(...)* *il prend les livres(...)* *donnes moi un papier(...)* *après je t'écris(...)* (noise in the background; TEA talking in the background){miss (unintelligible)has taken a book (...)you said (...) (noise)show me this (...) (noise)who has (unintelligible)who have finished (...) he took the books (...) give me a page (...) then I will write (...) (noise)}
- TEA: (in the background)*vous autres emmenez papier mousline pour moi(...)*{you guys bring muslin paper for me (...)}
- P: (mimicking TEA in a sing song voice)*papier mousline(...)* *papier mousline(...)* {muslin paper (...) muslin paper (...)}
- S4: **Ki ekir ladan?**{what is written in this?}
- P: **Mo pa kone mwa**(...) (noise in the background){I don't know me (...)}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; P=Piper; SS= Other children in classroom; S4=Classmate

The following extract was one instance that had been taken during the free slot that the children used to have before Mr Dev started teaching KM. On that day, Miss Ariana had re-appropriated that space to teach the others Catechesis. Piper, who did not do Catechesis (as she was not Catholic), another of her classmates and I were seated at the back of the classroom. Piper was writing on her slate with one of my markers. One of her classmates joined us and they started

arguing about the marker, which was mine. In this extract, both Piper and her classmate, Shirley, got into a true-false childish argument. What one notes once again is this move to and fro from French to Creole, with Piper pausing at the end of the argument and shifting to Creole to affirm that she was not lying and that the marker had been given to her by her mother. Shirley also shifted, saying that she would take the red marker later and draw.

Extract 5.8: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 79-91)

- S3: *Non il a pas marker(...)* {no he doesn't have marker (...)}
 P: *Si(...)*{yes (...)}
 S3: *C'est faux(...)* {it's false (...)}
 P: *C'est vrai(...)*{it's true (...)}
 S3: *C'est faux*{it's false}
 P: *C'est vrai(...)*{it's true (...)}
 S3: *C'est faux* {it's false}
 P: *C'est vrai(...)* **E vremem, pa p koz menti mwa, mo mama ki donn mwa ha marker la... mo perdi mo marker, mo montre mo papa**(overlapping){it's true (...) hey truly, not speaking lies me, my mum who gave me that marker (...) I lost my marker, I show my dad}
 S3: (overlapping)**taler mo pu pran marker rouge mo pu desine(...)**{wait I will take red marker I will draw (...)}

KEY: P=Piper; S3= classmate

It can be noted that Piper shifted to Creole to affirm her authority. In so doing, she wanted to show that the marker was really hers. The same kind of steering between French and Creole can be seen in the extract below, which was taken during the break time within the class when the children were eating. Much of Piper's data had been produced during those break times. On that day, Jonathan was playing around with his mouth and Shirley gave me a piece of cake with Piper adding that it was a cake. I then thanked Shirley for sharing her cake with me. Shirley then turned to Jonathan and told him that he was being naughty. What can be noted in that instance is that Shirley did so in a mockingly patronising voice, in very much the same way as Miss Ariana would have done in class. To do so, she shifted to French. In a way, remnants of Miss Ariana's voice could be heard within that of Shirley. It should be pointed out that Shirley was very much a teacher's pet and often during the break times, would go sit at the teacher's desk to have her bread and cakes and do all the tasks that Miss Ariana gave her.

Extract 5.9: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 425-438)

- S1: **Gnyan, gnyan, gnyan (pause)(noise)**
 S3: (giggles)**Massepin!!** {cake!!}
 P: **Massepin ha mis** {this is cake miss!}
 RES: *Merci* {thank you}

- S3: *Tu fais méchant?* {you are naughty?}
 S1: *Ein je fais pas méchant moi!* {what I am not naughty me!}
 P: *Je metssa gato la lor la*(giggles){I put this cake on that}
 S3: *J'aimes manger*(munching sound)*merci!*{I like eating}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; SS= Other children in classroom; S3= Shirley; S1=Jonathan

Piper, who was eating and listening to their conversation, then joined in the frolic and told them that she would put the cake that Shirley had shared with her in her bread. Very often the children put the cakes in their sandwiches before eating them. What is interesting is that she again shows her ability to shift to and fro from French to Creole as a meaning-making process. She did so as she was enjoying the friendly banter going on around her to tell her how she was also playing around with her cake. She interacted in Creole to indicate the position of the cake. As said earlier, Piper was still learning French as a language, and by shifting to and fro using the resources, she makes meaning within her utterance.

This can also be seen within the instances during class time when the children were given classwork and were left to do it on their own and they started chatting amongst themselves. One topic of conversation between Piper and her classmates during those instances was that she often asked them to lend her stationery if she didn't ask me. There are numerous instances when Piper asked her classmates for stationery when they were working on their classwork, as in the case below. She did so very often as she would either forget her own stationery items at home or would lose all of them as she once told me when I asked why she had not brought her pencil.

Extract 5.10: PEP 26.02.2014 (I 410-423)

- RES: *Petit et grand non?*(...) (unintelligible)*il est grand* (...) {small and big no? (...) he is big (...)}
 P: *numan tu as un crayon couleur?*(...) (noise in the background)*moi*(...) (children talking in the background){numan you have a coloured pencil? (...) me (...)}
 L: *il dort dans un grotte*(...)*il y a deux maisons*(...)(noise in the background)*ils sont jumeaux*(...)*ton frère va avec le bonhomme massepin*(...)(children talking to TEA in the background)**ey blan!**(...)(noise in the background as children are talking){he sleeps in a hole (...) he has two houses (...) they are twins (...) your brother goes with the gingerbread man (...)}
 S4: **Pass mwa krayon kouler**(...)**mo gom!**(...){lend me coloured crayon (...) my eraser! (...)}
 P: **atann!**(...)(children talking amongst themselves in background){wait! (...)}
 L: **desinn** (unintelligible)**so lakaz twasi**(...)(unintelligible as children are talking amongst themselves)*ça c'est bolom massepin* (...) **zot del**(...)**vwazin ek so frer**(...)
 (unintelligible)**vwazin ek so frer** {draw{unintelligible}his house you also (...)this is gingerbread man (...) they are two! (...) neighbour and his brother (...)neighbor and his brother}

- P: (overlapping)*passes!*(...) *j'ai fini*(...) (noise in the background)*je pourrais*(unintelligible; noise in the background)*passes!*(...) (children talking amongst themselves) {lend! (...) i have finished (...) I can (unintelligible)lend! (...)}
- L: *bonhomme massepin géant!*(...)(noise in the background; children talking in the background with TEA) {giant gingerbread man! (...)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; L= Larry; SS= Other children in classroom; S4=Classmate

This extract was taken during an EP class when Miss Ariana told them to draw the gingerbread man on a sheet of paper. I was seated with Piper, who happened to be seated with Larry and other children around the table. As I was talking with Larry, who was describing to me the twin gingerbread men he had drawn and the differences between each, Piper was addressing one of her classmates seated at the table. Making her request in French, Piper then shifted to Creole to firmly tell her friend who was asking her eraser back to wait. She then shifted back to French to request Larry to lend her his wax crayons.

It is thus noted that Piper shifts to and fro from French to Creole within her repertoire for manifold of purposes. Furthermore, the following extract that I will look at is one that was taken towards the end of the fieldwork. I was then producing data with Stevie. I was seated by Stevie's side as he was making a drawing for one of his neighbours. Piper strode over to look and she exclaimed in French her admiration and asked who had done the drawing before shifting to to Creole request having a look at it. What is to be noted is that she requested to have a look at the drawing by moving to French and putting for the word *regardes* instead of its Creole counterpart **gete**. Stevie reacted in Creole by saying that it was his drawing. Piper, arguing with him, shifted to French within her repertoire and retaliated that it was not his.

Extract 5.11: SEP 17.03.2014 (l 183-188)

- P: *wow!c'est qui qui as fait ça?* {wow!who has done this?}
- S7: *pour moi qu'il dessine ça* {for me that he is drawing this}
- P: **mo regardes**{let me see!}
- S: **mwa ha**(...)**mwa ha** {it's me (...) it's me}
- P: *pas toi qui as dessine* {not you who has drawn}
- S: *ein?* {what?}

KEY: P=Piper; S=Stevie; S7=classmate

Very often there are playful childish arguments between Piper and Stevie when they interact together. Piper did not like Stevie too much and the extract below shows that when they broke into a fight during break time within KM class. They were eating and Piper was reading a French storybook which she had taken from the book corner. Stevie suddenly snatched the book saying it

was his. I reprimanded him and asked in Creole if it was his book. Piper and Stevie then broke into a fight in interacting in Creole with Piper finally letting Stevie have the book. However, she shifted to French, scolding him for being a bad boy and threatened that she would tell his mother how he behaved. This sentence resonated with a threat that teachers normally gave to children when they misbehaved. Hence, within that instance, Piper's voice mimicked the voice of teachers when they scold, and having to do so in French in that instance is revealing.

Extract 5.12: PKM 06.03.2014 (I 409-425)

- RES: To liv sa twa ki amene? {is this your book?have you brought this?}
P: menti(...)to pa amen ha twa miss (unintelligible) ki amene(...){false you didn't bring this you (...) miss (unintelligible)who brought (...)}
RES: Kisanla inn amene? {who brought?}
P: Miss Syndia(...)enn miss{miss syndia (...) a miss (...)}
S: Mo liv preferè ha(...)tou lezur mo get sa{this is my favourite book (...) everyday I look at it}
P: Menti to lir enn lot liv(...)(J and M are fighting over the book){lies (...) you read another book (...)}
RES: Pa lager bann zenfan(...)aargh(...){don't fight kids}
P: Méchant(...) mo pu dir ha to mama(...){bad boy (...) i will tell this to your mum}
S: (overlapping)mo liv preferè ha(...)(noise) {this is my favourite book (...)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; S=Stevie.

What comes out within the extracts above is that with her classmates within the informal domain, Piper moves to and fro from French to Creole for a number of purposes. Whereas requests are made in French, she uses Creole to affirm her authority in a conversation or when she is reacting with emotion as when she exclaimed in Creole. Moreover, when she has to argue and scold her classmates, she shifts to using within her repertoire. It is also noted that she uses her repertoire flexibly to be able to make meaning in conversations where she doesn't have the French vocabulary at hand.

5.3.1.2 With researcher

Another main speech interlocutor with whom much data was produced within that desk space is myself. It can be noted that as is the case with her classmates, whilst addressing me, Piper also shifts to and fro from French to Creole.

The extract, which was recorded at the start of fieldwork, was taken just before she was going out in the yard to play with her sister and a classmate for recess. She had been bitten by a mosquito and came to me seeking attention and showing me her mosquito bite, and when I asked her about the mosquito bite in French, she only mouthed that she did not know. When I insisted, she shifted to using Creole within her repertoire to narrate to me what had happened.

Extract 5.13: P RECESS 17.02.2014 (I 7-13)

- P: [responding to not going] **mo pa pou kapav**(...)(noise in the background) *miss qu'est ce que j'ai eu ici?*{I wont be able to (...)miss what did I get here?}
- RES: *qu'est ce que tu as eu?(...)* *bouton?(...)* *bouton?(...)* *ça fait mal?*{what did you get? (...) pimple? (...) pimple? (...) does it hurt?}
- S2: *miss tout à l'heure*(...) *miss tu peux mete ça sur notre table?*{miss later (...)miss can you put that on our table?}
- RES: *tout à l'heure*(...) *qu'est ce que tu as eu Piper?*(...)(noise in the background:P is just mouthing answers and not talking) *tu sais pas?(...)* *comment tu sais pas?*{later (...)what did you get Piper?(...)you don't know?(...) how don't you know?}
- P: **moustik inn pik mwa,monn grate!** {mosquito pricked me ,I scratched!}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; S2= classmate

Furthermore, the extract below highlights that shifting to and fro within her linguistic repertoire. This extract was taken during break time when she asked me, moving from French to the Creole word **kas** if I had money, urging me to give her money so that she could get something to eat.

Extract 5.14: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 89-90)

- RES: (overlapping) *dans la pluie?*(...) (noise in the background as children are talking){(overlapping)in the rain? (...)}
- P: *Miss tu askas*(...) **kas?** *si te plaît miss*(...) *si te plaît miss!*(...) (TEA talking in the background) *hey chi te plait* (bell goes again) **nou ale nou ale nou ale**(...)(noise in the background as children are shouting){miss you have money(...) money?please miss (...) please miss! (...) (teach talking in the background)hey please(bell goes again)let's go let's go let's go (...) (noise)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper

What is interesting to highlight is that when she saw that I did not acquiesce to her request even after she had asked me using the politeness discourse marker twice, she uttered the same thing but this time changing the sound in the first word of the mark and instead of pronouncing as [s] pronounced it as [ʃ] therefore coining a totally new word. Using [ʃ] instead of [s] is emblematic here. The sound [ʃ] does not exist in Creole. This is something that Piper is very much aware of, since it is often repeated in KM classes when the students who bring in a French word with the sound [ʃ] in their utterance are corrected. By using this sound within her utterance and therefore not only using a French word, but francizing it doubly with the sound, Piper used her repertoire for manifold purposes. She not only wanted to convince me to give her the money through this action, but by showing that she could speak French well by integrating French sounds within her repertoire, she expected that this act would make her request more viable. She then shifted to Creole to order to me to go out of the classroom authoritatively.

This feature of francizing French words with the sound [ʃ] can be noted in another extract during break time when we were in the classroom. She ordered me in French to follow her and then after addressing one of her classmates, turned to talk to me and to explain in French the rules of the school. Hence, she reminded me that when the bell would go, they would need to queue up. After uttering the phrase *quand la cloche sonne là* once she moved on to repeat the sentence again this time francizing the word *sonne* by using the sound [ʃ] again.

Extract 5.15: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 211-215)

- P: *Viens!* (...) (noise in the background){Come! (...)}
- RES: (unintelligible)
- P: **komien**(...)*quand la cloche sonne là*(...)*quand la cloche chonne il faut arranger*(...) {how much (...) when the bell goes now (...) when the bell goes we need to arrange}
- RES: *Il faut rentrer?*(...) (noise in the background as children are talking)*on va faire classe ici?*(...)(noise in the background as children are shouting in the background){ we need to go inside? (...) (noise)will we have the class here? (...) (noise)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper

This utterance is shaped after she had ordered me to come with her outside. As was per the norm, when the bell would go for the start of the class they would need to go out and queue up before coming in. As I was surrounded that day with her other classmates and did not feel like going out, while she not only wanted to go out but also wanted me to accompany her, this move can again be seen as a means to get what she wanted. She aimed not only to explain that they would need to go out when the bell rang but it is also a discursive move to get me to accompany her. It is thus noted that the use of the [ʃ] sound, which for her connotes speaking French well, is a way to convince her audience to do what she wants.

Within the informal domain, Piper therefore uses her repertoire irrespective of her interlocutor. It is the purpose for which she uses her repertoire that shapes her interactional acts.

5.3.2 Outside the classroom

As mentioned before with Piper, I had to change my way of producing data and hence maximise on data produced in the informal domains, much of which was produced outside the classroom. Within that space which normally meant data produced in the school yard ,where the children would play during recess times, or data produced on the steps outside the classroom where the children would sit during break times just before EP class, Piper’s main speech interlocutors were her siblings, cousin, classmates and the researcher. Inin one rare instance, Miss Ariana was also there. The following categories will present her linguistic repertoire produced with these speech interlocutors.

5.3.2.1 With Miss Ariana

This extract which follows was one of the rarest instances when Piper interacted informally with Miss Ariana. This extract was taken when the children were instructed to break and go to the toilet before coming back to eat. It started with me asking her in French whether she was going to the loo and asking her to put the recorder in her pocket. When Ariana announced that it was break time, not being seated at her place, she told me that she needed to get back in her rightful place. Moreover, she repeated it to me that after going to the loo she needed to go. Note the emphasis on **bizin** and *dois* within her utterance depicting how she abided by the classroom regulations. She took the recorder with her and then moved out as I remain seated where I was. She went out of the class and as Miss Ariana walked by, she complimented Miss Ariana on the t-shirt she was wearing saying that it was very pretty. Miss Ariana thanked her and she furthered the informal chat by asking her whether it was the first time she was wearing this.

What can be seen is that not only did she shift to and fro using the Creole word **mete** instead of its French counterpart *mis*, but she also concorded it to agree with the past tense. She also used the French phrase *premier fois*, which is in fact a hybridised utterance, borrowed from the Creole **premye fwa**, which she amalgamated within the French sentence to make herself understood.

Extract 5.16: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 843-847)

- RES: *papa fait du pain?* (...) (TEA talking in the background) *tu pars toilettes?* (...) *tu peux mettre dans ta poche* (...) *je peux te donner? si je laisses avec toi tout à l'heure je vais prendre tu vas garder?* (...) *allez* (...) {dad makes bread?(TEA talking) you are going to the loo?(...) can you put this in your pocket (...) can I give you? If I leave it with you later I will take you will keep? (...) ok (...)}
- P: *je dois partir dans ma place!* (...) **apre pipi mo bizin ale!** (...) (M walks out with the other children to go to the loo) *miss ton tricot est joli!* {I need to go to my place! (...) after peeing I need to go! (...) (walks out) miss your tshirt is nice!}
- TEA: *Merci!* (...) {Thank you! (...)}
- P: *premier fois que tu as mete ça?* (...) {first time that you have worn this? (...)}
- TEA: *Oui* (...) (children talking amongst themselves as they are going to the loo and making merry) *marchez!* (...) **boutey! boutey!** (...) (children shouting amongst themselves as they get in the loo) {Yes (...) (talk) walk! (...) bottle! bottle! (...)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; TEA= Teacher

It is thus obvious that even when she is talking to Miss Ariana informally, Piper interacts in French, shifting to Creole to make meaning when she lacks the required vocabulary within her utterance. The following sub section will look at the linguistic repertoire of Piper with her siblings.

5.3.2.2 With her siblings

Piper has an elder brother and a smaller sister who study in the same school. Since a lot of the data produced with her were during break times outside classroom, there are many instances of interaction between her and her siblings. They would often join her to chat or play. These instances shed light on her interactional patterns with her siblings.

The following extract was taken from the day I decided to stay with her during the recess. It was only on only that day that I realised that she had a sister. One of her classmates joined her as I asked permission to accompany her outside the classroom in the yard. They were going to play under the huge tree found in the yard and she was soon joined by her sister, Amy, who was five years and who usually came during recess time to play with her. Piper soon called out to me in French as she had just flopped down on the bench under the tree which had been heated by the sun that she felt as if it was burning when she sat down. Before I could respond, her sister intervened in Creole and asked her why she fell down. They continued talking in Creole and her sister ordered her to move from that place and Piper shouted gleefully. I was then ordered by Amy to come with them. What could be noted is that when she addressed me, Piper interacted in French but when she talked to her sister she shifted to Creole.

Extract 5.17: P RECESS 17.02.2014 (I 160-169)

P: *miss je(...)* *miss ça brûle!(...)* *miss ça brûle!* {miss I (...) miss its burning! (...) miss it's burning!}

P's sis: *kifer to pe tombe?* {why are you falling?}

P: *mo pann tombe mwa!* (responding to her sister's question){I didn't fall me!}

P's sis: *nou ale* {lets go}

P: (shouts) *ah!*(...)(lots of noise in the background)

P's sis: *viens miss!*(...) {come miss! (...)}

KEY: P=Piper; P's sis=Piper's sister

Piper, Amy and a classmate of Piper then started playing hide and seek and they got Amy to look for them. As they were running around, Piper came back to give me the recorder which was in her pocket and I asked her classmate, Lakshee, if she had a pocket to put the recorder in, and she responded affirmatively. Piper, who was to my other side, called out to Amy ordering in French to come and play. Hence, it can be noted that when she gives orders to Amy, Piper shifts to French. Lakshee addressed Amy, who was with me, as Piper and she had been running around hiding and asked her what she was doing with me. Piper responded shifting to Creole stating that she didn't know before adding that now it was her turn. As they were talking, the three of them were not seated but running around me. So, only glimpses of their utterances could be caught over the noise.

She then shifted back to Creole with her instructing her classmate when they went to hide, as Piper would be the one looking for them this time.

Extract 5.18: P RECESS 17.02.2014 (I 241-249)

- RES: *tu as?* {you have?}
S5: *oui!* {yes!}
S6: *miss!*{miss!}
P: *naelle(...)**tu viens jouer?*{naelle (...) you will play?}
S5: **to pe fer avek miss la laba**(unintelligible)**tombe!**{you are doing with miss there (unintelligible)fall!}
P: [S5] **ein pa kone!****aster mwa ki pou** (unintelligible)!{what don't know!now it's me who will beat!}
S5: **ale!**{ok!}
P: **naelle(...)****naelle!**(...)**to swiv sa tifi** (unintelligible)**kumha ki pou** tombe (...) (noise in the background;M laughs a lot as she is running){naelle (...) naelle! (...) you follow that girl (unintelligible)it's like this that will fall...}
P's sis: **ey!** {hey!}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; SS= Other classmates; P's sis=Piper's sister

What can be noted between the exchanges is that Piper moves to and fro from French to Creole at different intervals to address her younger sister. Thus, when she is ordering her little sister, she shifts to French whereas when she instructs Amy to follow Lakshee, she shifts to Creole.

A further look at the extract below better highlights this to and fro move within Piper's linguistic repertoire. Since my recorder was in Piper's hands, Amy wanted to have a look at the recorder and Piper shifted to French saying that she could not show her. She then moved to Creole using the pronoun **sa** to refer to the recorder. She then shifted again to French and repeated twice in between pauses *tu vas*, not completing her utterance and turning to me and asking whether Amy could have a look at the recorder. What can be observed is that she used 'il' instead of 'elle' as pronoun to refer to her sister. One also notes a distress between wanting to show the recorder to her sister and fearing I would not appreciate this. This is quite evocative of how her speech interlocutors and the purpose for which she uses the resources available at her disposal influence her linguistic repertoire.

Extract 5.19: P RECESS 17.02.2014 (I 262-266)

- S5: *c'est très chaud!* {it's very hot!}
P's sis: (unintelligible)**mo guete!** {I watch!}
P: *non(...)* **satu vas(...)***tu vas(...)* *il dit comme ça(...)* *il peut regarder?* {no (...)this you will (...)you will (...) he said like that (...) he can have a look?}
P's sis: **kot tonn gagne ha?** {where did you get that?}

KEY: P=Piper; SS= Other classmates; P's sis=Piper's sister; S5=Lakshee

Amy then turned to me and asked me in Creole where I had got the recorder from. What is interesting is that Piper shifted to French whilst having to affirm her authority with Amy to tell her that she could not give her the recorder whereas she had previously been using Creole with her.

These numerous instances during the recess time when the children are playing and chatting amongst themselves shed some interesting light on Piper's linguistic repertoire. What can be seen is that irrespective of her interlocutors, as was said before, Piper shifts to and fro from Creole to French depending on the purpose that she is using her repertoire for. This first-level analysis will be further fragmented and considered in depth in Chapter Eight to afford a better understanding of how Piper's linguistic repertoire develops.

The extract below is one when I was not present. After chatting with them, I left the scene to let them go back under the tree to play, leaving the recorder in the pocket of Piper's. She exclaimed loudly using her resources both in French and using the Creole vocabulary **ris** instead of its French counterpart *tire* to scold Amy for pulling at her finger. She then continued on to instruct them in French to start the game that they were going to play. As Amy instructed the others in Creole how to play, Piper shifted to Creole addressing Lakshee and ordering her to hold Amy's hands as she might get hurt.

Extract 5.20: P RECESS 17.02.2014 (I 581-597)

- RES: **site curepipe?**(...) (lots of noise in the background: The Researcher leaves the scene at this moment to let them play; leaving the recorder with the participant; the recorder being put in the pocket off her jacket){the slum of curepipe?}
- P: *attrape!*(...) **naelletu ris mon doigt!**(...) (unintelligible; too much noise around) **naelle**(...) (lots of noise and interference as the girls are moving around a lot) *allez*(...) (unintelligible) *allez en trois*(...){catch! (...) naelle you are laughing my finger! (...) naelle (...) come on (...) come on at three (...)}
- P's sis: **ale fer kumha**(...){come on do like this (...)}
- P: **atan li li fer kumsa**(...) **li li fer kumsa**(...) **atan**(...) **li pa pou**(unintelligible) **li pou gagne dimal!**(...)(lots of shouts around as they are fighting) (...) **trap so lamen! trap so lamen**(...) **trap so lamen**(...) **trap so lamen**(...) **trap so lamen**(lots of shouting around){what he he is doing like that (...) he he is doing like this (...) wait (...) he won't (unintelligible) he will be hurt! (...) catch her hand! catch her hand (...) catch her hand (...) catch her hand (...) catch her hand (...)} catch her hand!}
- SS: **ale pou zoue**(...) **fer** (unintelligible) **tourne** (...) **tourne Melisandre** (...) {go to play (...)} do(unintelligible) turn (...) turn Melisandre (...)}
- P: (shouts) **ah!!!**(...)(shouts in the background) **done**(...) (unintelligible) **ah!!!** (...) give (...)

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; SS= Other classmates; P's sis=Piper's sister

As can be seen, Piper again shifts to and fro from French to Creole within her repertoire whilst playing even when the researcher, that is myself, is absent from the scene.

Piper also had an elder brother, two years older than her, who studied in the same school and although he did not play with her at recess times, he often joined her during the break times before the EP classes. The extract taken below is one such instance when he joined her to chat. There was a lot of noise in the backyard as the children were playing all around. Julian, Piper's brother, joined her and they both interacted in Creole. When Julian noticed the recorder in Piper's hands, he asked her to lend it to him. As Piper was not paying attention to him, he shifted to French and asked Piper for further information about the recorder. Piper answered by saying it was a phone. He shifted again to Creole, and told her that it was not a phone because there was something amiss in it.

Extract 5.21: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 243-253)

P: *un petite classe (...)quand la cloche va sonner les enfants va par(...)ti(...)(noise in the background)bye! (...) (noise in the background as children are shouting and playing and more children join in) {a small class (...)when the bell will go the children will go (...)bye! (...) }*

P's bro: **Ey pran mwa** (unintelligible) (...){hey take me (...)}

P: **weh!**(...){yeah!}

P's bro: **prete zis prete!**(...){lend just lend!}

P: **beurk**(...) (starts chuckling){yuck!}

P's bro: *C'est quoi ça?*(...) {What is this?}

P: *telephone*(...){telephone}

P's bro: **pa telefon**(...)**pena so soz**(...){it's not a telephone (...) there isn't its (...)}

P: **wi mais**(...)**sa**(...){yes but (...) this (...)}

KEY: P=Piper; P's bro=Piper's brother

Whilst responding to her brother, Piper moved to and fro within her repertoire using the French preposition in her utterance instead of its Creole counterpart **be** to deny the claim that her brother was making. Hence, it can be noted that to prove the truth of her claim to her brother, Piper shifts from Creole to French. It can also be noted that, like Piper, her siblings as well shift to and fro from using Creole to French for manifold purposes.

This is further exemplified in the following extract where Julian and Piper started having a sibling teasing argument. Julian addressed Piper in Creole and asked her whether she was looking for what it was. Piper retaliated by affirming in French that it was a telephone. As I was seated beside her, Piper then turned to me and ordered me in French to look at the children who were seated around us. She then again shifted to talking to Julian in Creole, telling him that he was lying and to hold the recorder and look at it Creole. Julian questioned her in Creole . They then broke in a yes-no argument using French within their repertoire, until Julian took charge as elder brother, and

in French affirmed himself saying that he was speaking the truth and to stop fighting. What is interesting to note is that he shifted from using the Creole verb **lager** whilst affirming himself in French within his repertoire.

Extract 5.22: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 270-279)

- S17: **to pe rode kiete ha?**{you are searching for what it is?}
P: *un telephone(...)* (*noise in the background*)*petite telephone!(...)*(chuckles)*regarde les enfants miss!(...)* (lots of noise as children are speaking at the same time, shouting, screaming)**manti guete guete!trape! (...)** (**noise in the background as children are shouting amongst each other**){a telephone (...)*small telephone! (...)* look at the kids miss! (...)*lies look at it look at it!catch! (...)*}
S17: **Tonn bwar tou mo yop?**{you drank all my yop?}
P: **nah!**{no!}
S17: *Si!* {Yes!}
P: *Non!* {No!}
S17: *Oui c'est vrai arrêtes delaguer* {yes it's true stop fighting}
P: *Non! (...)*{No! (...)}
S17: *c'est vrai(...)*{it's true (...)}

KEY: P=Piper; S17=Classmate

However, Piper, shifting to French, denied the fact that it was not a phone and Julian was obliged to put himself strongly forth in French saying that he was speaking the truth.

These instances of her repertoire produced with her siblings highlight the fact that when she interacts with them, Piper shifts from using French to Creole within her repertoire. What can be put forth within the extracts produced with her siblings in the informal domain is that Piper uses her linguistic repertoire differently with her siblings. Hence, most of the instructions given to Amy are in French, except when Lakshee is included in the speech act. Moreover, orders are given in French and she uses French to affirm her authority with Amy. She interacts in Creole to affirm her authority only when her sister is not paying attention to her when she addresses her in French. Moreover, French is also used to deny claims and argue with her brother. It is also noted that Piper moves to and fro from French to Creole when she lacks the vocabulary to make meaning, therefore using the linguistic resources available at her disposal. It should be pointed out that Julian and Amy also make use of their linguistic repertoire, similarly as Piper does.

5.3.2.3 With classmates.

The extract taken below was from one instance during the break time slotted just before EP classes and the recorder was in Piper's pocket. This is another of those instances where the researcher was not present. Piper was in the toilet with her sister and they took the recorder out. One of her

classmates addressed her in Creole and asked her to show how the recorder worked. Piper showed her, but told her in French that she could not give the recorder to her as it belonged to me. It is seen that she used the article ‘*un*’ which wrongly concurred with the subject ‘*miss*’. As was said before, the children felt a responsibility towards the recorder when it was entrusted to them.

The conversation continued as one of her other classmates said she would switch on the recorder moving to Creole within her repertoire, followed by Piper’s sister, who seemed to be showing Piper something. Piper then shifted to Creole and told her classmate that she could go ahead and switched the button.

Extract 5.23: PEP 24.02.2014 (l 114-122)

- S9: **ey piper montre mwa kouma sa marche?**{hey piper show me how it works?}
P: *Oui!(...) mais je vais pas donner pour un miss sa(...)*{Yes! (...) but I will not give it’s a miss’}
S6: *c’est pour un miss (...) nou miss a(...)* **il m’a donné(...)** {it belongs to a miss (...)our miss has (...)
(...) he gave me}
S10: *ey! nous donné*{hey!gave us}
S11: **ey mo pezee mwa ein!**(...) (noise in the background){hey I will press ok! (...)}
P’s sis: **piper ein!**(...){piper take! (...)}
P: **peze twa! hein(...)** **huh!**(...){you press!what (...) huh! (...)}
P’s sis: (chuckles)
P: **to kapav!**(...) (noise in the background){you can (...)}

KEY: P=Piper; SS= Other classmates; P’s sis=Piper’s sister

It can be said that when it came to refusal to give the recorder, Piper interacted in French. She did so because she did not want to go against my authority over the recorder. However, when she allowed her friend to fiddle with the recorder, she interacted in Creole. There has been a number of speech acts previously in relation to the recorder as most of the children are curious about the new gadget. Piper had the same interaction with her brother, sister and her classmates. What is interesting is when they speak about the recorder, all of them move to and fro from Creole to French within their repertoire, depending on the purposes for which they are using their linguistic repertoire.

However, this moving to and fro from French to Creole for manifold purposes is also noted when Piper interacts on other topics as well. The extract below was taken during break time before EP classes start. Piper went to meet her cousin Melissa who studied in the same grade as her but was in the classroom opposite hers. After sharing a piece of cake together, Piper went and got her whiteboard slate and a marker and left it with Melissa to write. Piper asked Melissa in French

within her linguistic repertoire what she had written and Melissa started reading what she had written. She had written that she was Piper's cousin and put the names of their family members on the slate in French. Some moments after, Piper took back her slate to erase what was written so that she could write something. She then jokingly shifted to Creole commenting that she could not erase it and joking, in an aside to herself, that she was crazy and told Melissa to draw a heart. The two were having a girlish banter and it could be seen that they were close to each other.

Extract 5.24: PEP 26.02.2014 (I 473-484)

- P: *qu'est ce tu as écrit?*{what did you write?}
 S3: *melissa est mon* (unintelligible)(...) *j'ai mis notre famille c'est* (unintelligible)(...){noise in the background} {melissa is my (...) I have put our family this (...)}
 P: **li pa le efase**(chuckles) (...) **mo fol!**(...)**je fer enn ker!**(...)**ale!**{she doesn't want to erase (...) I am crazy (...) hey do a heart! (...) come on!}
 S3: **atann mo pou desinn** *quelque chose pou twa* {wait I will draw something for you}
 P: (overlapping)**nah!**{no!}
 S3: **sakenn enn par enn!**(...) {noise in the background}{everyone one by one! (...)}

KEY: P=Piper; S3= Other classmate

It can be seen that when they are talking about the written words on the slate, which is very much a symbol of the formal academic setting of the classroom, they interacted in French. However, when humour paves its way in the context, Creole is used to indulge in humorous conversations. What can be pointed out is that when she is addressing her classmates outside the classroom, Piper does so in very much the same way as she does in the classroom. Requests are made in French whereas when she affirms her authority towards them or when she indulges in humorous asides, it is in Creole. Moreover, when the topic deals with adult authority or fear of being scolded or with formal tasks, such as writing on the slate, Piper uses French within her repertoire.

5.3.2.4 With the researcher

As was the case within the classroom, Piper also shifts from Creole to French with me depending on the purposes for which she wants to use her multilingualism outside the classroom. The extract below is one such instance when she does so. This extract was taken outside the classroom during break time, when she narrated to me a dream which she had and in which Miss Veronica, her EP teacher who taught them English, had been involved.

Extract 5.25: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 152-160)

- RES: *Drama?*(...) {drama? (...)}
 P: **mo fer rev** (...) **avec Veronica** (lots of noise in the background) (...) **monn fer rev**(...) (noise in the background){I have had a dream (...) with Veronica (...) (noise) (...) I have had a dream (...)}

- RES: **Tonn fer rev?(...)ki rev?**{you have dreamt of it? (...)what dream?}
- P: *Miss Veronica est méchante(...)* *il m'a fait(...)'étais assis par(...)* *euh (...)* *ici(...)* *il m'a fait rentré sous la table(...)* (chuckles){Miss Veronica is bad (...) he has made me (...) I was seated by (...) euh (...) here (...) he has made me go under the table}
- RES: *Miss Veronical?*
- P: *oui(...)* (noise in the background)*c'était un rêve (...)* (chuckles; lots of noise in the background as children are shouting){yes (...) (noise)it was a dream (...)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper

As she narrated the dream, she interacted in Creole to tell me that she had a dream in which Miss Veronica featured. Then she shifted to French to speak about Miss Veronica, commenting that she was bad and that she had made her sit under the table. When I questioned her asking whether it was Miss Veronica, she chuckled and added in French that it was only a dream. What can be noted is that when she commented on the character of Miss Veronica, her teacher, she moved to French. Thus, irrespective of the space where the interactional act occurs, Piper's interactional patterns remain the same with me. The following section now looks at one key feature which emerged within the data produced with Piper, namely the influence that books had on her linguistic repertoire.

5. 4 Section Four: Linguistic repertoire of Piper and books

The other key objects apart, from her slate and marker, that could be found very often with Piper were her books. Piper loved reading, whether she brought books from home or took them from the book corner or took those I brought along. Very often, when class was going on, she had a book hidden under the desk, trying to read through it. The following extracts that will be looked at below are from her interactions with the different books she tried to read throughout the period when I was with her during my fieldwork. I find the extract below very apt in that she was talking about which language she preferred reading in.

This extract was taken from one day when I had brought the story books with me and her classmate questioned me as to the language of these books, as they were having difficulties reading through. I responded that it was English. Shirley, who was there at the desk with us, said that she preferred to read in French. When I asked whether she felt it was easier in French, Piper intervened to say that she preferred to read in English. Her classmate responded that she did not understand when it was written in English. To this, Piper added that she understood when it was in English. I asked whether it was true and she showed me the copybook that she used for all purposes and which she said was in English.

Extract 5.26: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 190-197)

- RES: *en français c'est plus facile?* {in French is it easier?}
P: (overlapping)*moi en anglais* {me in English}
S2: (overlapping)*je comprends pas en anglais (...)*{I don't understand in English (...)}
RES: *Tu comprends pas en anglais?* {you don't understand in English?}
P: *moi oui!(...)*{me yes! (...)}
RES: *tu comprends?* {you understand?}
P: *regardes c'est en anglais(...)mon cahier fait tout(...) cahier fait tout(...)* {see this that is in English (...) my do it all copybook (...) my do it all copybook (...)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; S2= Other classmate

This preference for English was further reiterated when I found her copying sentences from a book she had taken from the book corner, and since she could not read all the words which were in the book, she requested me to help her read the book. As has been mentioned in the narrative in Section One, since Piper saw me as her adult friend, she often asked me to help her out with her classwork or when she could not read or understand something.

This extract was taken when I found her copying the sentences, 'There once was a family of bears that lived in a pretty, little house in the forest'. When I asked her why she was copying, she told me that she wanted to read the lines written in English for her teacher.

Extract 5.27: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 557-559)

- RES: (Overlapping)*tu copies?(...) pourquoi tu copies?(...)*{you are copying? (...) why are you copying? (...)}
P: *je veux lire çapourmiss(...)* (TEA talking in the background){I want to read this for miss (...)}
RES: *Pourmiss?(...)* (TEA talking in the background)*tu aimes miss?* {For miss? (...) you like miss?}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper

Piper seemed to prefer to read lines in English for Miss Ariana to be able to catch her attention, as most of the children interacted with Miss Ariana in French in the class. Therefore, English serves to demarcate her from the others. Miss Ariana, who was correcting their classwork, told those children who had finished to take a book from the book corner. Piper chose an English book whilst Larry, who was her neighbour, chose a French book. As the teacher was talking in the background and some students were responding to her, Piper was reading through her book in English, sounding out the different words in between pauses. What was interesting to note was that in the background, at one instance, the teacher's voice echoed using an English word as she was reading out aloud the English sentences in the book.

Extract 5.28: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 34-46)

TEA: *ey!ey!ey! (...)* (lots of noise in the background) *quatre enfants vous (...)* vous connaissez pas (unintelligible) *compter! (...)* (children talking in the background) *les autres vous prenez un livre (...)* (noise in the background as children are talking; TEA asks a student to write down the names of those who are talking and they will be punished during the break and not allowed to go eat outside; children murmur in the background) *j'ai dit pour mathématiques il faut découper les squares (...)* (children talk in the background; M is reading silently) *mathématiquesto cut (...)* {hey!hey!hey! (...)} four children you guys (...)
 you do not know (unintelligible) to count! (...)
 the others you take a book (...)
 I said for mathematics you need to cut the squares (...)
 mathematics to cut (...)
 S5: *couper!* {cut!}
 P: *I read...*
 TEA: (in the background) *strips (...)* (children murmuring amongst themselves) *dans votre cahier mandarin ein? (...)* {strips (...)} in your mandarin copybook ok? (...)
 P: *I (...)* can (...)
 write (...)
 TEA: (in the background) *vous allez couper ten (...)* *lesten strips (...)* (murmurs in the background) *les dix comme ça là! (...)* {you will cut ten (...)} the ten strips (...)

KEY: TEA= Teacher; P=Piper; S5= Other classmate

Hence, it can be pointed out that English is associated by Piper with the formal settings of the classroom and more specifically with her teacher. As mentioned before, Piper often mimicked the voice of her teacher. Whereas in most instances, French is used by her when that occurs, in instances where books are brought in the picture, English also forms part of her linguistic repertoire.

A look at another extract from the same slot as the one above had her shifting to and fro from Creole to French as she ordered Larry, her neighbour, neighbor to read his book and she then moved on to help him read. She did so by pointing out the words as she was reading and pausing in between to let Larry repeat after her. As she continued, instead of reading in French the word *éléphant*, she read out the word in English and she was corrected by Larry, who read it in French. She repeated after him but again read the word out in English instead of French.

Extract 5.29: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 57- 64)

L: *one nine ten*
 P: *lir! (...)* (murmurs in the background) *un jour papa (...)* {read! (...)} one day dad (...)
 L: *papa* {dad}
 P: *elephant* (pronounced as English word) {elephant}
 L: *papa éléphant!* {father elephant!}
 P: *papa elephant* (pronounced as English word; murmurs in the background) {father elephant}
 L: *éléphant!* {elephant}
 P: *elephant* (children talking amongst themselves in the background)

KEY: P=Piper; L=Larry

What is interesting to note in this extract is her insistence to pronounce the French word as an English word despite the fact that it was a French story book. This preference for English will be looked at in depth in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight.

Such instances were very frequent between me and her when I found her reading a book. Most of the times when I was seated by her side as she was reading, she sought my help to read those words that she found difficult.. The following extract was taken on the day the KM teacher was absent and Miss Ariana took up the class to do Catechesis. Just before she started, she gave the children some time off as she had to step out of the class and told them to take a book from the book corner. I sat near Piper, who was seated with Larry. Piper had the English storybook ‘The three bears’ in her hands and Larry had a French storybook. I asked her what she was doing and she told me she was reading about the family of three bears. I took up this opportunity to chitchat with them about their family and Larry started telling me who were the different members of his family as Piper was continuing reading, repeating one word several times and pausing in between to be able to read the words. She repeated the word pretty and I asked her what she understood by “pretty,” and she told me that it meant “small”. It can be noted that very often whilst reading the English books, Piper had difficulties reading out the words that she found in there or showed little understanding of the words that she was reading unless they were words which she had learnt before.

Extract 5.30: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 44-50)

- P: (overlapping)pretty
RES: *C'est quoi pretty?* (...) (TEA instructing children to go back to their place; unintelligible){What is pretty? (...)}
P: *c'est petit*(...) (Children clapping in the background as teacher has instructed them to clap their hands){it's small (...)}
RES: (overlapping)*joli*(...) *joli*(...) (TEA talking in the background with the children){beautiful (...)}
P: Listen (...) **guet sa!** (...) listen (...) {Listen (...) look at this! (...) listen (...)}
RES: Little
P: little

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper

I corrected her and she continued reading the word little again, reading it as the word listen, as she had done earlier and I again helped her to read the word. What can be pointed also is that, upon seeing the first letter of the word in the book, Piper equated them with words she already knew starting with that letter, as is the case of listen, and read the word out as such. From the extracts above, it can be seen that Piper’s English vocabulary comprises action verbs, nouns and pronouns and other

features that she has learnt previously. However, in the case of vocabulary such as the adjectives pretty and little, she not only had difficulties decoding the words but also understanding their meaning. Yet, despite this fact, most of the times that the children were told to take a book from the book corner (which comprised both English and French story books),, Piper chose an English book.

The day after I started bringing books in the class initially to get the students to interact around them, Piper brought a French story book from home which had two stories in it, the story of the Little Red Riding Hood, and another one which we did not get to read. The following extract was taken on the day that she had brought the book in class. She came to me to show me that she also had a book like me and wanted me to listen to her as she was reading the story. She, thus started reading the story of Little Red Riding Hood. As in the case of the English storybook, as she was reading through the story, Piper stopped at each word and sometimes at certain syllables pausing and trying to decode the words which were written down. She was seated with Larry and another of her classmate who had joined us to listen to the storytelling. When she was stuck on a word, she turned to me asking me for help, using French within her linguistic repertoire.

Extract 5.31: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 69-72)

P: *C'est quoi cette mot là?*{what is this word?}
RES: *joyeusement*{happily}
P: *por (...) ter(...) les(...) ga(...) lets(overlapping) {car (...) ry (...) the pebbles}*
RES: *(overlapping)Tu me fais un dessin?*{you will do a drawing for me?}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper

I helped her with the adverb on which she was stuck and she continued on reading, pausing at different syllables to be able to read the sentence. However, she read through this story without needing much of my help. Since she had brought it from home and it was quite creased, it could be seen that she had read or been taken through this story before.

As can be seen through the different extracts, Piper loves reading, whether it is storybooks that are found in the book corner or books she has brought from home or even from the different charts that are stuck around in the classroom. The extract that follows was taken whilst we were seated at the back and after having read the book which was with her, she now removed her slate to write and she was wondering what to write. Looking around her, she spotted the French teaching chart of 'to be' verb concorded with the different subjects and she started reading it off in a sing song voice in French, the chart being written in that language.

Extract 5.32: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 754-758)

- TEA: (in the background)*un signe(...)* je veux pas dire un signe(unintelligible){ a sign (...) I don't mean to say a sign}
- P: (overlapping)*qu'est ce que je vais écrire?(...)*(TEA talking in the background) {what will I write? (...)}
- RES: *écris ce que tu veux!(...)*(children talking in the background){write what you want (...)}
- P: (reading off the charts at the back)*je suis(...)**tu es(...)**il est(...)**elle est(...)**nous sommes(...)**vous êtes(...)* {I am (...) you are (...) he is (...) she is (...) we are (...) you are (...)}
- RES: *bein écris ce que tu veux!...*(children talking in the background)*écris un mot que tu aimes(...)**quel mot tu aimes(...)*(TEA talking in the background)*écris un mot que tu aimes (...)* {well write what you want! (...) write a word that you like (...) what word you like (...)}
(...)write a word that you like (...)}

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; TEA=Teacher

This type of reading occurred twice within the different instances of linguistic repertoire the data produced has generated. The extract below was taken from the KM class. I asked her whether she had eaten, but she did not pay attention to me, but instead started reading from the chart that was stuck in front of her. This was a Mathematics chart depicting the vocabulary used for different colours and shapes, and her neighbours followed her lead and started repeating the same words as her as they all read what was on the chart in a sing song voice.

Extract 5.33: PKM 06.03.2014 (I 268-273)

- RES: *Tu as pas mangé?* (noise) {You didn't eat?}
- P: (reads) A red triangle (...)a blue(...) (noise in the background)square (emphasis on square)
a yellow circle(...)a green (...)rectangle
- SS: (repeats after P) A red triangle (...)a blue(...) (noise in the background)square (...)a yellow circle (...)a green (...)rectangle (...)

KEY: RES= Researcher; P=Piper; SS= Other classmates

What can be noted is that Piper's linguistic repertoire is influenced by the different books or charts that make up the landscape in the classroom or which she brings into the landscape. This finds her moving to and fro from using French to English within her repertoire.

5.5 Synthesis

This chapter has represented different instances of data produced with the second participant, namely Piper. It can be argued that the linguistic repertoire of Piper is shaped differently within the two different domains in which she interacts. It could be noted that in the formal domain, Piper's repertoire hardly comes out as she does not participate on an individual level in exchanges. However, within the informal domain, rich data has been produced which shows how she often translanguages, shifting to and fro from French to Creole and at times English to make meaning in

different contexts. What can be argued is that her linguistic repertoire is shaped in the informal domain mostly by the purpose for which she uses her repertoire than by her speech interlocutors. It was also seen that the objects present within her landscape shape her linguistic repertoire. After having represented the data produced with Piper, the next chapter, which is the closing chapter of Part Two, will depict the linguistic repertoire of the two main teachers who influenced the linguistic repertoire of both learners, Stevie and Piper.

Chapter Six

Linguistic Repertoire of Miss Ariana and Mr Dev

6.0 Orientation

We have seen till now how Stevie's and Piper's linguistic repertoires have emerged within the data produced with them. Their linguistic repertoire described thickly in Chapters Four and Five allowed us to have an insight into their linguistic repertoire. As was seen, Stevie's linguistic repertoire is shaped mainly by who his interlocutors are and the purposes for which he uses his repertoire. In the case of Piper, a striking difference was noted between the two domains in which she interacted. Whereas in the formal domain, her voice was almost absent, in the informal domain, she indulged in translanguaging irrespective of who her interlocutors were, depending on the purposes for which she used her repertoire. These practices will be further analysed in the forthcoming chapters. These linguistic practices are nevertheless, interconnected with linguistic practices of others. According to Blommaert and Jie (2010), within ethnography,

studying language means studying society, more precisely, it means that all kinds of different meanings, meaning effects, performativities and language functions can and need to be addressed than those current (and accepted) in mainstream linguistics. Second there is nothing static about this ethnographic view of language. Language appears in reality as performance, as actions performed by people in a social environment.(p.8).

Stevie's and Piper's linguistic repertoires do not exist in a vacuum but their practices have emerged mostly within the space of the classroom, where within which Miss Ariana and Mr Dev are the central teaching figures. Miss Ariana teaches them English, French, Mathematics, Health and Physical Education, Basic Science, History & Geography and the Arts; whilst Mr Dev teaches them KM. The learners spend most of the day with Ariana, as she also works with them for the majority of Enhancement Programme. Juxtaposing Miss Ariana's and Mr Dev's linguistic repertoire with that of Stevie and Piper will help better understand the development of the learners' linguistic repertoire within the multilingual educational system. Miss Ariana and Mr Dev's linguistic repertoire gives us an in-depth understanding of how the linguistic repertoire of the learners develop and why the linguistic repertoire of the learners develop the way it does.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part comprises a brief portrait of Miss Ariana and then represents her linguistic repertoire in both formal and informal domains. The second part will follow the same structure looking at the portrait of Mr Dev before representing his linguistic repertoire in both formal and informal domains within the classroom. Data for such reporting

emanates from both my field notes and informal conversations with these teachers and is represented here with their permission.

It was thus noted that when she taught, Ariana used mostly French and shifted to English from time to time, although English is the official medium of instruction. Creole was used by her in the formal domain very minimally and for specific purposes only. In the informal domain, she interacted with the students moving to and from using Creole with more freedom. Moreover, when it comes to Mr Dev, he uses Creole throughout most of his teaching within both domains.

6.1 Section One: Linguistic repertoire of Miss Ariana

6.1.1 Portrait of Miss Ariana

Miss Ariana is in her mid-twenties and has approximately six years of teaching experience. When I started fieldwork, I quickly realised that she had just taken charge of the class of Stevie and Piper. This cohort of learners had been taught by another teacher during their first two years of primary schooling. As I was getting to know about the students, Miss Ariana also was learning about them. Despite having just taken up the class, she had already instilled her own brand of classroom discipline. The children, who looked up to Miss Ariana and respected her a lot, obeyed most of her rules and regulations and even when she stepped out of the classroom, they did not make much noise and continued their classwork silently. She did not have to shout often because most of the children seemed to be accustomed to the way that she had disciplined the class and respected her. When she was teaching, she often invited all children to participate and allowed them to tell her what they wanted, paying attention to what they said as much as she could. For those who had problems, she would encourage and motivate them so that they could learn as well. She very often made use of humour when she was teaching and could often be seen sharing joking asides with her students. Stevie, who was quite boisterous in the class of Mr Dev, was quite well-behaved in her class and preferred to always be viewed in a good light by her. He was often seen chitchatting with her when they were doing their classwork. Even Piper looked up to Miss Ariana although she did not express it as openly as Stevie. In many ways, Miss Ariana was the central figure in the children's lives in the world of the classroom.

The following section will now look at the representation of Miss Ariana's linguistic repertoire in the formal domain, whilst she was teaching.

6.1.2 Linguistic repertoire of Miss Ariana in the formal domain

In this section, Miss Ariana's linguistic repertoire is represented as well as described in a detailed manner. Ariana shifts to and fro within her repertoire enormously in her daily practices when teaching her learners. Most of the subjects are taught in English, as most of the textbooks prepared for the teaching of the different subjects are in English, apart from the French, Asian/Oriental Languages and KM curriculum materials.. Therefore, whenever Miss Ariana is teaching any content which is in English, she shifts to and fro from English to either French or Creole for a number of purposes. It is seen that Miss Ariana makes use of English mainly to expose the learners to English vocabulary whilst much of the explanation of the vocabulary is done in French. The students are also encouraged through the use of French. The following extracts highlight the fact that she teaches English via chunks of English vocabulary, with French being the language used to scaffold understanding.

The extract below, which was taken when Miss Ariana was teaching the children the different body parts as part of Health Education, illustrates characteristically her linguistic repertoire in the classroom. Below it can be noted how Miss Ariana teaches English using French. French is used for a number of purposes, notably to reprimand and motivate the learners but also to explain the vocabulary that has been taught. It can be seen how learners are taught chunks of English language. Hence, she picked on the English vocabulary item which they had been working on and asked the learners a question. This was done to get them to respond. However, this was a question which had already been repeated a number of times before. The question asked in Extract 6.1 line 292 below was used with the learners not only to recognise and understand the meaning of the question, but also to internalise it within their vocabulary. Questioning was therefore not used for the sole purpose of inviting students' participation but in the following case, questioning allowed her to drill in chunks of English sentences in her learners' linguistic repertoire.

Extract 6.1: SEP 17.03.2014 (l 292-295)

TEA: *gressy va à ta place! (...) va à ta place (...) (noise)head!what can you do with your head?(questioning) {gressy go to your place! (...) go to your place (...)}*

SS: I can

L: I can thinks with my head!

TEA: *bien bon!(...)mais(...) on peut(...) on peut pas dire(...) i can thinks with my head!c'est! can think with my head (...) je peux penser avec ma tête(...) (reformulating and provided a correct model) {very good! (...) but (...) we can (...) we cannot say (...) I can thinks with my head!it's I can think with my head (...) I can think with my head (...) }*

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom; L=Larry

It can be seen thus that Miss Ariana feels the need to teach English in relation to French, by using both languages together. Chunks of English vocabulary items are drilled into the children so that they can rote-learn/rotelearn the vocabulary. On the other hand, French is used to explain the meaning of the vocabulary taught.

Within her lesson of Health Education, Ariana also consolidates upon the teaching of vocabulary terms in regards to numbers. She therefore uses English to refer to all the vocabulary before moving to French to explain the meaning of the vocabulary taught. English is used to expose the learners to the vocabulary whereas French is used to make sure that the learners have understood the terms referred to in English. The extract below highlights this interpretation. Miss Ariana was teaching the term toes and she used this opportunity to revise the knowledge/knowledge of numbers, to which the children had been introduced previously. The interaction thus moved to the teaching of how many toes there were in the two feet. It could be noted that Stevie answered in French when the students were being drilled into giving the correct answer in English. Miss Ariana shifted to French to congratulate the students on their correct answers and then moved to English whilst teaching the numerals as well as the different body parts. However, her English utterance was held with the French verb '*est*' to make sure that the students understood that two feet added up to ten toes. Her answer was taken up by the learners who had been taught to rote-learn and repeat the expected answers.

Extract 6.2: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 335-337)

S: *cinq* {five}

TEA: *bien bon(...)* the two feet in all *c'est* ten {very good (...) the two feet in all its ten}

S2: ten!

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

The learners had been taught to respond moving to and fro from French to English, English being used to name the vocabulary being taught. One of these practices is the oral gap filling activities as is the case of the following extract where the vocabulary item being taught was leg. As usual, explanation was done by Miss Ariana in French and then she fitted in the chunk of English vocabulary she wanted her learners to learn, in this case the possessive pronoun as well as how the noun taught took an 's' in the plural form. Having already been taught this beforehand, the students, in chorus, filled in the gap with the expected response legs.

Extract 6.3: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 364-366)

SS: my leg!

TEA: *quandvousmontrez un seul'estmy leg (...) quandvousmontrez les deux'estmy(...)* {when you show only one it's my leg (...)when you show both it's my (teaching of plurals: concord)}

SS: legs

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

Another practice that is often used by Miss Ariana is translation. The extract below was taken from a further class which dealt with the teaching of the body parts, namely the feet. When asked what they could do with their foot, one student reacted by shifting to and fro using the modal phrase which had been drilled I can but adding to the utterance the action in French. What is interesting to note is that Miss Ariana picked up on her answer, shifted to French to explain the modal phrase using French then translating into English to give the correct response in English. Since the interaction occurred mainly in French between her and the learners, this use of her linguistic repertoire allowed her to get the learners to participate in class whilst at the same time seemingly showing that they could respond in English.

Extract 6.4: SEP 20.03.2014 (I 200-202)

S3: I can bouges! {I can move!}

TEA: *oui tu peux move! (...) mais les orteils sont dans les pieds?* {what you can move! (...) but the toes they are in the feet?}

S3: *je peux taper* {I can hit}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S3= Other child in classroom

However, there occur such instances when some learners are totally unable to either give the correct response or remember any of the concepts taught through the different strategies used and one can then note a breakdown in her teaching. The extract below is taken from the same class when the students were given the copies of their posters on body parts. The EP classes offered the opportunity to the teacher to work with those whom she knew had problems with identifying the vocabulary and also with understanding what was meant by the terms in English.

The following extract witnessed the breakdown of her teaching pattern. This occurred when she focused on individual students who could not orally name the different vocabulary items taught. Hence, this is one of the rare instances when the student is given a strict instruction on which language to use, as he could not identify the English vocabulary taught for the topic 'body parts' parts. It can be noted how Miss Ariana shifts to and fro from French to English, insisting on the usage of English by the student. Normally whilst the latter were questioned in chorus, those who had difficulties with English mimed the answers together with the rest of the class. However, when singled out, these students lost their voice the moment they were forced to answer in English.

This is quite vivid in this extract. This explains Miss Ariana's insistence on the use of English.

Extract 6.5: SEP 20.03.2014 (I 391-393)

TEA: *in English!(...)(murmurs)tu sais pas? (...)dît esttwo little ears je vais voirlà(...)einlui qui va dire ça(...)two {in English! (...) you don't know? (...) say two little ears I will see now (...) ein he who will say this (...) two}*

S13: *two little (...)* (murmurs)

TEA: *c'est lui qui dit!* (...) two little {its him who says! (...) two little}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

The cue which was the one that had been drilled in the students so that they could start reciting the poem was taken up by another student who started reciting. She was immediately stopped in French and Miss Ariana again offered the cue to the student who had issues with the different vocabulary terms.

It is also noted that Miss Ariana shifts from French to English when giving instructions, hence exposing the students to vocabulary items used to give instructions in English. In the extract below, after having made sure that the children had their photocopies, she moved on to the centre of the class to start the class. However, before they could work on the photocopies, she wanted to get them to spell the different vocabulary items and she instructed them on what they would do. What one can note is that Miss Ariana made use of opportunities that she had to develop the skills of the learners and get them to recognise and understand the instructions in English, as was the case below.

Extract 6.6: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 247-249)

TEA: *très bien vous allez le faire maintenant! Mais avant de le faire (...)we are going to spell the words (instructions){very good you will do it now! but before doing it (...)}*

S2: *Epellez les mots!* {Spell the words!}

TEA: *hmm!!*

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

It is interesting that the learners, although understanding what had been asked from them, translated the instructions in French, as could be seen in Line 248, and repeated the instructions to show their understanding of what had been asked from them, instead of repeating the instructions in English. This clearly denotes the repertoire in which the students feel at ease during classroom interaction with their teacher.

What one notes within those extracts is that Miss Ariana's linguistic repertoire within the formal domain very rarely comprises the usage of Creole. Yet, it has been seen that Creole is included within her own repertoire whilst teaching in specific cases. Creole is used by her mostly when she wants to emphasise that something is wrong and in an indirect way bring the students to notice their mistake. The extract below, when she was getting the learners to spell the word leg, highlights this. When students were asked to spell the word, instead of using e, they spelled the letter sounding it out as i. Since Stevie's voice could be heard loudest, Miss Ariana, who was giving them the instruction to look at the first letter in French, called out to Stevie and reprimanded him, shifting to Creole if leg was spelled with an i. Students immediately picked up on the tone and the shift in language and corrected their spelling before again starting to spelling in chorus.

Extract 6.7: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 347-350)

TEA: leça{l e that}

SS/S: l i g leg

TEA: *regardez la première(...)***Stevie!**l i sa Stevie? {watch the first one (...) Jordan! it's I Jordan?}

SS: e

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom; S=Stevie

This seems to be a pattern which is ingrained in the habits of the students as they reacted immediately to these types of cues sent out by the teacher, as can be highlighted in the following extract when the students, instead of using the [ə] sound, used use the [s] when pronouncing think. They were immediately reprimanded by Miss Ariana, who shifted to Creole using the question marker **ki** within her utterance. The students immediately corrected their pronunciation accordingly.

Extract 6.8: SEP 20.03.2014 (I 187-189)

SS: I can th(pronounced with the [s] sound)ink with my head!

TEA: **ki**sink(...)sink? {what sink (...) sink?}

S3: think!

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom; S3=Classmate

Therefore, it can be noted that Miss Ariana allows the usage of Creole within her repertoire when she is teaching only for specific purposes. She does so to lay emphasis on something that the students have done wrong, hence reprimanding them so that they can correct themselves during the teaching/learning process. Another purpose for using Creole within her repertoire is to make sure that the learners have understood what has been asked from them as was the case in the extract

that follows, when after having got the learners to correct their spelling, she asked them what they understood by the word legs.

Extract 6.9: SEP 17.03.2014 (l 355-357)

TEA: l e g leg ki save dir leg?{questioning when students are not understanding: gets angry}{l e g leg what is meant by leg?}

S2: *les(...)/les(...)/les jambes*{the (...) the (...) the legs}

S12: *les orteils!* {the toes!}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

Anticipating already that the learners would have problems, she shifted to ,Creole laying emphasis on the word in an attempt to make sure learners understood what was asked from them and responded correctly. Indeed, whilst one student responded hesitatingly with the correct answer in line 356, another student put forth that legs referred to *les orteils*. Having taught the children this topic beforehand, Miss Ariana seemed to already anticipate that this was a vocabulary term that would pose problem for some students who had not been able to grasp the meaning of the term.

Miss Ariana also brought forth Creole when she had to motivate learners who had problems to do a task in English, as illustrated in the extract below. As was seen beforehand, there reached a stumbling block in the teaching of Miss Ariana when she got to focus on individual learners who had issues with English in class. Miss Ariana wanted the Enhancement Programme to be a platform to be able to work on this issue and give the students full attention. Thus, she made use of other strategies to remind them about the vocabulary for the different body parts, such as getting them to recite the poem through which they had learnt the topic. Hence whilst trying to motivate her learnerslearner, she made use of Creole to instruct and encourage them to recite.

Extract 6.10: SEP 17.03.2014 (l 416-419)

TEA: dir!{(...)qu'est-cequ'on a l'habitude de dire?(...)}*allez Fabio(...)*essaie Fabio(...) two (...) redir! {say! (...) what are we used to say? (...) come on Fabio (...) try Fabio (...) two (...) say again!}

S15: two little ears

TEA: *ssh!*on fait(...) *allez*one little {ssh!!we do (...) come on one little}

S: ten

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

Moreover, she also makes use of Creole to bring in humour within her interaction with her students. Hence in the extract below, she was seen reprimanding whilst at the same time being humouristic. Whilst drilling the different vocabulary items during the EP class, she shifted from French whilst giving instructions and then bringing to attention one student who was not following and looking

for his photocopy which he had kept in the file that was supposed to be kept for EP classes. Upon questioning him, she shifted to Creole and said sarcastically that the learner had a file which had nothing in it.

Extract 6.11: SEP 17.03.2014 (l 261-262)

SS: h e a d head! (...) t o e s toes (...) l a g leg (...) e a r ear (...) l t l n lips (...) m o u t
TEA: *on recommence*(...) *on recommence*(...) *attends*(...) *maisqu'estcequevous cherchez?*(...)
(murmurs) *tu as unfile non?*(...) *maisoùc'est?*(...) *tul'asmis dedans?*(...) *pourquoi?*(...) **enn**
file ki pena narien ditou{lets start again (...) we start again (...) wait (...) but what are you
looking for? (...) you have a file no? (...) but where is it? (...) you have put it in it? (...) why?
(...) a file that has nothing in it (...)}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

What can be pointed out then that within the formal domain, Miss Ariana makes use mainly of French within her repertoire to teach. Hence, explanation, motivation and instructions are given mainly in French with English being used to expose the learners to the vocabulary that is necessary for them to use whilst learning the different subjects in English. Hence, English is very much taught via French by Miss Ariana. It was also seen that Creole is very rarely used by her when teaching formally. It can indeed be noted that whenever there is the need to demonstrate emotions, such as irritation or humour, Miss Ariana makes use of Creole in such instances to interact with her learners. The following sub-section will now look at the linguistic repertoire of Miss Ariana in the informal domain within the classroom.

6.1.3 Linguistic repertoire of Miss Ariana in the informal domain

Although when she is teaching, Miss Ariana makes hardly any usage of Creole except in cases noted above, when she is interacting with the learners informally she shifts from French to often talking to them in Creole, as can be seen in the extract below.

In this extract, Miss Ariana was seated at her desk as the children were working and she was having a look at them from where she was seated. Stevie, who was working at his desk, broke into singing a sega. Miss Ariana, who was seated at her desk, was interacting with the learners around her and chitchatting with them whilst at the same time keeping an eye on what the learners were doing. She then pointed out to one student asking him what he was sticking in Creole before shifting to English to use the vocabulary that she was referring to. She then moved on to French to instruct him to show it to her. Then, in a jokingly reprimanding tone, she exclaimed in Creole that he still had not stuck the term near the relevant body part. It can be noted that there is a freer move to and

fro from the different languages within her repertoire during such informal settings when the teaching has been done and the students are working and she chitchats with them.

Extract 6.12: SEP 17.03.2014 (I 544-546)

- S: (starts singing)ouver laport to loto(unintelligible) ayo mama {open the door of your car (unintelligible)oh mum}
TEA: kipe kole?mouth?moivoir!penkor! (...) (noise) {what are you sticking?mouth?let me see!not yet! (...)}
S: (sings:unintelligible)li tomb dandelo (...) li tomb dandelo (...) li malere{it falls in the water (...)
it falls in water (...) it's sad}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S=Stevie

The extract below further demonstrates this as the learners had an informal chat with her. This extract was taken in the class where she was teaching the Gingerbread man. Since one student had brought a cardamom stick which she had kept in the filing cabinet, she took it out for the students to manipulate and smell. Finding a cockroach in it, she exclaimed in Creole and Stevie, in an aside to his friends, said that he could smell cockroaches. Miss Ariana, who picked up on this aside, shifted to Creole and with humour, asked him if he had ever smelled a cockroach. She then moved back to French to interact with the students in regard to the cardamom.

Extract 6.13: PEP 24.02.2014 (I 115-119)

- S: (unintelligible in the background)santi kankrela(...){it smells of cockroach}
TEA: (unintelligible) tonn deza santi kankrela twa?(...) (noise in the background as children are laughing)ça sent bon n'estce pas? {have you ever smelled a cockroach? (...) (noise)it smells nice doesn't it? }
P: (shouts)oui! {yes!}
L: (overlapping)j'ai perdu mon crayon(...) je trouve pas mon crayon (...) {I have lost my pencil (...)
(...) I do not find my pencil (...)}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S=Stevie; P=Piper; L=Larry

Such asides are frequent from Miss Ariana. As was seen when she taught Catechesis classes, Miss Ariana moved from French to Creole more freely within her repertoire using Creole in a very humoristic manner. The extract below depicts one such instance. The lesson was about feelings and Miss Ariana wanted the children to mime the different feelings that were brought within the textbook. As the children were miming being sad and enjoying the mime show, Miss Ariana scolded them as they were only crying and not bringing forth the right expression, using French with the learners. She then shifted to Creole jokingly that the expression of one of the learners portrayed him as being drunk instead of being sad.

Extract 6.14: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 664-669)

- S: *quand on pleure!*{when we cry}
TEA: (in the background)*la tristesse!*(...) *encore*(...) (children mime being sad and crying){sadness! (...) again (...)}
P: (chuckles)
TEA: (in the background)*non assez avec pleurer!*(...) *je veux voir l'expression du visage!*(...) *quand vous êtes tristes comment vous faites?*(...) *c'est pas colère ça larry quand tu es triste*(...) (TEA continues interacting with children)**djyamel pa tris sanla soular sa!**(...){no enough with crying! (...) I want to see the expression on your face! (...) when you are sad how do you do? (...) it's not anger this larry when you are sad (...)djyamel this is not being sad but being drunk!}
SS: (students burst out laughing) (...) (TEA continues interacting with the children asking them to mime being hungry)
RES: *tu as faim?* {you are hungry}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom; S=Stevie; P=Piper; RES=Researcher

As said before, Creole within her repertoire is very much linked to the affective domain. This can be highlighted in the following extract when the learners were miming being sad. She was really happy with one learner's performance who was really looking sad whilst miming and she commented using the Creole expression **eta**. This was used in this case to show her approval of the miming that had been done, and also the feeling of pity that emanated from looking at such sadness as was being mimed. She moved on to congratulate the student in Creole before repeating herself in French.

Extract 6.15: PKM 26.02.2014 (I 723-725)

- RES: (overlapping)**kisanla gate?** (...) (TEA continues interacting in the background; getting the learners to mime the different emotions; such as sadness, jealousy) {(overlapping) who is spoiled}
TEA: (in the background)**eta**(...) **ale bien bon**(...)**bien bon**(...)**bien bon**(...)*très bien, il fait çabienein?*(...)*la jalousie!* (sympathising with children) {oh how sweet (...) ok it's very good (...) very good (...) very good, he does this really well isn't it? (...) jealousy}
RES: *c'est quoi jalousie?*(...) (TEA continues interacting with the learners getting them to enact being in love which the learners find funny; everyone starts laughing){what is jealousy? (...)}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; RES=Researcher

When Miss Ariana interacts with her students on an informal level, she moves to and fro from French to Creole to interact on a personal level with her learners for a number of purposes. Thus, it can be seen that in the informal domain, Miss Ariana shifts to Creole when she is seeking to create a bond with her learners in a number of ways, on an individual level, whether it is in joking asides or in approval of the students' efforts. When she wants to scold them as well, she very often

makes use of Creole. What can be noted is that although these instances occur within the formal arena of the classroom and at times during teaching, they are triggered mainly when she moves on to informal domains within the conversation and is interacting with the students on an individual level.

6.2 Linguistic repertoire of Mr Dev

6.2.1 Portrait of Mr Dev

Mr Dev was in his mid-fifties and had around thirty years of teaching experience. A short man, with a bald head with slight tufts of grey hair in some areas, Mr Dev had been a General Purpose teacher for many years until KM had been introduced. Due to health issues and because he had some years left before retirement, Mr Dev opted to shift to become a KM teacher due to the benefits that being a KM teacher brought to him. Hence, he had smaller workload in comparison with General Purpose teachers and he also had less stress, as he did not have to work to prepare CPE students for the end of year primary schooling exams, as he had been a former CPE teacher. His daughter also worked with him in the same school as a KM teacher teaching the other classes. Mr Dev joined the school a month after the term started, as he had been working at another school, and the Ministry had not yet worked out the schedule of all KM teachers. Hence, when Mr Dev joined, he had only a month to work with the children before term ended.

Mr Dev had around one hour to teach KM and during that one hour he gave a twenty-minute break. He was quite a strict teacher. Although he often invited participation of children whilst teaching, he could not deal with the fact that the students participated fully in the class, thereby giving the impression of a loud class. He had issues with classroom discipline and a week after he started teaching the students, he started sending them to stand in front of the class as punishment for talking, which he termed as being misbehavior. He often complained to me that children of that age were unmanageable and that he could not wait to retire. He also was unhappy about the fact that the children were seated in groups and felt that it was a way for them to speak and misbehave. He had a number of issues with Stevie, who was loud and boisterous in his class and Stevie was the one who was most punished in the class. He even told me once that nothing could be done for Stevie as he came from a bad locality, and that he would never become a better person because of that. However, he used to tease Piper often telling her he would steal her bread when she would eat slowly during break times and Piper liked him, even running and giving him a hug once. The following section will now look at the linguistic repertoire of Mr Dev in the formal domain.

6.2.2 Linguistic repertoire of Mr Dev within the formal domain

Mr Dev used Creole to teach most of the times and hardly ever shifted to using any other language within his class. The following extract, which was taken in one of his classes, illustrates this fact. Having started getting the learners to read the comprehension passage in the textbook, Mr Dev stopped the reading to get the students to interact with the concepts that had been taught in the book. He often used questioning as while-reading strategy to tap into the prior knowledge of the students and get them to share their experience in order to come to a better understanding of the text. He questioned the students using Creole asking them what they did when the bell went at the end of the day at school. Stevie, who was the one who usually participated most, answered his questions using Creole.

Extract 6.16: PKM 04.03.2014 (I 151-159)

- TEA: **twa twa twa ki to fer?**{what do you do?}
S: **non**(unintelligible)**al** travay (...) (noise in the background as other children answering at the same time){no(unintelligible)go work (...)}
TEA: **kan laklos sone to fer devwar ler tanto?**{when the bell goes do you do homework in the afternoon?}
S: **Non nou al lakaz**(...) (noise in the background as other children talking at the same time){no we go home (...)}
TEA: (overlapping)**beki to**(...)**to al lakaz tanto?beki to fer avan?**{but what do you (...) you go home in the afternoon? What do you do before?}
S: **nouzwe**(...)**apre nou fer devwar apre nou al lakaz**(...){we play (...)then we do homework, then we go home (...)}
TEA: **aie!aie!aie**
S: **nou tir nou linz** (unintelligible; noise in the background as children talking at the same time){we remove our clothes}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; S= Stevie

Even Piper used Creole with him when she was encouraged to participate in the interaction. After having explained through an example, he turned to the children and encouraged them to give the correct answer, still using Creole to which Piper responded in Creole as well. She was then followed by Larry, who gave another example using Creole.

Extract 6.17: PKM 04.03.2014 (I 390-398)

- TEA: **non guet li bizin koumsa la**(...)**li bizin la**(noise in the background as children talking)**pa galoupe**(...)**li bizin koumsa**(...)**koze!** {no see it has to be like this (...) it has to be here (...)
(noise) don't run (...) it has to be like this (...) speak!
P: **galoup galoupe**(...){running (...)}
TEA: **Koze fi?** {speak}
P: **galoup galoupe**(...) {running (...)}

L: **dans danse**(in the background;overlapping){dancing}
 TEA: (overlapping)**ein ekoute ki li pedir!** {oh listen to what he is saying!}
 L: (overlapping)**dans danse!** {dancing}
 P: **galoup galoupe!** {running}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; P=Piper; L=Larry

Very often, Mr Dev teaches KM by referring to how easy it is to learn in and by comparing it to French, especially when it comes to teaching vocabulary, which is similar to French as is the case in the extract below. As he was teaching the word ‘**gro**’ in , he moved on to claim that it was not difficult at all to write that word, and referred to the French equivalent which was ‘*gros*’ to enable the students to spell it correctly.

Extract 6.18: SKM 01.04.2014 (I 979-981)

TEA: li(...)|(...) I (...)li(...)zour(...)z(...)o(...)u(...)r(...)zour(...)ekout mwa bien dan lang kreol li pa difisil sa (...) guet parey si zot ti bizin (...) ekout sa! (silence)fer kouma dir mo ti anvi ekrir **gro** (...) kouma pou ekrir an franse **gro**? {day (...) listen to me in Kreol language it is not difficult (...) see if you had to (...) listen to this! (silence) let’s think that I want to write fat (...)how will I write fat in French? }

KEY: TEA= Teacher

Referring to French whilst teaching KM is quite usual in his classes. French is brought forth either to get the learners to use their knowledge of French vocabulary to be able to draw similarities with KM vocabulary or in the case of the extract below, where students are told that the word that they are using does not exist in . In the following extract, when a student made use of the word *maison*, instead of **lakaz**, during a questioning session of **lakaz**, he was corrected by Mr Dev and told that the word did not exist within KM vocabulary.

Extract 6.19: SKM 14.03.2014 (I 698-701)

TEA: dir li(...)pa fer narien(...)nou pou ekout sanla la(...) non(...)non(...)maison non(...)dan la lang kreol nou pa dirmaison{tell him (...) it doesn’t matter (...) we will listen to this one (...) no (...) no (...) home no (...) in Kreol language we do not say house}
 S2: **lakaz**(...)lakaz{house (...) house}
 TEA: **pena maison dan la lang kreol**{house doesn’t exist in the Kreol language}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

It can therefore be seen that when he is teaching KM, although he refers to French and uses it as support language from time to time or corrects the students when they use French vocabulary which do not exist in , Mr Dev uses mostly to teach in his class and his students as well respond by using the language. The following section will now look at the linguistic repertoire of Mr Dev in the informal domain.

6.2.3 Linguistic repertoire of Mr Dev within the informal domain

As was mentioned, Mr Dev gave a break of twenty minutes during the KM class during which the children eat. He often went around talking to them in that instance, or at times when he gave classwork, he went around chitchatting with them. The following extracts that will be presented below refer to such instances when he chitchatted with his learners, including Stevie and Piper. It is seen that in the informal domain as well, Mr Dev uses Creole mostly.

The following extract is one where Mr Dev was reprimanding Stevie for talking too much and telling him to keep quiet.

Extract 6.20: SKM 14.03.2014 (I 206-209)

- TEA: **res** trankil(...)to **koz** boukou(...)korek?to **koz** tro boukou(...)kan mo **koz** enn to fini ariv ziska z **tw**a{stay quiet (...) you speak too much (...) ok?you speak too much (...) when you say one thing you go to the last one already}
S2: **monsieur** guet li la{sir look at him}
S: **mo** koze kouma dir radio pekin {I speak like a Chinese radio}

KEY: TEA= Teacher; SS= Other children in classroom

To this, Stevie retaliated by saying that he spoke like a Chinese radio channel and laughing at his own joke. The extract below further highlights the usage of Creole within the informal domain. In it, Mr Dev joked in a playful tone with Piper, commenting that she was eating quickly, as otherwise he would take her bread from her. Piper turned to me to tell me that he was teasing them, to which I responded if she played with the teacher, in a playful tone.

Extract 6.21: PKM 04.03.2014 (I 597-601)

- RES: to manze vitvit? (...) (noise in the background as children seated around at the table talking)to manzevitvit?to **manze vitvit?monsieur pou pran to dipin?**(...) (noise in the background){you eat quickly? (...) (noise)you eat quickly?you eat quickly?the teacher will take your bread? (...)}
P: **Li pezwe**(...) {he is playing with us (...)}
RES: **li pe zwe?**(...) (noise in the background)to **zwe ar monsieur?** {is he playing? (...) you play with the teacher?}
P: **non**(...) (eating)li(...) {no (...) (eating)he (...)}

KEY: RES=Researcher; P=Piper

Therefore, it can be seen that whether it is in the formal or the informal domain, Mr Dev interacts mainly using Creole in the classroom and the students make use of Creole as well to interact with him in both domains.

6.3 Synthesis

What can be seen is in the formal domain, Miss Ariana navigates from using mainly French to teach, teaching even English using the latter. Creole is used by her only for specific purposes, when it is related mainly to instances where the affective domain comes forth. However, in the informal domain, she shifts more freely from using French to Creole to develop a stronger bond with her students. On the other hand, although Mr Dev compares very often to either French or English, he makes use of mostly, Creole both in the formal and informal domains. What can be noted is that although has been introduced within the multilingual educational system as an official optional language, Miss Ariana makes use of it only for specific cases, therefore translating her own language ideologies onto her students. Hence, we find a predominance of French used by her and which is mirrored by her learners when they interact with her in the formal domain. Although is used throughout in the KM classes, it is kept within that compartmentalised space and does not find its way into the formal domain within the teaching of other subjects except for specific purposes.

After having set up the three case studies now, the following part will fragment the analysis to enable deeper theoretical understandings to emerge.

PART THREE

Part One set up the study contextually, theoretically as well as methodologically while Part Two assembled the three case studies that were *re-presentations* of the data that had been produced with both the primary and secondary participants.

This Part Three draws this study to an end in a three-fold process. Chapter Seven constitutes a cross-comparative analysis of the data that had been represented in Part Two using the categories set up previously (Refer to Table One: Part Two) and puts forth possible interpretations that emanate from the analysis.

Chapter Eight links the interpretations that emerge from this comparative analysis with the existing literature to put forth a theoretical analysis for this study. Chapter Nine pulls the parts together to frame the thesis on the development of the linguistic repertoire of Mauritian primary school learners within the multilingual educational system.

Chapter Seven

Linguistic Repertoire of the Multilingual Learner

7.0 Orientation

This chapter throws light on how the linguistic repertoire of primary school learners is developed within multilingual educational systems. It seeks to bring forth possible interpretations to understanding the data. It does so by linking to the data represented in Part Two and offering a cross comparative critical analysis of the linguistic repertoires of Stevie and Piper, juxtaposing them with the repertoire of their two teachers, seeking to best understand *how* their linguistic repertoires develop within the multilingual educational system and *why* they develop the way they do. The same framework that was used initially to organise and present the data in Part Two will be used.

This chapter will be divided into a number of sections organised into different analytical categories already set up in Section 3.4.3. The first section will draw out a comparison between the portraits of the two participants of this study, Stevie and Piper and will be followed by that of the two secondary participants, notably the teachers, Miss Ariana and Mr Dev. As has been said previously in Chapter Three, this study has chosen to focus on the individuals rather than looking at the repertoire as being disassociated from the individual. Hence, taking this into account, the language users' portraits have been foregrounded in the first instance. This is also done as an attempt to tie down the linguistic analysis within the ethnographic analysis as understood by the methodological approach taken in this study.

In the remaining sections, the main analytical categories taken up in this study, namely the concepts of space and the concept of bodies, i.e, the speech interlocutors and the semiotised object/feature (Refer to Table 1: Part Two) are offered as frame to analyse what the linguistic repertoire of the learners are and how they develop. Thus, the second section will look at a comparison of the linguistic repertoire of the learners within their own world which is the informal domain with the different speech interlocutors they interact with. The third section deals with a chosen semiotised object/feature which shapes the linguistic repertoire of the participants (Refer to Table 1: Part Two). The fourth section will look at the linguistic repertoire of the learners within the formal domain.

Following the setting up of the possible interpretations in this chapter, the analysis will be further abstracted to a theoretical dimension where the emergent themes of the cross-case analysis will be

linked to the existent literature (as outlined in Chapters One and Two) on linguistic repertoire within multilingual educational systems, in Chapter Eight. The opening section below provides an ethnographic comparison between the portraits that were sketched of the primary participants, in so doing offering an analysis of the specific contextual backdrop influencing the linguistic repertoire of the learners.

7.1 Section One: Portraits

The portraits sketched below offer a contextual insight into how each participant was understood by me (as researcher) as well as their teachers (significant secondary participants in the study). This outlines the nature of the interpretative relations that were produced within the research site. This reflection consists of two sections: the first one drawing a comparison between the portrait of Stevie and Piper, whilst the second drawing a comparison between Miss Ariana and Mr Dev, the two main teachers of the learners as secondary participants of the study.

7.1.1 Comparison of Stevie and Piper's portraits

One of the main differences between Stevie and Piper was undoubtedly the presence of voice⁴⁷ in the classroom. Stevie was one of the loudest pupil in the classroom. He was also amongst those who participated in classroom interaction mostly, with his voice taking up many of the interactional acts within formal classroom interaction. It was also because of this that much of his interactional data has been produced within the formal domain. Piper, on the other hand was almost inexistent within the formal domain of classroom interaction. There was a clear absence of her voice when it came to formal interaction, and very rarely during those nine weeks of data production did I see her participate in formal classroom interaction. If she did, it was to be part of the chorus and to mime, read or answer in chorus as was the norm in the classroom, letting her voice be subsumed within that of the crowd. Unlike Stevie whose voice was loud and resonant when he took the floor when invited by his teachers to participate or when he participated without being invited, Piper never ventured an answer by herself. It was only when she was encouraged by

⁴⁷ Voice here should not be confused with this study's discourse analytical framework which is Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia and voice as has been defined in Section 3.4.3, Chapter Three. Voice as is used to describe Stevie's voice refers here to the volume of his voice and his loudness, whereas the discursive analytical framework sustains the notion of dialogicality within different discourses embedded within the discourse of an individual. Voice as referring to loudness is purely a language production matter whereas voice as referring to dialogicality within discourses is very much a sociological matter. In this analysis above, it is Stevie's loudness that is highlighted and not the dialogicality within the different discourses embedded. Voice as a discourse analytical framework is used later within Chapter Seven and Eight when analyzing how the learners' discourses are embedded with that of numerous institutional discourses.]

the teachers to participate, that her voice could be heard. Moreover in those instances, she tended to be very meek and hesitant.

As was reported before, Piper was very fearful of breaking the norms of the classroom, the rules and regulations of Miss Ariana. She tried to obey to all of them as much as she could and. Since one of those rules dealt with not talking or talking very quietly in the classroom, she would often whisper or mime when interacting in the classroom. Although he respected Miss Ariana and was well-behaved in classroom, Stevie was extremely talkative. Hence, Stevie did not think twice before breaking one of the classroom rules and regulations whereby the students were not allowed to talk in class. Unlike Piper, Stevie was very mobile in the classroom moving to and fro from one place to another, dancing around and making a lot of gestures with his body. Piper on the other hand would sit quietly and obey to instructions. It should be noted that Stevie came from a family which had a number of challenges, notably the unemployment of his parents, the alcoholism of his dad and domestic violence as encountered by his mother at the hands of his father. In contrast, Piper came from a more stable family with fewer issues. Her siblings attended the same school as her with each other looking after the other. Her parents worked; with her mother being a secretary who was very much concerned about her daughter's education. Although their family background did not necessarily influence their personality, however their linguistic repertoire was deeply ingrained within this contextual intricacy which differentiated the two of them. Stevie's disrespect of the rule to not talk in class and his violent behavior as described by his teachers at times, could be attributed to the fact that he came from a home where he witnessed violence and where the norms were impinged upon. Piper on the other hand, came from a family where her mother, who was concerned about her children's education, put a lot of emphasis on the respect of the norms, of rules and regulations. This perhaps explains why Piper went by all rules and regulations and Stevie broke them.

Although within the formal domain, Piper and Stevie were quite different as learners, within the informal domain they were both quite similar. Hence, once the bond between researcher-researched developed and I became part of their world, whether inside the classroom or outside, the similarities became evident. Consequently, both loved chatting with their classmates and playing with them although the types of play they would engage in would be different. Thus, many interactional acts of both were produced within these instances where the voice of both would be as resonant. However, where Stevie would be playing more active games such as wrestling,

fighting or playing football, Piper was more interested in playing with her sister at hide and seek or at games like hopscotch or the circle game. Yet, both enjoyed as much to chat with their classmates and teasing and playing around with me. When it came to my relationship with both of them, I shared very much the same type of camaraderie with both although Piper was a bit more possessive towards me since she was the first one I befriended in the field. Stevie took some time to get used to me but once he accepted me, I shared with him the same rapport that I shared with Piper.

What can thus be construed is that the two domains actually shape the behavior of the learners. It can be noted that in the formal domain, Piper and Stevie behave differently and their voices resonate differently as well impacting on the shaping of their linguistic repertoire. Alternatively, in the informal domain which is very much representative of their world which surrounds them, Stevie and Piper are similar in their ways of being as a young child.

The following section now will draw a comparison between the portraits of Miss Ariana, the GP as well as the EP teacher of the children and Mr Dev, their KM teacher.

7.1.2 Comparison of Miss Ariana and Mr Dev's portraits.

Miss Ariana was the GP teacher of the learners who also taught them most of the EP classes whereas Mr Dev was the KM teacher of the children. Although both teachers had just started working with Stevie and Piper, they were quite different in the way they approached their learners. Miss Ariana, who had already inculcated her own brand of classroom discipline had lesser issues with handling the class than Mr Dev had. One of the biggest differences in both was the way they handled Stevie. Thus, whereas in the class of Miss Ariana, Stevie was well-behaved, in the class of Mr Dev, Stevie was very boisterous, loud and cheeky. He was punished almost every day and made to stand in front of the classroom. He was reprimanded and labelled as a bad student by Mr Dev who did not lose one opportunity to go on a tirade against his rebellious behavior. Although Mr Dev had more years of teaching experience than Miss Ariana did, he himself admitted that he could not handle the children and was looking forward to when he would retire.

However, Mr Dev and Miss Ariana used similar teaching strategies when teaching. Hence, their class started with them explaining or modelling reading with the children repeating after them in chorus. When it came to reading, the strategy used was the same. Modelled reading was followed by a number of repeated chorus readings followed by an explanation of the reading text. This was done through the use of questioning and cuing, both inviting students to participate. Students

responded individually or in chorus and teachers would then give feedback. Hence, both teachers used the Initiation Response Feedback (IRF)⁴⁸ pattern when it came to formal instruction. However, they handled the diverse range of responses in a number of ways. Where Miss Ariana encouraged all students to participate fully and showed a better knowledge of the different needs of her learners; Mr Dev was often subdued by how much the students participated when he opened the floor for interaction and very quickly, he would reprimand the learners and put an end to their participation fearing it would lead to classroom management issues. He also did not appreciate the seating arrangements of the learners who sat in groups as per Ariana's instructions. He felt it posed problems to the management of his classroom.

Another way in which Mr Dev differed from Miss Ariana was the fact that he was seen as an outsider within the school community. Miss Ariana was the General Purpose teacher of the students and also part of the school community since some years already. Mr Dev on the other hand had just joined St-Marie primary school and was in the school only for some two hours in the day. His presence was thus transitory. This could be noted by his absence from the school on days there were extra-curricular activities. Although the Headmistress was very cordial with him, the bond she shared with Miss Ariana differed with the bond she had with him. As he did not stay in the school during any of the break times, there was hardly any informal interaction between him and the other members of the school community. Moreover, even between him and Miss Ariana who shared the same space, there was hardly any communication except a mere acknowledgement of each other's presence through a nod of the head. In the next section, we will look at the linguistic repertoire of the learner as it is shaped within the informal domain.

7.2 Section Two: Linguistic repertoire in the informal domain

As was indicated before (Chapters Four and Five) the informal domain comprises both of the space within and outside of the classroom when the learners interact informally. Since the theoretical lens set at the end of Chapter Two (Refer to Figure 2.4) embeds the linguistic repertoire of the learner within the other macroscopic layers within which it evolves and develops, it is deemed necessary in this study to look at this microscopic layer which constitutes the world of the learner first before looking at the outer layers. Most of the day of the learner is spent within the classroom and within the classroom, there is a world which is shaped as that of the learner and that is that of

⁴⁸Initiation-response-feedback, or IRF, is a pattern of discussion between the teacher and learner. The teacher initiates, the learner responds, the teacher gives feedback

the learner's desk. This space which is that of the learner is not a fixed one as the teacher reshuffles the children frequently to ensure that order is maintained in the class. As has been mentioned above, the very fact that the space which is attributed to the learner is constantly shifting, the child's power over that space is transitory. Moreover, the time that the learner spends at school is also essentially controlled by figure of authorities, namely the teacher within the classroom and the headmistress within the school. The learners are allotted only minimal amount of time to be free to shape their own world within the school. This time will be the time given to them during break times, two of which is taken in the classroom and which implies some form of control in one way or the other.

However, a close look at the microscopic world of the child shows us how not only the space allotted, but the time which is normally given to the child for classwork, is subverted through the different activities which moulds and is moulded by the linguistic repertoire of the child. During fieldwork, Stevie, being a very talkative boy, was made to shift space at different intervals therefore transiting within different spaces within the classroom. Yet, what remained fixed was the desk and the chair which made up of that space as all chairs and desks were built in the same shape. Therefore the child's desk and chair is highly representative of the space that is moulded by the child when he or she takes over the space allotted to him. Moreover, the other space which makes up the learner's world is the space is outside the classroom. Hence, the informal domain has been delineated in terms of these two spaces, the desk space as well as the space outside the classroom. However for the purpose of this section, the domain which is representative of what I call "the child's world" will be looked at as one domain irrespective of the space where the data was produced. One of the reason that there had been a delineation of space within the informal domain was because unlike Stevie, Piper's linguistic repertoire was recorded mainly outside the classroom. Stevie's repertoire on the other hand, came to shape within the classroom and he could not be recorded outside the classroom for the very simple reason that the activities he indulged in during play time made recording him impossible. Hence, in this section Piper and Stevie's repertoire will be compared within the informal domain and not the space. One of the main bodies which shape the learner's world and interactional acts within this domain is no doubt the classmates of both learners. The following section will look at the repertoire of Stevie and Piper with their classmates.

7.2.1 With peers

In the informal domain unlike the formal domain, where the repertoires of the learners were moulded in a very similar manner, the learners' linguistic repertoire was very much different. Therefore, it was noted that within this world, Stevie used mostly Creole to interact with his classmates irrespective of where he was and what he was talking about. The only rare instance of translanguaging that was noted when he interacted with his classmate was mainly because he was trying to humour his audience and indulging in linguistic play was one such way to bring in humour in his discourse. Nevertheless, throughout most of his utterances with his classmates, Stevie has made use of Creole. It can be argued that with his classmates Stevie felt no need to translanguage and as Creole was the language which belonged to all of them and the language in which he could best express himself; there was no need to use any other languages within his repertoire to make meaning.

However, unlike Stevie, it was noted that when Piper interacted with her classmates, she translanguaged at diverse instances and for very specific purposes. Hence, whether it is within the desk space or outside the classroom, with her classmates Piper moves to and fro from French to Creole for a number of purposes. When she needed to make a request, she used French but when she needed to affirm her authority, she made use of Creole. Whenever emotion, such as surprise or humour was brought in a conversation, she made use of Creole within her repertoire. Moreover, when she had to argue and scold her classmates, she shifted to using French within her repertoire. It was also noted that she used her repertoire flexibly to be able to make meaning in conversations where she did not have the French vocabulary at hand.

Whereas Stevie does not feel any need to translanguage when he is with his classmates as they all share the same repertoire, Piper feels the need to translanguage even with her classmates. This practice can be read in a number of ways. It can be argued that Piper knowing that her classmates express themselves with much ease in the informal domain mainly in Creole, shifts to Creole when she is interacting with them in an attempt to belong, through jokes that she cracks and also when she has to put herself forth as in cases where she imposes her authority in Creole. However, when she has to request something, Piper shifts to French. It is very interesting that she expects that by shifting to French, she can convince people to give her what she wants. It can be argued that within the lived experiences of this seven year old is entrenched the belief that French will be beneficial to her in an interaction and will help her get what she wants.

It was also noted that when she scolds her classmates, Piper used French. As was mentioned before, the influence of Miss Ariana is paramount when it comes to the development of the linguistic repertoire of the learners. It can be contended that Piper's voice mimics that of Miss Ariana when she scolds her classmates. Miss Ariana's voice permeates even within the informal domain within that of Piper. Consequently, one of the main arguments is that Piper who is very much a little girl who lets herself be moulded institutionally, allows the institutional voice to resonate within her voice even within a world where her voice is very much present and can be heard. Whereas Stevie identifies and associates himself mostly with Creole in this domain, Piper feels the need to bring in French at diverse instances associating herself with this shifting to and fro within her repertoire to put forth her own identity.

The next section will now look at the linguistic repertoire of both learners with another main body which influenced their interactional patterns, namely the researcher herself.

7.2.2 With researcher

Another body which moulded the linguistic repertoire within the informal domain myself as a researcher. What was noted was that although at the beginning of the fieldwork when I used to sit at the back of the class, Stevie would translanguage whenever he was interacting with me, as I became a part of his world and started sharing the desk space which he inhabited, Stevie, like with his classmates, used mostly Creole with me till the end of the fieldwork. Hence, as I started occupying his personal desk space, as my relationship with him developed and we became playmates, Stevie felt no more the need to use translanguage as a discursive practice with me. Where previously he associated me with the adult world forming part of the formal domain as his teachers, when I became his playmate and became associated with his own world, Creole with which he associated himself with was the language he used to interact with me.

On the other hand, Piper shifted to and fro within her repertoire at diverse instances when she interacted with me. In fact, translanguage was a common discursive practice that was noted in her repertoire, present from the start to the end of the fieldwork. Hence, Piper addressed me in the same manner as she addressed her classmates, moving to and fro from French to Creole to make meaning. Indeed, she did so for the same purposes as she did with her classmates. Requests were made in French whilst she affirmed her authority and gave orders by shifting to Creole within her repertoire. When she had to narrate any of her experience, she interacted in Creole whereas when she addressed topics such as the rules and regulations of the school, she made shifted to French

within her repertoire. Again it is argued that Piper sees French as the language which will get her what she wants and she also associates the language to the formal domain of the school. On the other hand, she could wield power by shifting to Creole, whether it was to give commands and make herself be heard loud and clear or when she would use it to talk about her own life. Within her repertoire hence what emerges is her own association of different domains to the different languages. Translanguaging in her case becomes a way of being as she shifts from French and Creole within her repertoire calling each forth for very specific purposes. It can be argued that in so doing, she very much mirrors, in a way the institutional practice of the teachers whom she fears and whose rules and regulations she obeys. In her, we then see a body that is moulded and shaped according to the institutional discourse where moving in and out of the different languages is done for very specific purposes. Piper's voice unlike that of Stevie resonates with the institutional voices.

What could be seen consequently, is that Stevie felt hardly any need to use translanguaging as a discursive practice in the informal domain whether it is with his classmates or with the researcher. The contours of his world thus is highly shaped by Creole through which he affirms his own identity. Nonetheless, this is not the case of Piper who feels the need to shift to and fro within her repertoire, calling upon the different resources at her disposal to put her being across. Translanguaging is her way of being, wherein she marries the usage of French and Creole to suit her purposes. We can again denote the power that French has in her world, which is almost absent in the world of Stevie. This presence which is vivid in her repertoire can be seen even when she addresses her siblings as will be highlighted in the following section.

7.2.3 With siblings

One very distinctive feature which shaped the linguistic repertoire of Piper was the presence of her two siblings who were in the same school as her and who would often meet with her during break times when she was outside of the classroom, a feature which is absent from the data produced with Stevie as he was recorded mainly within the realms of the classroom and not outside. As was seen, when Piper addressed her siblings, she shifted from French to Creole within her repertoire for very distinctive purposes. Piper gave instructions to Amy shifting to French, unlike to the cases when she was addressing her playmates. Moreover, orders were also given in French and unlike when she was interacting with her classmates, she used French to affirm her authority with Amy. Moreover, French was also used to deny claims and argue with her brother. It was also seen

that Julian and Amy (her siblings) also make use of their linguistic repertoire, similarly as Piper does. What was observed hence is the importance of French in the world of all three siblings notably when Piper affirms herself and her authority in French. As was argued before, Piper's voice mimics to great extent institutional voices which not only shape and mould her repertoire but which also shapes her own way of being.

The fact that this same type of repertoire is existent within the discourse of Julian whose primary schooling was about to reach an end and that of little Amy who had just joined her first year of primary schooling points to the fact that the institutional discourse of the school is not the sole discourse which has shaped the linguistic repertoire of Piper. Consequently, one possible interpretation to understanding how the linguistic repertoire of Piper develops the way it does is that the voice of Piper is also enmeshed with that of the family, which is one of the main institutions forming part of her environment. As was mentioned afore, Piper's mother who was a secretary was very much concerned about her education and wanted her children to be successful academically. We have already noted how Piper viewed French as being beneficial in a number of ways through the purposes that she chose to use it for within her repertoire. Piper's ideological beliefs about languages therefore can be said to be moulded not only by the school but it can also be stated that in Piper's voice, we can hear the voice and the way of being of her mother who is another institution who shapes the development of the linguistic repertoire of Piper. This interpretation will be further explored in the next section which deals with the semiotised object/feature which has emerged from the repertoire of both Stevie and Piper.

7.3 Section Three: Linguistic repertoire of Stevie and Piper and the semiotised object/feature

There was one feature which emerged from the data produced with Piper and Stevie that was recurrent. As a matter of fact, with the two learners it was seen that there was one semiotised object/feature which came out within their conversations. While much of the interactional data of Stevie had strands of his singing embedded within his repertoire, on the other hand Piper's linguistic repertoire was very often centered around a book. As mentioned before, songs form a large part of Stevie's repertoire and very often in classroom, during the time that was allotted to classwork or at the start of the class before the teacher settles down the class, he was humming songs to himself, sometimes in a low tone and sometimes in louder tones. What was noted was that most of the time it was during class hours when the teacher had stepped down from the centre of the class and was seated at her desk looking over them as they are working, he subverted the

norm of not talking whilst working and started humming to himself. In Chapter Four, the different songs he sang had already been categorised to the different genres⁴⁹ they belonged to and it had been seen that the sega, the religious song, seggae as well as songs forming part of the pop genre formed part of his repertoire.

It can be interpreted that the choice of singing religious songs using French or Creole within his repertoire brings within his voice, the voice of the Roman Catholic Church. As was told earlier (Refer to Chapter Four), Stevie attended Catechesis classes each Saturday and hence was taught to sing holy songs at the beginning and at the end of their class, songs which speak of their devotion to God and through these songs they are taught the word of God. These songs bring forth within his repertoire, both French and Creole. Within these instances, the institutional discourse of the Church permeate within his voice. It was also seen that Stevie chose at times to stage the song as a performance. In so doing, Stevie put forth his religious Catholic identity on display, at the same time, showing what he chose to be the main thrust of what made up his world to his audience. By staging the performance of a holy song, Stevie recontextualised the space of the classroom by turning it into an arena where he could affirm his religious identity, by shaping his linguistic repertoire accordingly. The classroom, although being a formal domain is thus a space which can be appropriated and recontextualised and shaped according to learners' identities and linguistic repertoires. It can be contended that these instances offer us glimpses into what constitutes the macroscopic layer of the child's world and how his linguistic repertoire translates this world.

It was also noted that one genre that came up within the repertoire was the seggae⁵⁰. What was noted within that instance was the style that he used to sing and how he stylised his repertoire to reappropriate the space of the classroom and affirm another thrust of his identity. When Stevie recontextualised, shaped and stylised this utterance by giving to it a Rastafari style he was in fact displaying to his audience another glimpse of his world. It can be argued that he put on display not only his religious Catholic identity but also his association with the Rastafari world, which shaped his linguistic repertoire. Hence, Stevie subverted the chrono-spatial arena within the boundaries of

⁴⁹ This study has made use of the discursive analytical framework of discourse genres and the concept of genres as understood by this study has already been set up in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3.

⁵⁰Seggae is a sub-genre of the sega which is a fusion of the sega and reggae which originated from Jamaica in the late 1960s. Seggae was invented in the 1980s by a local Mauritian Rastafari singer, known as Kaya who used to campaign for the rights of the Mauritian Creole population and died when he was put in jail in 1999, causing heavy riots in the country. He was himself inspired by Bob Marley, a Jamaican Rastafari singer.

the classroom. Bending these boundaries, he shaped the contours of his world and represented himself and his own world, using his linguistic repertoire as he did.

Moving on, the subgenre that was recurrent and which was really very vivid within his repertoire was the use of sega as has been stated afore. Most of the data which has been produced with him found him humming and singing the sega, in a low tone whilst he is doing his classwork. Unlike when he put up on display his religious Catholic identity as well as his association with the Rastafari world, instances of sega within his repertoire just came up out of nowhere offering glimpses into his world and reality.⁵¹ Consequently it can be argued that within those instances when the sega shapes his linguistic repertoire, Stevie was subverting the traditional normativity of the time and space allotted to classroom work by those who have the power and shaping it within the contours of what made up his own world. Within these different instances which have emerged within his repertoire, it is seen that how within the microscopic layer of institutional discourse and institutional activities dictated by normativity, the macroscopic layer is shaped by what makes up the child's world and this is heard within the voice of the child. In Stevie's case, sega as a genre and as a voice resonates powerfully within those layers.

It was also observed that pop culture was enmeshed within the repertoire of Stevie through his choice of songs. These instances when his voice brings in an element of pop culture in the class demonstrated the thrust of what his own macroscopic world is made of. It can thus be affirmed that by bringing into intersection the space of the Mauritian classroom with the world of popular culture, Stevie creates another space which is the globalised space, wherein English as well as Portuguese are interweaved within his repertoire.

It can be argued that these voices, apart from the voice which emanates from the Roman Catholic Church, voices which resonated within his voice shapes not only an understanding of his world but stems from the world that he originates, the environment which surrounds him. This is the

⁵¹The sega is atypical to islands within the Indian Ocean and is described as one of the major music genres of Mauritius. The sega is viewed as being the emblematic music of Mauritius and any image of Mauritius that is broadcasted to the world of tourism features the sega as a part representing its culture. The sega's origins is embedded within slavery and it is believed that the slave populations of the island created it as a form of expressing the injustices done against them by the colonisers. Although there is no concrete proof to it, it is believed to have strands of African culture of the slaves who came to the island. Looked down in the past by the Roman Catholic church due to its association with sexuality, it is only in the 1960s that it became one of the most popular music genres of the island, adopted by all irrespective of ethnicity and emblematic of Mauritianhood.

voice of another institution, the media. Consequently, it can be argued that the media's voice resonates in Stevie's voice. The choice of media however, speaks volume of his lived experiences. As mentioned before, Stevie should be seen as a historical body carrying with him his life experiences with him and a child's lived experiences as well as his linguistic repertoire is very often shaped and moulded by the institutions in which he interacts, the two main ones being the family and the school. Therefore, it can be argued that the voice of media is interweaved with the voice of the family in which he was born into and which frames his existence. Within the macroscopic layer therefore, the family's voice resonates in the form of the media that the family of Stevie chooses to be surrounded with.

In the case of Piper, it can be seen that Piper's world also has a recurring semiotised object around which much of her linguistic repertoire is shaped. As set out in Chapter Five, at various instances, during data production with Piper, she brought in a book which she was trying to read within the speech act. Books very much shape Piper's world and even when she was not allowed to read them, she propped them under the desk and went through them as the teacher was teaching in the background, therefore subverting the chrono-spatial arena of the classroom as Stevie did but in a less obtrusive manner. Piper was surrounded and brought in her world different types of books, which she either took from the book corner or brought from home. As was mentioned before (Chapter Three), the book corner comprised only of English and French books which translate Miss Ariana's ideologies about the languages' importance. It can be stated that the book corner in the classroom where Stevie and Piper evolved was emblematic of literacy, the skill of reading but it also resonated with the institutional discourse as the choices of books already shaped not only the linguistic repertoire but the world of the students who took the books to either go through them or decipher them for reading purposes.

It has been seen that most of the times Piper was seen manipulating a book taken from the book corner and most of the books that she manipulated were language teaching books (Chapter Five). Hence, the choice of books within the book corner was in itself very emblematic as the books were chosen to teach language indirectly to the learners in English and French, again representational of strands of institutional pedagogical discourses which were proponents of print rich environments to teach literacy to learners. Within Piper's voice then is enmeshed the institutionally pedagogical discourse. It can therefore be said that Piper's individual discourse is shaped by institutional discourses as their voices blend within hers.

Apart from the books that were found in the book corner, when initially I would bring in class books to trigger interaction, Piper, wanting to show me that she had books at her place as well, brought to class a book from home, which she wanted to read for me. The book was in French and was the fairy tale, Little Red Riding Hood. The fairy tale as a genre is used very often in acquainting children with reading at an early age, with children being read fairy tales as bed time stories. This is a very Europeanised concept which is embedded within institutional discourse as story books including fairy tales are thought to be interesting and creative ways to engage the child with reading. The book corner also contained a number of fairy tales which Piper brought in during our interaction, getting me to read her the story of the Three Bears and the porridge. However, what is interesting is that this fairy tale that she brings comes from her home and is a gift that was given to her by her mother. As contended previously, it can be interpreted that Piper's linguistic repertoire is shaped by that of her mother. Therefore, the book, which shapes the contours of Piper's world as the song shapes the contours of Stevie's world, conjures up the voice of her mother within her own voice.

It can be thus argued that Piper's world is institutionally moulded as was Stevie's with her mother being a very important symbolical figure in her world⁵². If Piper's world is constructed by her mother's presence in her life, then her repertoire which moulds her world and is moulded by her world carries strands of her mother's voice within it. This interpretation will be fully substantiated in Chapter Eight wherein the interpretations brought forth will be tied down with the literature. As has emerged within her data, Piper's world is centered around obeying rules and regulations. Piper's world is centered around the belief that French is important and beneficial and will allow her to get what she wants. Piper's world is centered around books, which bring into play the importance of English and French in her repertoire. It can be contended that these underlying ideologies and beliefs resonant in her voices are the voices of those people who valourise the importance of French as well as English which are seen as being the prestigious languages attached

⁵² The influential roles of significant sources in the life of the child is intended to be resonant with the characterisation of the fluidity and multifaceted nature of influence of a socially evolving growing linguistic repertoire. It is not intended to characterise this influence as a form of psycho-analytical directive force. However, this latter directive would generate another possibility of future exploration of how linguistic repertoires theory could possibly contribute to theories of holistic developmental psychology. This form of analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis.

with education. This interpretation will be looked at more in depth in the Section 7.4 as well as in Chapter Eight.

As was contended in Chapter Two, this study takes an ecological stance to looking at the linguistic repertoire of learners and sees the classroom as being an ecosystem, one of the microscopic layer within which there are multiple other layers. Taking this notion further, it can be claimed that within the learner's world, the learner's repertoire comes into being through the interplay of institutional discourses which shape the world of the learners, the main one being the institution of family, and this study therefore sets up the concept of this repertoire as being the **environmental repertoire** of the learner. It is understood by this that each individual learner comes to class with a repertoire of his/her own which will be called in this study as the **environmental repertoire**. Whereas in Stevie's case, most of his repertoire when he is interacting with his classmates as well as with the researcher is shaped in Creole, Piper when she is addressing either her classmates, the researcher or her siblings moves to and fro from Creole and French within her repertoire for specific purposes. It can be argued that Stevie is surrounded mainly with Creole in his environment with media, as an institution finding its way in his repertoire bringing forth the different genres of songs and the rare instances of mixity and hybridity in his repertoire. On the other hand, it can be argued that Piper stems from a family where French is well perceived and where there is an interplay of French and Creole, therefore explaining its presence in her own discourse. Unlike Stevie's repertoire where the voice of media is very much present, within that of Piper the institutional discourse of school is ever present even in the informal domain and this concurs with the family discourse. Consequently, the microscopic layer of both learners denotes the environment and the society to which they belong and depict how they both shape and construct their world and reality using the different linguistic resources that form part of what in this study I have called as being '**environmental repertoire**'. In the following section, it will be looked at how the **environmental repertoire** with which the learners come to class is further shaped by numerous factors that are present within multilingual educational systems and how the **linguistic repertoire** of the learner develops.

7.4 Section Four: Linguistic repertoire in the formal domain

This section will analyse the linguistic repertoire as it has been shaped and presented in the formal domain in Part Two. The formal domain is the macroscopic layer which surrounds the children and in this study, is represented in the three types of classes which the learners have: namely the

KM class, the Catechesis class and the EP class. Before drawing a cross comparison between the learners' linguistic repertoire, this section will draw a comparison between the three different types of classes that the formal domain comprised of. All of these classes were conducted in the same classroom.

The classroom is the same physical space within which the students find themselves most of the time within the day and it is no doubt one of the main elements which shape the interaction and hence the linguistic repertoire of its inhabitants. The classroom is a space which has been historically constructed and which constructs patterns and norms for those who occupy it; the linguistic repertoire is not only shaped by it but shapes it as well. An ecological perspective of classrooms is adopted for this study as it is seen as a world of its own inhabited by many worlds which come together, crashing and colliding at times into each other and at times blending together. Therefore the classroom can be viewed as being an ecosystem. This can be perceived as being the microscopic layering within which there are multiple layers and which is in turn embedded within other layers.

A classroom is far from being a neutral space and the classroom in which this study was conducted was not an exception. Within this space, the language which remained fixed throughout was English. This was so as pedagogically, teachers made use of posters and other displays of written English to ensure that their students could visually recognise the different vocabulary items in English. Thus, what came out vividly at a glance was how the classroom space was constructed in a linguistically hierarchical manner.

The linguistic hierarchy was quite evident when the construction of the classroom space was looked into. Most of the signs/displays which were fixed to the wall were in English such as the body parts poster, the map of Mauritius, the days of the week and the numbers written in English. There were fewer visual signs of French within the classroom and no display related to KM at all. The supremacy of English within the linguistic landscape therefore was highly evident. Posters which were meant to assist with specific lessons during the term and were temporarily used, such as mathematical poster of shapes or verbs, were in English indicating the supremacy of the language within the linguistic landscape. As was seen the whiteboard was shaped according to the contents of the lesson taught and thus, it was observed that there was a to and from usage of both English and French on the whiteboard as the teacher moved from teaching French to teaching other subjects in English. French was therefore the language of instruction used to teach. Moreover, as

was stated in Chapter Three, books often found their way to the children's desk with the presence of the book corner in the classroom, thereby shaping the linguistic repertoire of Piper and Stevie. What was to be noted was the choice of books that were made for the book corner. There were books only in English and French and none in KM. It is thus argued that the classroom space is constructed bilingually, with English and French sharing the space within semiotically. There is a total absence of any signs/displays/books in KM, despite the fact that KM has been given an official space within the education system and is taught in the same classroom.

Indeed, if one looked at how the space was created one can note the non-fixity element of the space given to KM. Within the children's time-table there was one slot of fifty minutes which was allocated to the teaching of KM which was taken up by another teacher who had been trained especially in the teaching of KM. As was said previously (Chapter One), most primary school learners are mother tongue speakers of Creole. However, during the slot which was reserved to the teaching of the optional language namely the Asian/ Oriental/ Arabic languages⁵³ as well as KM, the children from other ethnic backgrounds are channeled to other classrooms. Since the majority of the children belonged to the Creole ethnic community, they stayed in their usual regular classroom. Hence, the space that was used for their other classes, notably English, French and the other subjects was "lent" for fifty minutes to another teacher as the GP teacher stepped out during those fifty minutes. The KM teacher then took over the space given to him. The KM teacher made use of only the textbook that was available and the board to visually display the language to the children. There were no KM books available in the book corner. The teaching of KM was therefore conducted within the semiotic landscape which had already been moulded accordingly by the GP teacher. Whenever she was present in the class, the power of the one who controlled that space shifted more to Miss Ariana than to Mr Dev. She also had the power to re-appropriate that space when Mr Dev was not present and conduct Catechesis classes as was the case once.

Thus, the classroom space was already constructed for the teaching of the EP classes which had as ethos to enhance the teaching of the subjects and topics conducted during the day although these classes were also optional for the learners. However it could be seen that most of the learners stayed back after school hours to benefit from these classes. On the other hand, despite being optional, many students, belonging to the different ethnic communities than those from the Creole

⁵³As was noted previously, each primary school learner opted to learn an optional language which was often associated to their ethnic belonging

ethnic community could not opt to learn KM as an optional language. Hence their parents had already chosen a language which was associated with their ethnicity. Being slotted together with the Asian/Oriental/Arabic languages, KM despite being the mother tongue of most of the learners was therefore associated with the Creole ethnic community. Hence, the classroom space could be read as a space where the core subjects such as English, French, and Mathematics had much more importance than KM. To speak in terms of linguistic hierarchy, it was clear that the classroom space was dominated by English and French, the two languages which had more status within the educational system with KM being completely inexistent within that landscape. This speaks volumes about the status it had for those who constructed that space on which they had power, notably the GP teachers.

The following section now will compare the linguistic repertoire of Stevie and Piper in the KM class.

7.4.1 In the KM Class

The KM class is one space within the formal domain which has shaped the linguistic repertoire of both Stevie and Piper. Creole is the mother tongue of both children and thus their parents have opted for them to learn the language when it was introduced in the educational system of Mauritius to be taught as an optional language. What was noted in both cases as illustrated in Chapters Four and Five was that within the KM class, both Stevie and Piper used mostly Creole throughout with Mr Dev their teacher. It can be argued that within the KM class, the learners felt no need to use either French or English as they could best express themselves in their mother tongue. They therefore felt no need to translanguage to be able to make meaning. Moreover, it was also seen that even their teacher used mostly Creole with them in most interactional patterns which influenced the way their own linguistic repertoire was moulded.

However, as illustrated previously in extracts (Refer Extract 4.3 & 4.4), the only time Stevie made usage of French and English within his repertoire whilst interacting with Mr Dev, related to instances of linguistic play. Since in the formal domain of the KM classroom, Creole was used mostly and was a normal, common practice Stevie, when he wanted to bring attention to himself could not do so using Creole. Hence, this explains the two rare instances when he shifted using either English or French within his repertoire to catch the attention of Mr Dev. As stated before, Stevie was very loud and boisterous and rebellious in the class of Mr Dev. Indulging in such linguistic play was one of the strategies he used to challenge the authority of Mr Dev. This

linguistic play was not accidental. The choice to translanguage and include French and English to subvert the authority of Mr Dev showed how the discourse of Mr Dev, in valourising Creole by undermining the other languages had shaped the repertoire of Stevie. The mocking discourse of Stevie, hence, put into question the very power of the KM teacher. Consequently, it can be claimed that Stevie very often subverted the power dynamics within the KM classroom, enjoying the power he could hold over the teacher as he was fully at ease within his repertoire and could allow himself to challenge the teacher.

Piper unlike Stevie hardly participated in the class. In fact she could hardly be heard in the KM class. During most of the KM classes in which I observed her, Piper would either participate with the chorus by giving chorus answer or participate only when the teacher sought her out. In most of the KM classes observed, she had a book propped under her desk through which she would go through as the teacher would be teaching, most of which were either in English or French. It should also be stated that although she did not participate much and did not challenge the authority of Mr Dev, Piper was more at ease with him and openly displayed affection for him in the forms of hugs or responses to his teasing. Hence, she associated him with being playful, in a way seeing in him a playmate with whom she could interact with on an informal level (Refer to Extract 6.22). It can be put forth that one of the reasons she could do so was because she interacted with him using Creole mainly and through it could establish a closer and more informal bond with him than when she shifted to either French or English within her repertoire.

It can thus be argued that the KM teacher's power is undermined by the learners because they associate him with KM. Not only do they have control over the language that they use with him in their discourse but the language itself carries association which is reflected through the way that both interact with him, whether it is to subvert his power or to associate him to the informal arena. Creole is the language over which they not only have control but which they use and associate within their day-to-day communication. Moreover, the KM teacher's authority is all the more undermined due to the semiotic landscape of the KM classroom. The total absence of any fixed displays of KM, of any story books in KM and the transitory aspect of that shifting space which was lent and then claimed back denotes the transitory power and authority that the KM teacher has himself.

This was clearly seen when Miss Ariana came in the classroom while Mr Dev was in the classroom. The moment she stepped in the classroom, she conjured authority by questioning who had messed

the classroom. There was a shift in power that very moment as all the students shifted to using French with her within the instant that she was in class. Notably, Stevie's translanguaging practice at that instance demarcated the tension within the class in terms of the power. The very fact that he felt the need to interact in French again shows the demarcation of power and authority. Power and authority was associated with Miss Ariana and not Mr Dev when the two came together and power and authority was associated to languages within the classroom space that they inhabited. Within that classroom space within the multilingual educational system, KM was compartmentalised in a separate box. Although being part of the classroom, part of the ecology, it did not have any fixity as did the other languages. Although space had been created for the teaching of KM, this space was constantly in the eye of conflict. This can be seen by the fact that Mr Dev, in each of his class, referred to English and French to remind the learners of how easy KM was since it was their mother tongue. In so doing, he sought to affirm the power of the L1 and claim authority at the same time since he was teaching the L1. He would also undermine the other languages notably highlighting the linguistic barrier of the students by referring to the fact that they had a harder time to understand things in English than in KM (Refer Extract 6.19). At other times, he compared KM to the other languages to show that KM was also to be valourised like the other languages since it had similar grammatical features as those present in English and French. In so doing, it can be claimed that Mr Dev was also trying to shape the attitudes that the students attached to the languages. He did so so that the learning of KM could be valourised and therefore his identity as KM teacher could be valued as well. Dev's continuous attempts to valourise KM by undermining French and English or by comparing it to French and English can therefore be read alongside this lack of fixed space that the language he taught has and therefore that he himself had. Attempts to empower the language were in fact attempts to empower his own self and valourise his own linguistic repertoire within the KM classroom, which in turn moulded the linguistic repertoire of Stevie and Piper in the classroom.

The following section will draw a comparison of the linguistic repertoire of the Stevie and Piper within the formal domain of the Catechesis class.

7.4.2 In the Catechesis Class

During my fieldwork I attended only one Catechesis class which was conducted the day that Mr Dev was absent from work. Miss Ariana who had the power to reappropriate that space and shape it accordingly did so by changing the KM space into the Catechesis class space. It should be

highlighted that in many Roman Catholic Aided schools which are administered by the BEC, primary school learners who belong to the Creole ethnic community are taught Catechesis on Saturdays as is the case in St-Marie primary school. Although I attended only one Catechesis class during the time when the KM teacher had not yet joined the school, the teacher very often used that slot available to teach Catechesis so the learners would not sit idle. It can thus be argued that this space is a very ideological one which can be associated with ethnicity. As put forth before (Refer to Chapter One), the introduction of KM, which is the mother tongue of most Mauritians, as an optional language deepened its association with ethnic belonging. KM was not introduced as the mother tongue but as an optional language taught at the same time as the Asian/Oriental/Arabic. As has been indicated previously (Refer to Chapter One) before, the primary school learner had to opt for an additional language when he/she started his/ her primary schooling and very often the language chosen was associated with the ethnic belonging of the learner. Until the introduction of KM, the Creole ethnic community had had no languages which could represent their ethnicity in the educational system and therefore, the introduction of KM reinforced that ethnic association. Unlike Stevie who attended regularly Catechesis classes on Saturdays or when it was held in the place of KM classes, Piper did not follow Catechesis class. As was highlighted in Piper's portrait, Piper was not Roman Catholic and had not been baptised. She was a member of the Jehovah's Witness and despite being Christian, was not Catholic. Hence, whenever there were Catechesis classes, Piper and another of her classmate who were not Catholics would move from their places and sit at the back of the class and be left free to do whatever they wanted whilst Ariana did her class, separating them from the other Christians who were Catholics in the class. Piper and her classmate would not do Catechesis as they were not part of the Catholic community. As observed before, Stevie who participated most of the times, was very active also in the Catechesis class, participating fully with his voice resounding in the class. An onlooker over the religious practices of her classmates, Piper could not participate in any activity within that class and stayed silent in the sidelines observing them. It can be argued that Piper is an outsider within the Roman Catholic educational system she inhabits and this is accentuated by the total absence of her voice, in fact her invisibility within such a space.

It should be noted though that although this space was re-appropriated from being the KM space to the Catechesis space, where Miss Ariana even made use of Creole to interact with the learners (Refer to Extract 4.6), Stevie maintained the use of French within his repertoire not shifting to

using any other languages within his repertoire. Although the space is a reappropriated space and is a shifting space, what can be argued in such instances, it is not the space that shapes the linguistic repertoire of Stevie. It is instead the interlocutor, namely who influences the interactional act. The presence of Miss Ariana is a catalyst to determining how the linguistic repertoire of Stevie will be shaped irrespective of the space in which the interaction occurs. Another factor which also shapes indirectly the repertoire of Stevie within the formal domain of the Catechesis class is the Roman Catholic Church. In Mauritius, the Roman Catholic Church has a strong historical association with French, with English being used minimally. Although, many Catechesis classes are conducted through the use of Creole and French both, French still has an upper hold due to the status that is attached to it.

Hence, where Piper is invisible and voiceless within this formal space, Stevie's voice resonates with remnants of the institutional voice of the Roman Catholic Church. The catalytic influence that Miss Ariana represents will be looked at in more details in the following section which draws a comparison between the linguistic repertoire of Piper and Stevie in the formal domain of the EP Class.

7.4.3 In the Enhancement Programme Class.

As said before, Miss Ariana acts as a catalyst when it comes to shaping the linguistic repertoire of both Stevie and Piper within the formal domain of the EP classes. Moreover, what can be noted is that whether it is Miss Ariana, Miss Veronica or Mr Alain, the main language which forms part of their linguistic interaction when teaching in the classroom is French. Most of the teaching and whole class interaction whether it is asking the students questions to get them to respond and interact around a topic, whether it is story telling activities or whether it is explaining something, the linguistic repertoire of the teachers comprises of French (Refer to Extracts 6.1-6.5). This in turn moulds the linguistic repertoire of Piper and Stevie who shift from Creole to French within their repertoire mainly to engage with their teachers during whole classroom interaction, in the formal domain of the EP Classes. The teacher, therefore is one of the main bodies that shape the linguistic repertoire of the learner, irrespective of whether the teacher is in the classroom or not.

Furthermore, both Piper and Stevie made use of the discursive practices of translanguaging and safetalk when they interacted within the formal domain of the EP classes. Unlike the KM class, where both learners can make use of Creole only to make meaning with their teacher, the very fact that their teacher makes mostly use of French to interact with them shapes the linguistic repertoire

of the learners accordingly. In an attempt to interact with their teachers, Stevie and Piper both adapt their linguistic repertoire to suit their audience, creating this translangual space which is an assemblage of the different resources within their repertoire to be able to make meaning. This is done as they cannot express themselves in French with the same ease that they do in Creole. Therefore, they negotiate the space by shifting to and fro French and Creole to make themselves understood in the formal domain. Translanguaging, thus is a necessity to make one's voice be heard within such a domain.

However as declared before, Piper's voice was almost absent from the formal arena of the EP class. Stevie, unlike Piper, participated much within the formal domain of the EP classes and within his utterances glimpses of that translangual space created by him could be seen. Although, Stevie used the different linguistic resources at his disposal for a number of purposes, at times to linguistically play during his interaction with his audience as was noted in the KM class, he translanguaged mainly to co-construct meaning with those with whom he was interacting in the EP classes. It can therefore be argued that translanguaging is a discursive practice which enables Stevie to be an active participant in classroom discourse at different levels, whether it is within formal classroom interaction or informal asides with his teachers.

It has to be advanced though that this discursive practice used by Stevie as well by Piper the very rare times she did participate within the formal domain is not well seen. In fact, Miss Ariana very often, complained about the fact that the students could not speak correct French. It can be argued that this discourse about correct and incorrect speech and expectations to have learners speak proficiently French as first language speakers stems from the monolingual discourse of pitching the multilingual against the monolingual (Refer to Chapter One). Very often, Miss Ariana admonishes them for the fact that they do not speak French correctly and hence, this move of creating that translangual space is not one which she encourages but one which she firmly discourages as she attempts to get the learners to use the resources available to them as separate languages.

Indeed, whether it is Miss Ariana or Miss Veronica or Mr Alain, the teachers who teach EP classes, use their repertoire in a very significant way, shaping at the same time the attitudes of the learners towards the different languages. As was noted before, all three use mainly French to interact with their learners within the formal domain, using the other two languages for very specific purposes. Hence, both Miss Ariana and Miss Veronica who have to teach English as well as the other content

subjects in English, navigate between French and English within their repertoire during whole classroom interactions, thereby moulding the linguistic repertoire of their learners. Indeed, when it comes to teaching English they teach it using French, using English to teach lexical items, chunks of languages or drill sentences in English to get the learners to interact with them in English. Therefore, the teaching of English is not conceived without the existence of French. In so doing, the teachers are opting for safetalk as a discursive practice, and this practice is mirrored to a great extent in the linguistic repertoire of their learners. According to Chimbutane (2011, p.87), safetalk strategies include “group chorusing and clued elicitation”. Chick and Horngerger (2001, p.41) further go on to argue that safetalk as language practice does not necessarily entail a language barrier issue, at the core these language practices may be ‘culturally or institutionally’ embedded. Hence, Stevie and Piper make use of English only in ways that they have been taught to do so, that is through chorus repetition of lines or filling in oral gap exercises or answering through chunks of languages they have been drilled into beforehand. Therefore, the teachers’ voices are mirrored in their own voices within the arena of the classroom. It can be argued that this then explains the minimal usage of English within the repertoire of the learners as English is taught through French. It is also observed that neither teachers make use of Creole within their repertoire when teaching, except in specific cases as highlighted before (Refer Extracts 6.7-6.11). This is done either to lay emphasis on something or get a learner who is not able to talk to respond, or in asides to joke or reprimand the students for misbehaving. Therefore, this language avoidance strategy reveals in certain ways the attitudes of the teachers towards the use of Creole in the classroom and what values they personally assign to the language. Indeed when asked by Piper if the poem that had been given to read was in English in extract (Refer Extract 5.5), Miss Veronica answered very sarcastically, saying that it was in Creole. The usage of sarcasm to pun on Creole translates her attitude towards its usage within the classroom. It can thus be contended that the teachers look down upon the usage of Creole as a formal language of instruction, despite it being their own mother tongue as this is the language they communicate in informally when chatting with their colleagues.

In so doing, this ideology is also ingrained within the linguistic repertoire of the learners as it is observed that the learners refrain from interacting with their teacher in KM. When they do so, they translanguage, shifting to and fro from French and Creole to make meaning, even when they are addressed in Creole. Unlike their learners, the teachers use the languages within their repertoire

for very specific purposes, keeping the usage of these languages in the formal domain separate. Unlike the children who create the translingual space to be able to make meaning, it can be argued that the teachers do not opt for translanguaging but instead for code-switching, tending to associate and attribute specific roles and functions to the different languages within their repertoire. Hence, it is found that the language with which they associate themselves as well as their teaching is mainly French, although English is the official medium of instruction of the educational system. It can be argued that the linguistic supremacy of French within the voices of the teachers of St-Marie Primary RCA School concords with the voice of the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, it should be reminded that the school which forms part of the ecosystem in which Stevie and Piper interact is also a Roman Catholic Aided School. As has been observed, the repertoire of Stevie and Piper comprises of French within the formal arena when they interact with their teachers whose own repertoires comprise of French. Both English and KM are taught in relation to French. It is put forth that the space of the Roman Catholic aided school is seen a historically constructed space from which patterns, which are historically embedded, emerge. Consequently, the usage of French within the repertoire of the teachers as well as the learners usage which is highly encouraged by the school should be read historically. Indeed, the usage of French within the linguistic repertoire of the ecosystem under observation has been historically constructed into this system.

As mentioned above, the school is administered by the BEC and not the government, although the strands of institutional discourse embedded within the discourse within the school partly stem from the state, through the presence of English. As reported earlier (Chapter Three) the BEC is narrowly related to the Roman Catholic Church, and all schools that are administered within the BEC system has a strong focus ‘to generate a challenging, authentic educational environment, faithful to the Catholic tradition of offering a synthesis of faith and culture’ (BEC; n.d).

Although there is no clear mention of which language is preferred within the system in regards to catering for education, a reading of the language practices used on the BEC website as well as the Roman Catholic Diocese of Port-Louis shows a strong inclination to the usage of French with English being used minimally within the discourse on the BEC website to disseminate basic descriptive information about the BEC. This clear preference of French by the Roman Catholic Church should be read historically, going back to the period when the island was occupied by the French and the French missionaries were sent to the island in 1722. Private schools were then created by Abbé Challan and Abbé Quinlan in 1771 and 1778 respectively in which the medium

of instruction was French. These schools were created to cater to the education of the children of the white French population (Prithipaul, 1976; Ramdoyal,1977). Although these schools did not exist for a long time and were replaced by schools governed by the state at that time, this marked the start of what would later lead to the linguistic complexity of the island. As mentioned earlier in the study (Refer Chapter One), when the British took over the island, they allowed the French to maintain their religion, laws and culture and embedded within this discourse was also the language of the French colonisers who continued to stay in the island despite the fact that the country was governed by the British.

Within that period, the Catholic Church not only was concerned with the religion of the population, but also with imposing the French language within the island as well. Consequently, it was an attempt to convert the population to the religion by making use of French and disseminating Catholic education through this medium. Although, with the coming years, education disseminated through English took a strong hold on the educational system of the island and became the medium of instruction, the policy of allowing French to maintain its hold within the island was decisive in creating the landscape of the island. French, the language used and advocated since the nineteenth century by the Roman Catholic church, the first language of the descendants of the French colonisers who still live in the island and have an economical hold on the private sector of the island, is seen by the Mauritian population as a language which carries a strong social prestige.

Moreover, although BEC has for long advocated the introduction of KM within the educational system and has been the first to come forward with the Prevokbek project where KM is used as medium of instruction for those who are having difficulties with learning within the educational system, the very fact that it is used not with the students of the mainstream but those who are struggling, it can be understood that KM is meant only to be used to get the learners to transfer the cognitive skills in the other two languages, French and English. Hence, although the BEC has strongly advocated the implementation of KM within the educational system, it does not undermine the importance of the other languages which are still viewed as being the ladder to economic success, and it has placed a lot of emphasis on offering more opportunities to the population which are suffering from poverty, the power of both English and French is all the more unquestionable within this strand of institutional discourse.

This therefore explains the linguistic make-up of the ecosystem under study. Mrs Suzy is indeed in favour of using the mother tongue within the educational system (Refer to Chapter Three) and

Miss Ariana does acknowledge that the mother tongue of many of the learners who come to school is Creole and that those who are weaker can be advantaged educationally because of the implementation of KM in the educational system (Refer to Chapter Six). However this discourse can be read within the discourse that KM as a language should only be used for a specific purpose. In the discourse of both, it is understood that KM has only a utilitarian purpose and can serve only those who are *weak* within the educational system. Moreover, they both speak of the usage of French to get the learners to move from French to English. French is seen as being the language which mediates learning and as was noted, both KM and English was taught in relation with French. Consequently, one can read the presence of French within the repertoire of Stevie and Piper as being very much historically embedded within the voice of the Roman Catholic Church of the island.

Thus, what could be noted is that within the formal domain of the EP classes, the voices of the learners are very much enmeshed with institutional discourses. In the case of Piper, an absence of voice is noted. This silence is also very much institutional in nature with the school being one of the grounds where the voices of learners are silenced in the formal domain and where their voices are moulded to parrot the discourse of the institution which Hornberger & Ricento (1996, p.415) define as being “permanent socially constituted systems by which and through which individuals and communities gain identity, transmit cultural values, and attend to primary social needs” therefore forming part of what constitutes a social context. In the case of the educational system where the learners’ linguistic repertoire is developing, it could be noted that when their voices were heard the voices concurred with the discourse of the Roman Catholic Church with remnants of the state’s voice finding itself in their voices. Hence, discursive practices which were used by the learners to navigate within the formal arena was either absence of voice or mimicking the discourse of the crowd and translanguaging to be able to make meaning in interactional acts. After having looked at how the linguistic repertoire of the learners develop in the formal domain and why they develop the way they do, the next section will synthesise the main interpretations put forth in this chapter.

7.5 Synthesis

What is emerging from a cross comparative analysis of the data produced with both learners is that within the informal domain the linguistic repertoire of both learners were different with Stevie using KM to interact with most of his speech interlocutors whilst Piper shifted to and fro from

using KM to using French for different purposes. Through a cross comparative analysis of the data produced with both learners with the recurrent semiotised object/feature in the repertoire of both, it was understood that the repertoire of both learners were shaped by the environment. This analysis has led to the coining of the term ‘**environmental repertoire**’. It has been argued that the environmental repertoire of the learner is shaped mainly by the institutions which inhabit it, and they come to class with their **environmental repertoire** which is in turn shaped by other factors present within the multilingual educational system within which they evolve. In the case of Stevie, it has been found to be that of the family and media whereas in the case of Piper, it has been found to be that of the family and school which explains the way of being of Piper. As Piper has been taught to abide by rules and regulations and to behave according to the norm, her voice is almost absent within the formal domain as it is a domain where she has been taught that she should not put forth her voice.

Moreover, it has been found that in the formal domain of the classroom, both learners’ linguistic repertoire are shaped in a similar manner although in comparison to Stevie, Piper’s voice is rarely present in that domain. Hence, one main discursive practice noted within the arena of the classroom in the form of Piper’s voice is the almost absence of voice of the learner within the formal domain of the classroom. When the voice of the learner was solicited, it came up as one voice resounding in a crowd as the learners are seen as one single community, explaining the presence of a one crowd voice and not as individuals within classroom discourse. However, it has also been seen that the teacher influences the shaping of the linguistic repertoire. Consequently, Stevie and Piper both use Creole to interact with their KM teacher formally and informally. Moreover, other common discursive practices used by both when it came to interacting with their other teachers in EP classes, was safetalk and translanguaging. It was thus observed that both felt the need to shift from using Creole to using French and at times English when required with their teachers in that space whether it was in formal or informal asides. This discursive practice was a necessity to be able to make meaning in interactions within that space. Moreover, they were also taught to use chorus repetitions and learned chunks of language through drilling to be able to interact formally with the teacher during the process of teaching.

Hence, whether it is in the formal domain or in the informal domain of classroom space, it can be argued that the learners’ linguistic repertoires are shaped by the different institutions which form part of their microscopic and macroscopic layers of their world.

Chapter Eight

The Multilingual Learner's School Talk

8.0 Orientation

This study which has taken the bottom-up approach to best understand how the linguistic repertoire of primary school learners develop attempts to look at this phenomenon at the level of the individual, in the cases of its two participants, the two primary school learners, Stevie and Piper. Up till now, the contextual intricacies of the Mauritian linguistic situation was drawn forth, followed by the literature which underpins this study, a report on how data was produced, a thick description of the school and classroom in which the study was produced and a thick description of the linguistic repertoire of the two participants of this study, Stevie and Piper and their two teachers. After having compared the repertoire of the two multilingual learners, Stevie with that of Piper within both the formal as well as informal domain in the previous chapter where possible interpretations were laid out, this chapter presents a further step to understand how the primary school learner's linguistic repertoire is developed within multilingual educational systems. It does so by abstracting the interpretations derived from the data put forth in the earlier chapters and deepening the analysis by linking it with the existing literature.

The chapter will be divided into three main sections. Using the theoretical lens set up at the end of Chapter Two, the first layer that will be looked at in this chapter will be the linguistic repertoire of the learners that was produced within the *informal domain of the classroom*. It has been deemed necessary to look at the microscopic layer within which the learners exist informally as this discourse is in turn embedded within the microscopic layer of that of the classroom which in turn is embedded within that of the multilingual educational system emdedded itself within the multilingual society (Refer to Figure 2.4). An analytical reading of the data in Chapter Seven showed how the repertoire of the learners in the informal domain was shaped by a number of institutions: namely, the family, the media and the church. The interpretations brought forth in Chapter Seven will be read against the backdrop of the existing literature available.

The second section will look at the linguistic repertoire of learners that was produced *within the formal domain of the classroom*. This section will bring forward the discursive practices that the learners made use of in the formal arena of classroom interaction which emerged from an analytical reading of the data produced; namely, absence of voice, safetalk strategies as well as

translanguaging, which have already been brought up in the previous chapter. These practices will be read against the backdrop of the literature already available.

The third section will bring forth the interpretation derived from looking at the data produced within the *microcosm of the classroom* will be linked up to the *macro forces* that are at play within the formal domain in the Mauritian context and which influence the development of the linguistic repertoire of the learners, forces which emerged from the in-depth reading of the data, presented in previous chapters. Also included within the the third section is a sub-section looking at *the position of KM within this official domain*, tying it down with the literature that exists on the usage of the mother tongue in mother tongue classrooms. It should be noted that the main rationale behind the study was to look at how the multilingual learner understands, interprets and uses his linguistic repertoire within the new reality of schooling, where KM, which is the dominant majority language and mother tongue of the majority of Mauritians has been introduced as an optional language.

The following section will look at the linguistic repertoire of the learners within informal school talk.

8.1 Section One: Environmental repertoire of learners within informal school talk

8.1.1 Learners' informal school talk

In Chapter Seven, the concept of **environmental repertoire** was brought forward to denote the repertoire of the learner within the informal domain as it was found that each individual's respective environment moulded his/her repertoire.

Using the Bakhtinian concept of voice, Maybin (2012) who looked at ten and eleven year old students' informal practices in school to understand how they built their knowledge as well as identity, states that

children appropriate the voices of other people and texts, for instance teachers, parents, friends, or the media. In some cases they reproduce these voice more or less as if they were their own, expressing a strong alignment with the voice and a strong commitment to its evaluative positioning, sometimes borrowing this to add force to their own purposes (p.5). She further goes on to argue that new insights on children's informal languaging practices would offer "an adequate explanation of how particular varieties of social interaction and their linguistic realisation are socially situated" (*ibid.*). These would enable the theorising of the link between languaging practices and the social context. Maybin (2012) concludes her research by arguing that sociocultural factors are

implicated in the emergence, hearability and valuing of individual children's voices' and that 'discussions of how to promote children's voices within education need to acknowledge the complexity of their active and enquiring spontaneous dialogic explorations of knowledge, and the heteroglossic development of their beliefs and values (p.17).

It was seen before that Stevie made use of Creole mostly in all his informal interaction, translanguaging only very rarely (Refer to Chapter 4). What was noted within the instances that he translanguaged was that his voice became enmeshed with the voices of media, popular culture as well as that of the church. Via the action of singing, he brought in strands of institutional voices within his repertoire. On the other hand, it was seen that in the informal domain, the other learner translanguaged at various instances. Like the previous learner, this one also brought in her voice, strands of institutional voice, in this case the institution being that of the family. This then confirms the claim that Maybin (2012) makes in regards to the shaping of children's voices as being closely linked to socio-cultural factors.

Hence, this study which has looked at the development of the linguistic repertoires of the seven to eight year old primary school learners in both the formal and informal domain within the institution of the school intends to take a further step to theorise the link between the social context of the learner or what it has stipulated as being the environment of the learner and the repertoire of children. As noted by Hasan (2005) and Maybin (2012), there is a gap in the literature with regards to theoretical linking of the languaging practices of children to the social context. It is this gap which this study, conducted in a small island within the Indian Ocean in a post-independence developing world context, context in which there is an underlying complex play of many linguistic, social, political and cultural factors, will address. It will offer an alternative perspective to the Europeanised contexts from which most existing literature has been produced and extend understanding of how the complex interplay of social, political and cultural factors shape language practices of children.

As said before, institutions form part of what constitutes a social context. Moreover, it can be put forth that these institutions are living organisms which form part of our ecosystem. Hence, it can be said that the organisms which are the family, media, popular culture as well as the church shape the **environmental repertoire** of the learners. The following section will look at how these organisms have shaped the repertoire of the learners, linking it with the literature available.

8.1.2 Organisms shaping the environmental repertoire within informal school talk

8.1.2.1 Media and informal school talk

Martin-Jones and Gardner (2012) claim that

with the advent of new digital technologies and with the globalised spread of new technoscapes and mediascapes, there have, of course, been major changes in the communicative order. The pace of communication has quickened and the time-space of contemporary social life has made it possible to build and sustain translocal relationships over distance (e.g. within diasporic spaces), through the use of new media and the internet. (p.6).

It can, thus, be contended that the primary school learner's **environmental repertoire** in the informal domain is often constructed by the media as an organism which forms part of the child's environment. Kelly-Holmes (2012) further states that

given the role that media play in contemporary societies in many parts of the world, they are one of the main means by which individuals may engage with and be exposed to discourses about multilingualism and multilingual practices. (p.333).

Indeed, Maybin (2013) claims that children echo and respond to voices from media whereas Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 142) and Rampton (2006, p.27) argue that students bring into informal classroom talk elements of popular culture by indulging in linguistic play.

As was noted previously (Chapter Four, Chapter Seven), Stevie as a learner loved to sing to himself within the informal domain, bringing forward numerous genres of songs in his repertoire, namely the Mauritian sega, the Catholic holy song, the Mauritian seggae as well as pop songs. Moreover, it was seen that these instances then brought into play within his repertoire instances of translanguaging wherein he moved to and fro Creole to a number of other languages depending on the genres he was bringing in in his discourse. Therefore, when he sang the seggae which is a localised, hybridised version of the reggae, he very often translanguaged and his repertoire was characterised by this hybridity as when he sang Portuguese as well as English popular songs. In so doing, Stevie re-appropriates the space of the classroom to bring forth his own environmental repertoire which gives up glimpses of his **world**, at the same time subverting the norm of being silent in the classroom which often earns him rebukes from both Mr Dev and Miss Ariana who do not look at this practice with a good eye. Indeed, this repertoire of his is marginalised to the realms of informal school talk and does not exist within the realm of formal school talk. Garcia (2011) claimed that with the advent of globalisation and the breaking down of all communicative boundaries and barriers, language practices are shaped by dynamic hybridity. Furthermore, as mentioned before, language in ethnography "appears in reality as performance, as actions

performed by people in a social environment” and is therefore not static and constantly fluid and dynamic (Blommaert, 2010, p.8) and the study of language is the study of society.

Thus, it can be argued that the **environmental repertoire** of the Mauritian primary school learner within the informal domain sheds light of the dynamism present within his environment, within his social context, dynamism present due to the advent of globalisation which has led to easy access to the world’s language practices, as Portuguese finds its way within the voice of Stevie through his songs. The spatial reality of the Mauritian primary school learner is characterised by dynamism as his spatial reality is one which is far from being static and is globalised as can be perceived through his language practices. Maybin (2013), Blackledge and Creese (2010) and Rampton (2006) speak of voices of learners which are enmeshed with popular culture and which is translated via intonational patterns as well as prosodic, grammatical and contextual cues. Likewise, in this study, it is argued that in a context such as Mauritius, the primary school learner brings to school his/her own world which is translated through the use of translanguaging within his repertoire. Hence, media and popular culture as organism has a direct impact on shaping his **environmental repertoire**.

It can further be stated that the choice of media speaks volume of the Mauritian primary school learner’s lived experiences. As mentioned before, the learner should be seen as a historical body shaped by lived experiences, moulded by the institutions in which he interacts, primarily the family and the school. Moreover, although it is often stated that the Mauritian media is dominated by French (Sauzier-Uchida, 2009; Sonck, 2005), as highlighted in Chapter One, Auckle and Barnes (2011, p.105) speaking of pop culture as is broadcasted via the medium of radio channels, emphasises that “Mauritian pop culture displays an equal measure of synthesis, relying on a quick efficient combination of codes to get the message across, instead of opting for an elusive pure variety of any one particular tongue”. This same practice is vivid in the repertoire of the Mauritian primary school learner when he brings in elements of pop culture within the informal domain of classroom discourse.

Within the macroscopic layer therefore, the family’s voice resonates in the form of the media that the family of the learner chooses to be surrounded with, consequently, this choice of media influences the development of his repertoire as he makes use of the multiple resources at his disposal to shape his identity and the contours of his world and reality, which is constantly open

to dynamism and fluidity. It can consequently be stated that media as an organism influences the repertoire of the Mauritian primary school.

In the next sub-section, this claim will be given further direction as we will see how the institution of the church shapes the linguistic repertoire of the primary school learner in the informal domain as well.

8.1.2.2 Religious institution and informal school talk

Omoniyi (2012, p.363) contends that “multilingualism is both a cause and an effect of the spread of religion even from biblical times”. Previously, it was found that Stevie often hummed also extracts of Catholic holy songs which he had learned in his Catechesis class and which brought forth within his repertoire, both French and Creole as the songs were sung in both languages. Learners, who were of Catholic ethnic origin in St-Marie Primary school, were taught to sing the holy songs both in Creole and in French in their Catechesis classes, as was seen previously (Chapter Four). Therefore, one of the interpretations is that the voice of the religious institution represented by the Roman Catholic Church in this study permeates within the voice of the learner through the holy songs that he sings and therefore shapes his **environmental repertoire**. A historical look at how the language ideologies of the Roman Catholic Church shaped through will shed a better understanding of how the environmental repertoire of the learner gets shaped according to the historicity of the Church in Mauritius.

Blommaert (2013, p.104) argues that within the LLS framework, signs and the space within which these signs are used are “fundamentally historical” therefore enabling one to use the “arrow of time” in one’s research. He further goes on to argue that “ethnography always historicises: both as a method and as an epistemology” and is ‘an intrinsically historical enterprise’. As has been reported previously (Refer to Chapter Seven) in this study, the institutional space of the school within which the learners interact can be construed as being a historically constructed space from which patterns which are historically embedded, emerge. These patterns also include usage of languages as is the case of French and Creole which is often associated to the Roman Catholic Church, and which is used within the religious songs sung by Stevie. Florigny (2015, p.57) advances that French “*demeure également largement utilisée par L’Eglise catholique romaine locale*⁵⁴” whilst Colson (1980) puts forth the strong impact that the Roman Catholic had to play in maintaining the influence of French. He argues that the Roman Catholic Church, at the end of

⁵⁴Remains the language that is used mainly by the local Roman Catholic Church

1840s not only took a step to colonise the population present on the island but also took a firm stand in the linguistic debate. In the context of substantial Indian migration to the island, the Roman Catholic Church endorsed the importance of French as a language as could be gleaned from the speech given by A.de Boucherville, school inspector and member of the Catholic Union in Madagascar (Colson, 1980)

*Vous voyez, Messieurs, qu'il est difficile de concevoir un pays dont la population soit plus hétérogène. Et notez que je me suis contenté d'en indiquer les grandes divisions. Aucune d'elle n'est homogène et chez les Asiatiques, comme chez les Européens, il y a des langues, des moeurs, des religions diverses. Cette diversité tend cependant à se ramener à l'unité sous l'influence d'une civilisation dont la colonisation primitive est restée la base, et à laquelle l'Angleterre est venue apporter des éléments nouveaux sans en altérer les traits essentiels. La langue française est toujours la langue du pays, et dans les classes inférieures, les Indiens et les Chinois même la parlent sous la forme d'un patois. La religion catholique a conservé sa prépondérance et dans l'œuvre d'unification qui fera, de tant de races différentes, le peuple mauricien.*⁵⁵(p.557).

Omoniyi (2012) states that

the spread of some religions (e.g. Catholicism and Protestantism) was historically linked to colonization. These religions were associated, from the outset, with languages that had considerable symbolic power and that were associated with speakers who wielded considerable political and economic power e.g. Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch speakers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English and French speakers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (p.350).

The same can be noted within the Mauritian context where the Roman Catholic Church, associated with the French colonisers, historically maintained a strong foothold on French as language. However, in later years, this did not prevent them from associating to Creole as well, therefore leading to the multilingual practices of the Roman Catholic Church. Omoniyi (2012, p.351) further goes on to claim that missionary schooling had a strong impact on catering to the education of the Catholic colonised populations and he further argues that “the spread of Catholic and Protestant mission schools contributed to the creation of local situations of diglossia”. It can be argued that the same can be applied to the Mauritian context where the Roman Catholic Church, in 1999, took a clear step to associate itself with Creole. Florigny (2015) listing the different actions taken to

⁵⁵You see, gentlemen, it is difficult to think of a country whose population is so mixed. And note that I only tried to point out the main differences. None of them is similar and in Asians as in Europeans, there are different languages, customs and religions. This diversity, however, can be unified under the influence of a civilisation whose base has a colonial background, to which England brought new elements without altering the essential features. French is still the language of the country and in the lower classes, the Indians and the Chinese even speak it as a dialect. The Catholic religion retains its preponderance and will attempt to unify the many different races who will become the Mauritian population.

valorise the rights of the Catholic creole ethnic community adds that one of these included the actions taken by the Roman Catholic church who decided to

mettre les pauvres et les demunis au coeur de l'action de l'Eglise catholiqueMauricienne. Les Créoles, qui composaient et composent encore la grandemajorité des fidèles, se sentaientexclus et marginalisés de l'Eglise, traditionnellement liée à la plantocratie sucrière franco-mauricienne puisque le clergé était compose en majorité de Blancs mauriciens. Se développera également à partir de là une liturgie en KM ⁵⁶.'(p.58).

The action to develop a liturgy in Creole and allowing prayers to be done in Creole showed the association of the Roman Catholic Church not only with French but also Creole. Florigny (2015), indeed claims that the BEC has long militated for the introduction of KM in the Mauritian educational system and was one of the first to implement a bilingual educational program using KM through its Prevokbek project. It can therefore be argued that the repertoire of the Mauritian primary school learner as he brings in the classroom, instances of Catholic holy songs, which are both in French and in Creole is shaped by the organism of the Roman Catholic Church, which forms part of the environment of the learner.

In the next subsection, we will move on to look at how the organism of the family shapes the repertoire of the Mauritian learners.

8.1.2.3 Family and informal school talk

It was put forth earlier (Chapter Seven) that one of the key organisms which shape the Mauritian primary school learner's **environmental repertoire** is undoubtedly the family. Although the learners are institutionally present within the school compound and in their classroom, they bring in within the informal domain of classroom discourse their livelihood through the different voices that they bring forth, one of which is that of their family (Maybin, 2013). Whilst it was found that one of the learner's repertoire comprised mainly of resources drawn from Creole when he interacted in the informal domain except for instances when he brought in the voice of media, popular culture and the church within his voice and thus translanguaged, it was found that the other learner that had participated in the study translanguaged at various instances and for different purposes within the informal domain.

⁵⁶Focus on the poor and the marginalised is one of the prime concerns of the Mauritian Catholic Church. The Creole ethnic community, which formed part and still forms part of the great majority of disciples, were feeling excluded and marginalised by the Church, related traditionally to the Franco-Mauritians sugarcane plantation owners since the clergy was made up mostly of White Mauritians. Would follow also after this decision the liturgy held in KM.

Pietikäinen (2012, p. 174) who studied the expressions of multilingualism within the repertoire of Sàmi children through a visual ethnography approach claims that the linguistic resources of Sàmi children are shaped by “key aspects of Sàmi culture” notably the family being one of the main aspect. Moreover, Maybin (2006) states that

children are (...) constantly evaluating their social experience in the course of talk and this evaluative activity reveals how they are becoming conscious of their positioning in the world, acting on their environment and developing a sense of themselves as a particular kind of person. At the same time as expressing individual agency, the evaluation in children’s talk is reflects their social background and the beliefs and values of their community (pp.9-10).

Furthermore, Vygotsky (1978) putting forth his sociocultural theory argues that interaction with older members of a culture allows children to acquire the knowledge and skills that are necessary to become members of the communities to which they belong. Sparks and Reese (2012, p. 2), likewise, state that “parent-child interaction is a vital locus of development such that the variations in the quantity and quality of communication will result in differences in children’s outcomes”. Hence, it can be contended that the institution which introduces the child to societal ways and patterns of behaving and shapes the livelihood of a child is the family. Furthermore, it can be claimed, that in turn, the family, more specifically the parent influences the **environmental repertoire** of the Mauritian school learner. Consequently the differences noted in the interactional acts of the two learners in the informal domain can be attributed to the familial environment which surrounds them. Whereas one of them interacts mainly using his resources in Creole in the informal domain, the other translanguages more often and hence it can be concluded that this is a practice that emerges from the environment of the learner. In so doing, they are also both bringing forward their own positions in the world as individuals, by aligning their voices with the voices of the world that they both stem from.

As was mentioned afore, it was noted that one of the learners frequently brought in her interactional books, one of which she brought from home which was in French and which had been gifted to her by her mother. It was also observed that this learner’s mother was really concerned about her academic success which she often translated to the teachers. One of the interpretations that can be brought forth is that the learner’s world is made up of her mother and since her mother is highly concerned about her education, it can be argued that her mother constructs her world by focusing on the importance of literacy in her life, explaining the presence of the main emblems of literacy in the world of the learner, the book, which shape the contours of many of her interactional acts.

Moreover, this same learner tended to translanguage very often moving to and fro Creole to French within her interactional acts in the informal domain. In her research carried out in pre-primary schools looking at language choices of teachers with the pre-schoolers, Auleear-Owodally (2011, p.16) claim that the teachers “mentioned that there was parental pressure for them to use French in the preschool”. Moreover, she argued, after having spoken to the students’ mothers that they said that they spoke French sometimes with their children at home and further claimed that this denoted their “positive attitudes towards French”. According to her, this can be attributed to their gender as she argues that women “tend to prefer prestigious varieties”. Levy, Sparks and Reese (2012) state that children’s abstract thinking skills are shaped by parents’ talk and according to Heath (1983) and Michaels (1981), the home context plays a key role when it comes to language learning, including the development of the repertoire of the child and his/her literacy.

It can thus be argued that this **environmental repertoire**, which shows us a clear inkling of the contours of her world hence shapes all her speech acts as was noted in Chapter Five as she translanguages, navigating to and fro from Creole to French within her utterances to interact with all irrespective of who she is interacting with, using the linguistic resources for specific purposes, a practice that she has imbibed from her mother. In the next section now, it will be seen how the **environmental repertoire** which the learners bring to school is in turn shaped by the institutional talk which permeates formal school talk, allowing us to come to an understanding of how their **linguistic repertoire** is thus developed.

8.2 Section Two: Linguistic repertoire of learners within formal school talk

8.2.1 Learners’ formal school talk

8.2.1.1 Absence of voice and safetalk strategies

Although the **environmental repertoire** of both learners is brought forth vividly within the informal domain, within the formal domain both learners’ **environmental repertoire** is shaped by the numerous factors at play allowing their **linguistic repertoire** to develop differently. Consequently, after having compared the data produced both by Stevie and Piper, it was noted that whereas the voice of Stevie was loud and resonant in the formal arena of the classroom, that of Piper was almost absent and if it existed, it was not on an individual level but submersed with the chorus voices of all the learners. Another finding was that whenever she did participate in the formal domain, she interacted in the same manner as did her peer, Stevie. As a matter of fact, both learners made use of only the mother tongue when they were in their KM classes whereas in the

EP classes, they both indulged in the same discursive practices; notably making use of what Chick & Hornberger (2001) term as being safetalk and translanguaging as a practice (Garcia and Li Wei, 2013). It was also found that the teacher was one of the main bodies which shaped the repertoire of the learners within the space in which they interacted within the formal arena.

The classroom is a historical social space, within which the learner and the teacher, as historical bodies act and react in a regulated manner, acquiring particular patterns of behavior (Blommaert, 2013) which becomes the norm. The learner as a historical body has a very marginal position and this can be seen within the contours of formal classroom interaction which is shaped by that of the teacher, the figure of authority. Kenner (2012, p.217) claims that “a striking aspect of voices from the classroom is the (...) rarity” of the voices of learners. Indeed, it is one of the features noted within the reading of the data produced with Piper. Absent from the formal domain is the voice of the learner and when it is present it is submersed within that of the crowd of learners or controlled by the main figure of authority in the classroom; namely the teacher.

Hornberger and Ricento (1996) identify schools, organised religion, and the media amongst many others as being institutions. It can be claimed that the school is one such institution where the dynamics of social order is kept in place via the different roles and actions of the members of this institution. Hence, it is noted that the voice of the learner within the formal arena of the classroom is controlled by higher authorities who hold the power in the hand with the teaching sessions being shaped with sets of patterns that the learners must go through and abide by. This control is however, not necessary overtly and rigidly manipulated, but operates at a subtle level of coercion, as is noted by the way both Miss Ariana and Mr Dev regulate response from students in the classroom.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), using the positioning theory of Davies and Harré (1990), bring forward three different types of identities that individuals may take upon whilst interacting, namely

[i]mposed identities (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place); *assumed identities* (which are accepted and not negotiated), and *negotiable identities* (which are contested by groups and individuals) (p.21).

It can be argued that the identity of the traditional learner is one imposed on all learners due to their marginal position in the classroom and Piper, as a learner, assumes this identity without negotiating with it in her interactions. She is the learner who abides strictly by all classroom rules and regulations and hence, she is the learner whose voice is inexistent in the classroom. The classroom rule which regulates the voice of the learner, and which is imposed by most teachers

within the arena of the Mauritian classroom, posits the teacher within the traditional role of the one holding all the knowledge and therefore power in the classroom. The teacher is, hence, the one dictating talk within the classroom, therefore reducing the student to silence when the need is felt to silence the learner's voice. However, the choice to remain subjugated is not always the selected one that learners can choose. Stevie, chooses instead to be more assertive, and is often interpreted as being disruptive of these imposed norms. This explains also why he is understood as being a troublemaker. This analysis suggests that the contextual environment is merely a framing context, not a deterministic one, since degrees of agency and latitude are indeed exercised by the participants within its worldviews. However, it is likely that Piper, even though seemingly "silent" in the classroom formal context, will become more successful because she will be perceived to be a "successful learner" since she chooses to capitulate to the norms of reproducing what school desire. Stevie is likely to be interpreted as a rebel even though there is some recognition (by his teachers) that he is a "bright child".

It was also seen in Chapter Seven that both learners indulged in **safetalk** in both EP as well as KM classes. Chick and Hornberger (2001, p.52) argue that "safetalk language and literacy practices and participation structures are somewhat hidden and self-sustaining, anchored in larger social and policy structures and relationships". Moreover, they claim that the introduction of a new medium of instruction, even if it is the mother tongue of the learners cannot do away with such practices. This is a discursive practice that has been noted in many post-colonial classrooms such as those in Brunei, Botswana, Vanuatu and Mozambique in which students were found to engage in safetalk strategies in the official domain of classroom talk (Arthur and Martin, 2006; Chimbutane, 2009; Willans, 2013). As was seen previously, safetalk strategies are used both in the KM classroom and the EP class, with teachers leading the learners to respond in choruses at various instances. It can be argued again that the voice of the learners is controlled and marginalised by the main figure of authority in the classroom, namely the teacher as was seen above. Hence, whether the voice of the learner is silenced or whether it is shaped and moulded so that it engages in safetalk, it is the teacher who controls that shaping and contouring of the repertoire in the formal arena. Safetalk therefore becomes a means to acculturate to the dominant required norms and learners are astute enough to realise what rules are operating within the classroom formal environment. They strategically learn to adopt its rules to win the favour of the teacher or develop strategies to disrupt

them, therefore challenging the norms. The learner, in both instances, is a perspicacious reader of his/her classroom worlds and its rules boundaries.

Hence, within the formal domain of the classroom, it can be interpreted that the learner is endowed with an imposed identity which is visible through the discursive practices that emerge from analysis of classroom discourse. This imposed identity of this marginal silent learner who blends with the crowd of the population of learners is one that is assumed by the learner himself/ herself as he/she shapes his linguistic repertoire accordingly. In a similar manner, the learner who disrupts this norm of being silent in class is very much aware of his behaviour and in rebelling against the norms is negotiating his identity as learner by making use of different discursive practices. In the next section, we will look at another practice which the learner indulges in the formal arena of the classroom, translanguaging, discursive practice which allows the learner to put forth his/her voice within formal school talk.

8.2.1.2 Translanguaging as a practice

One of the main ways in which the learners can take up a negotiated identity in the EP classroom is to make their voices heard. To do so, it is a necessity for learners to indulge in the practice of translanguaging as was found in Chapter Seven. Garcia and Li Wei (2013) state that for learners who are

emergent bilingual students, knowledge cannot be accessed except through language practices with which they're already familiar. In turn, language practices cannot be developed except through the students' existing knowledge.....At the same time, translanguaging enables students to truly show what they know. (p.80).

According to Garcia, Makar, Starcevic & Terry (2011, p.33), translanguaging is carried out for four different purposes: *'to mediate understanding* (e.g.children's translations and interpretations to mediate with others and themselves): *to co-construct and construct meaning* (when children make use of the other language for understanding): *to include* (being responsive to perceived interlocutor's language use): *to exclude* (that is, other children from interaction) and to *show knowledge* (e.g. by trying out the words they know).

Indeed, both learners translanguage mainly to co-construct meaning with those with whom they are interacting. Moving from their familiar language practices in Creole, both learners shape their repertoire within the institutional arena of the classroom. To do so, they shift to and fro between the two languages that are dominantly at play in the classroom, French and Creole and moving to English, in rarer instances, to make themselves heard and to co-construct meaning with their

interlocutors within that space. This space which Garcia and Li Wei (2013, p.74) label as being the “translanguaging space” or the “third space” is created by the learners as they navigate between the official space of formal school talk and the space of informal school talk. This space comes into shape mainly when their EP class teachers are situated within the speech acts. Hence, translanguaging as a practice allows the learners to negotiate their positioning in classroom discourse and to make their voices heard. Garcia et al. (2011, p. 54) claim that children within multilingual educational systems, “create their own *third spaces* with translanguaging predominating”. The learners in this study create a translingual system. Thus, they merge their already acquired languaging practices with the more officious institutional discourse within one arena to enable them to carry out meaningful interaction.

Moreover, both learners also translanguage for other purposes; namely to show knowledge of the words taught in English, to include and exclude or in forms of linguistic play as was seen previously (Refer to Chapters Four-Seven). Li Wei (2011) claims that translanguaging allows learners to be creative, giving them the potential

to choose between following and flouting the rules and the norms of behavior, including the use of language, and to push and break boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, and the acceptable and the challenging (p.94).

By using translanguaging to indulge in linguistic play, the learners therefore use this third space created by them to subvert the norms of classroom behaviour and discourse and therefore subverting the power dynamics in play in the classroom. Billig (2005, p.208) states that “rebellious humour conveys an image of momentary freedom from the restraints of social conventions” allowing the individual to free himself/ herself from rules that dictate his/ her behaviour. In using translanguaging to play linguistically in the formal domain of the classroom, the learner therefore rebels against the norms and regulations imposed on him. Blackledge and Creese (2012, p.91) claim that when students engage in flexible language practices in the classroom to subvert the norm, it indicates towards the “dynamic coexistence of students’ positioning as both complicit in and resistant to institutionally imposed identities”. Consequently the learners not only use translanguaging to make meaning but also to subvert the power dynamics within the classroom by creating this third dimension where they can take up their negotiated and renegotiated identity. Blackledge and Creese (2012, p.83) advance that “flexible verbal repertoires enable the students to negotiate subject positions which may at times be at odds with the official institutional discourse”.

Indeed, as has been reported, this space is not well seen by teachers who complain often of the proficiency of the learners in the standard languages and who see this discursive practice as being a wrong way of using the standard languages. Garcia and Li Wei (2013, p.73) argue that “many educators continue to believe that instruction through the home language does not contribute much to development of a new language”. This discourse and expectations to have learners speak proficiently the standard languages as first language speakers stems from the Western monolingual discourse of pitching the multilingual against the monolingual, which emanated from the field of structuralist Second Language Acquisition and bilingualism. Consequently, the non-native speaker is often pitched against the native speaker and is expected to use the language learnt as the native speaker by teachers. Certainly, Garcia and Li Wei (2013, p.47) further go on to endorse that

despite (and because of) the multilingual reality of the world, state schools continue to insist on monolingual ‘academic standard’ practices. Schools are permeated with institutional norms and practices that are complicit with the power structures of dominant societies.

Kenner (2012, p.217), on the other hand contends that

educational policy (often) tries to shoehorn students into what might be termed a particular ‘language box’ according to the latest ‘good practice’- for example, in bilingual schooling that assumes successful learning will only take place if the two languages are kept separate throughout the school day.

This same discourse is reflected within the voice of the teachers who are in charge of the EP classes, attitudes which they translate through their languaging practices and the way that they regulate learners’ linguistic repertoire.

Consequently, through creating this system and by indulging in the practice of translanguaging, the learner not only does so out of necessity and to make his/her voice heard but also subverts the norm and the hierarchy of power that is at play within the classroom. Through his/her languaging practices, he/she affirms himself/herself and his/her own identity as a multilingual learner. Thus, what can be argued that whereas the norm of the classroom imposes upon the learner an identity whereby he/she has no voice or where his/her voice is shaped by the authoritative figure that is the teacher, in whose voice is embedded the official institutional discourse, the multilingual learner, by indulging in translanguaging negotiates this imposed identity and assumes an identity of his/her own.

In the following section, these discursive practices will be tied to the macro forces that influence the institutional discourse that is dominant in the official domain of classroom discourse.

8.3 Section Three: Looking into the boxes: Institutional discourse permeating formal school talk within the multilingual educational system

8.3.1 School formal talk and the linguistic supremacy of the dominant languages: English and French

Blommaert (2013, p.29) argue that “historical bodies have been formed in particular social spaces and they represent, to use an older notion, the ‘communicative competence’ of people in such social spaces.” The social space that is the ecosystem within which the participants interact institutionally is the school and the school is in itself a historical body, permeated with the voices of these different participants; notably the headmistress as the main figure of authority, the teachers within the classroom and the children in their own realities. According to Mariou (2012, p.68), “language practices and values are embedded in and shaped by wider historical and cultural contexts, political economies and asymmetrical relations of power”. Therefore, the discourse within the official domain of the institution of the school is encrusted within the prevalent official discourse of its regulating bodies, namely the state as well as in the case of St-Marie primary school, the Roman Catholic church as well (as seen in Chapter Seven).

It was seen previously (Chapters Four, Five, Six, Seven) that within the official domain of the classroom, a very strong dominant discourse was present with English and French enjoying linguistic supremacy. It is argued that messages contained in any space which is shared as is the case in the classroom is far from being neutral and there is always a construction of social structure, power and hierarchies within these messages (Stroud and Mpenduka, 2009; Coupland and Garrett, 2010). As was seen within the classroom under study, much of what was fixed and not moving was constructed in English. Pedagogically, teachers made use of posters and other displays of written English to ensure that their students could visually recognise the different vocabulary items in English. There were lesser visual signs of French within the classroom and no display related to KM at all. Thus what was evident was how the classroom space was constructed in a linguistically hierarchical manner. Blommaert further (2013, p.40) argues that “communication in the public space, consequently, is communication in a field of power’ and questions therefore ‘how (...) space organize(s) semiotic regimes of language”.

It can be contended that this linguistic supremacy of the dominant languages is an ideology that emanates from both regulating bodies of the school, the state as well as the church (Refer Chapter Seven). Hence, the practice of using French and English was valourised by teachers who enacted the prevalent dominant discourse. Use of KM was limited to only specific purposes within the

official domain of the EP classes or compartmentalised to the space allotted to the KM class. Through the languaging practices existent within the official domain of the classroom, notably through the absence of voice, safetalk strategies as well as the practice of translanguaging, language ideologies are translated. The linguistic repertoire of the learners is shaped mainly by the teachers, even when they translanguange. Hence, the learners' **environmental repertoire** can exist predominantly within the informal arena whereas within the formal arena, their **linguistic repertoire** is shaped according to the language ideologies that permeate that space. Thus, their hybridised discursive practice of moving to and fro languages as has been shaped by the worlds that they come from is looked down upon and they are consciously and at times unconsciously taught to compartmentalise the different languages, putting them into different boxes to be used for different purposes. By evolving within the multilingual educational system within which they exist, they are, therefore, taught to align with the dominant structuralist linguistic ideology where language are seen as being monolithic and separate entities. This finding therefore contests the theoretical lens set up initially at the end of Chapter Two.

Indeed, Auleear-Owodally (2014, p.32) claims that teachers in Mauritius “socialise (...) children into assigning social and educational indexes to French and English” through their language and language teaching practices. The same was noted within the discourse of the teachers that formed part of this study. It could be noted the EP classroom teachers were firmly entrenched in the belief that “the more the ‘target language’ was used in the classroom, the better the result” which is argued to be a myth (Conteh and Meier, 2014, p.160; Willans, 2013). Conteh and Meier (2014, p.162) claim that “in traditional teaching” of English, “it is still hard for teachers to celebrate their linguistic resources or even to admit to using the learners’ first language in class”. They further claim that CLT as an approach which has generated from the research of Krashen amongst many others (Krashen and Terrell, 1983; Larsen-Freeman and Swain, 1991; Swain and Lapkin, 1982) has had an impact on the teaching of English language teaching. This created the myth that language learning took place with maximum exposure to the target language. Certainly, this same attitude was noted in the classes observed where the teachers tried as much as they could to maximise on the exposure of the target language using numerous strategies (Refer to Chapters Four-Seven).

Freeman (1996) contends that schools are

made up of people who talk and write about who they are and about what they say, do, believe and value in patterned ways...Abstract underlying institutional discourses are never neutral. They are always structured by ideologies (pp.559-560).

Therefore, it can be argued that the teachers in the study translate these ideologies within the way they construct their own language and language teaching practices.

It can be also contended that strands of this institutional discourse as well as ideology can be found within the institutional discourse of the family as is the case of our second learner. As was seen, the learner was fond of books and chose to read mostly in French and English and had been even gifted a book in French by her mother. The underlying ideologies and beliefs which resonated in her voice within the informal arena are the voices of those people who valorise English and French notably her teachers and her mother, in whose voices are embedded the dominant institutional discourse as has been put forth above. Having been learners within the same educational system, both the teachers and the learner's mother's voices echo with the institutionalised multilingualism discourse that is predominant within the Mauritian society, whereby the dominant languages are viewed as holding linguistic supremacy.

Embedded within this discourse is one strand of the institutional discourse that commodifies French and English and sees these languages as being resources through which the learners will be able to go up the social ladder and the lack of exposure as a major problem to language learning. Garcia and Li Wei (2013, p. 48) contend that “dominant language practices (...) tied to academic and economic success” are “policed through schools”. As seen in Chapter One, the discourse about the multilingualism in Mauritius is widespread and it can be advanced that multilingual Mauritius is a branding concept which can be read in almost all texts that accompany a description of the country, a concept which is used in the international market to display the linguistic skills that the Mauritian population possesses therefore marketing the capital that the human resources represents. This discourse, about multilingual Mauritius and the advantages of being bilingual in French and English is deeply entrenched within the Mauritian society. It can be contended that this discourse is thus a state-generated belief that has taken form and shape within the educational system and has been in turn translated to the Mauritian society.

Mahadeo-Doorgakant (2012, p.13) claims that the discourse that emerges from her reading of educational reports that have been written in regards to language planning issues in Mauritius, dating from the 1970s to the 21st century commodifies the benefit of English and French. She states that in the Glover report, “one of the main ideas that was kept in mind by the Commission was the importance of building a good relationship between Mauritius and the international community”. Therefore, learning English and French was seen by the Commission as being ‘a precious

advantage' for the Mauritian student (MOE, 1978, p.123).She further read the Education and Human Resources Strategy Plan 2008-2020 through the same lens, arguing that the discourse emerging from the report was coherent with the previous reports although a change in terminology could be noted. Indeed, it was claimed in the report that "Mauritian students' greatest 'resource'" is said to be their bilingualism and it is strongly advised to design "bilingual education programmes that emphasise a gradual transition to English and offer native-language instruction in declining amounts over time" so as to ensure "academic success in the second language." (MOE, 2009, p.62). As can be seen from the arguments advanced, bilingualism in English and French is seen as being a resource which will benefit the human resource of the country, and this belief is permeated within the official institutional discourse of the school, which is then transmitted to the learners.

The ethos is therefore that Mauritian classrooms are seen as language acquisition rich environments in which students are immersed in the dominant languages so that they can come out of the classrooms as successful language learners, and hence succeed academically as well as economically. Consequently as English and French are seen as being the languages which will lead to academic as well as economic success, teachers as well as the families of most learners frame their own world and beliefs in a similar manner. Hence, the classroom discourse shapes the ideologies of not only learners, but society at large and these ideologies are passed down historically from one generation to another. Although the learners come to school with their **environmental repertoire**, they are taught to valorise English and French and their **linguistic repertoire** is shaped accordingly. Moreover, even if the learners create the third space using translanguaging as a discursive practice to negotiate their identities as learners in class, they are led to use the languages separately by the teachers to confer to the norms. Thus, even though they come to school with their flexible and dynamic **environmental repertoire**, they develop a **linguistic repertoire** which is characteristic of the state-generated discourse embodied within most institutions of the society, which is aligned with the structuralist notion of seeing languages as being separate entities.

Thus, in this study, multilingualism can be perceived as being an ideological state constructed discourse which is often translated to all actors that form part of the field of language planning and policy, notably schools, heads of schools, teachers and learners. This discourse is also translated to the Roman Catholic Church who controls part of the schools that are government aided.

Multilingualism, as understood within the dominant structuralist linguistic paradigm, can be seen as a historically institutionalised concept in Mauritius, a practice built from top down rather than bottom up, with the centripetal voice of the state permeating within the voices of those which lay within the smaller boxes found in the bigger box which is represented by the state. This institutional discourse is then passed on as a language ideology from the teachers to the learners in the long run as could be seen in this study. Hence, this discourse which emanates from the educational system inculcates not only the belief that languages are separate entities and are thus used for different purposes but also the belief that bilingualism in French and English offers a double opportunity, opening the doors to economic development and success. As argued by Sauzier-Uchida (2009),

since bilingualism in English and French is one of the appealing points of Mauritian corporations in the global market, bilingual speakers can command better jobs with higher wages (p.101).

This discourse is shaped and institutionalised in the forms of schools, in the form of language and language teaching practices that are shaped within the ecosystem that the multilingual educational system represented, therefore the commodification of English and French as linguistic resources is an institutionalised discourse which permeates within all the voices interacting within the multilingual ecosystem of schools.

As was noted in the literature underpinning this study, different models of multilingual education models, which refer to education being available in two or more media of instruction, exist (Baker, 2006), most of which are “informed by an ideology of (parallel) monolingualism, in which languages are strictly compartmentalised” which Weber (2014, pp. 4-5) classifies as being fixed multilingual educational models. Weber goes on to argue that “fixed multilingual education is informed by a monolingual mindset or habitus” in which “monolingualism is looked upon as the norm, which can be expanded by learning one or several more of these entities (‘languages’), which in this way are perceived as being easily countable”. Multilingualism within the multilingual educational system of Mauritius is compartmentalised. It can be further claimed that multilingualism is monolingualised with English having the most important status, being the sole official medium of instruction and the language through which exams are conducted. The other languages, notably French and Asian/Oriental languages and KM are enfolded within the other compartments of the system. The following sub-section will look at the discourse emanating from the data produced, in regards to the introduction of KM within the educational system of Mauritius.

8.3.2 School formal talk and the marginalisation and compartmentalisation of Kreol Morisien within the official institutional discourse

As was put forth previously in Chapter Two, the backdrop of the study is embedded within the introduction of KM as an optional language within the Mauritian multilingual educational system and this study seeks to understand the positionality of this language within this system now that it has obtained official recognition after years of being marginalised and kept out officially from the educational system. One of the key findings of this study is that KM, despite its official introduction within the multilingual educational system of Mauritius still remains very much marginalised by society, translated through the language ideologies passed on to the learners of this study.

This can be seen through the dissonance that emanates from the official institutional discourses, the constant negotiation and renegotiation of the space allocated to the teaching of KM and the marginalised figure of the KM teacher. The official space that was created for KM, with its introduction within the multilingual educational system has given way to much dissonance within the official institutional discourse. This dissonance is symbolic of the conflicts which emerge from this space. Undeniably, the headmistress who was a proponent of mother tongue education fight since the 1970s acknowledged the importance of having KM within the educational system. She also emphasised that she often asked her teachers teaching in the lower primary classes to make use of the mother tongue to get the learners to conduct classes whilst at the same time leading them towards the acquisition of English and French. On the other hand, she also acknowledged that exposing the children to English and French was extremely important as the children come from *acquisition poor environments* (Mahadeo, 2006) and the classroom was the only space wherein they could get access to the two colonial languages. She, thus, encouraged her teachers to maximise the learner's exposure to the target languages. The paradoxical discourse of the headmistress translates the dissonance that emanates within the official institutional discourse itself, which could be heard in turn in the voices of the teachers as well as the learners.

Cardinal and Sonntag (2015) argue that decisions regarding language policies are very much political. Indeed, as noted earlier within the literature (Chapter One), the way that KM has been introduced within the multilingual educational system is viewed as being problematic by Korlapu-Bungaree and Jean François (2012). It can be construed that this dissonance stems from the conflict between the espoused and the enacted policy. The main political discourse construes that the

mother tongue is important to help learners learn and introducing it within the educational system would serve to give it the status that it deserves officially with the Minister of Education (PMO, 2011) declaring that

The government in which I have the pleasure and honour to serve as a State Minister has made it a crucial part of its policy to give this language its legitimate place in the education system. This is not so much because it will merely help our pupils to better apprehend concepts and knowledge, but principally because a mother tongue needs to be ascribed its due credentials. (p.5).

Nonetheless, the very fact that KM has been introduced not as the mother tongue but only as an optional language within the Mauritian educational system speaks strongly of the dissonance between the espoused and enacted policy. Hence although the government speaks of the introduction of the mother tongue within the multilingual educational system, it limits access to the language by giving it the status of an optional language. As argued in Chapter One, optional languages have ethnic associations as normally when learners step into the primary school, they have to learn English and French and choose to learn a third language, a choice which is often made on the basis of which ethnic group they belong to. Hence, KM has not been introduced as mother tongue although the state speaks of mother tongue introduction. This very conflict, consequently, is felt within the dissonant discord that is emanating from the voices emerging from the data.

Indeed, the implementation of KM in the Mauritian educational system has created a space of disruption and conflict which is strongly felt in the voices of the marginalised KM teacher which clashes with that of the GP teacher. This space which poses problem is constantly being negotiated, appropriated and reappropriated in terms of linguistic hierarchy and status. The learners are, in turn, caught up in this conflictual web where on one hand, Creole is being valourised as their mother tongue in the KM class, and on the other hand, is being avoided and merely tolerated in comparison with the dominant languages, English and French, in the EP classes.

Moreover, the voice of the marginalised KM teacher also clashes with that of his learners. As was noted previously (Chapter Seven), the learners' voices were loud and clear in the KM classroom as they could use their mother tongue freely in the classroom to communicate. Chimbutane (2009) states that

In L1 and L1 medium subject classes, pupils felt at ease, participated in class and were visibly motivated to learn. They not only replied to the questions asked by the teacher, but when the opportunities arose, also took initiatives to make conversational moves in whole class exchanges. (p.159).

This was quite visible in the classroom observed where not only the participant under study, but a great majority of the class participated exuberantly, making their voices clearly heard, to the extent of subverting the power dynamics of the class and challenging the authority of the KM teacher who often could not control the classroom. It can thus be argued that this brought a change to a great extent to the imposed identity as marginal learner which they assumed. They not only associated the KM teacher to the language that they used on a day-to-day basis in the informal domain but the usage of the mother tongue in fact, allowed them to negotiate and renegotiate their identity and affirm their authority and voice in a class where they in turn marginalised the already marginalised KM teacher.

The marginalisation of the KM teacher as evidenced spatially mirrors the compartmentalisation of the language within the education system. Weber (2014, p.6) contends that the concept of mother tongue education within a multilingual society “constitutes a rather fixed type of multilingual education”. This can be said to be same in the case of the multilingual education system that the Mauritian system has implemented, with the introduction of KM as optional language along with the teaching of English and French. Hence, it can be claimed that although the Mauritian educational system is described as being multilingual, it is entrenched within the very monolingual mindset, heard through the different voices that emerge within the data, which pitches languages against each other and advocates the value of one language at the detriment of the other. These ideologies deeply entrenched in the monolingual mindset and which sees language as being separate and bound entities are then translated to the learners who are taught to compartmentalise and divide the languages they learn in different boxes to be used accordingly to norms which are embedded within the language practices and the language teaching practices.

The findings of this study corroborate with the claim made by Florigny (2015) who has been looking at the impact of KM as a language on the learning of French within the primary sector, claim that KM as language within the educational system is not well seen by those who make up the system.

Chimbutane (2012) claims that one of the consequences of colonial language-in-education policies was that

in the countries where the use of African languages was tolerated and even promoted, (these languages) underwent relative development, here defined as the availability of standardized orthographic systems, glossaries, dictionaries, grammars, literature materials, etc. in such languages. Also in such cases, people have tended to be more positive regarding

the use of African languages in formal arenas....In the countries where African languages were officially banned, they did not develop. They remained linked merely to the informal domains, and were primarily used orally. In such cases, people have tended to be less tolerant about the use of these languages in official functions.’(p.171).

It can be interpreted that the latter can be said to hold true within the Mauritian context. It is only after forty long years of struggle, that Creole as an official language made its official entry within the Mauritian educational system (Harmon, 2015) and one of the reasons that has been the case is due to the ideologies and attitudes that permeates the knowledge of Creole. Harmon (2015, p.53) advances that Creole in Mauritius has been constructed as being a language which is “only worth an exotic interest and should not be mistakenly viewed as a language of philosophy or abstract thinking’ and as being ‘outgrowths of or appendices to dominant languages”. Therefore, Creole is seen as having not the same academic and economic value as that prescribed to the dominant languages, English and French as it is seen as being inferior to them. In the last section, the arguments set up previously will be synthesised.

8.3.3 From linguistic repertoire to environmental repertoire

In this study, it can be argued that the multilingual individual learner possesses a repertoire which has been called the **environmental repertoire** and which encompasses all the linguistic resources which form very much part of the environment that the learner evolves in. The **environmental repertoire** is shaped by and translates the reality of the Mauritian multilingual learner, a reality which is left at the doorstep of the school which acts as a primary reproductive agent which acculturates the learners into the patterns of current hegemonic hierarchies across languages. The current multilingual educational system does not take into account the reality of the multilingual learner’s individual language practices and aims at normalising the use of languages by getting the learners to therefore forces the learner to shun his/her **environmental repertoire** in the background and develop a **linguistic repertoire** wherein the languages are seen to be as separate and used for different purposes. Thus, the environmental repertoire can be seen as having a broader sociological character whilst the **linguistic repertoire** is a subset of it.

The learners not only need to cope with the fixed multilingual educational system which does not acknowledge his/her **environmental repertoire** but also has to give exams which are set in different languages. Very often, those learners who use their rich, flexible and dynamic **environmental repertoire** either in spoken interactions or in writing are looked down upon and are said to not use the languages proficiently. It is only those learners who are able to develop the

formal officialised **linguistic repertoire** and who are able to use the languages as discreet entities that are able to climb the ladder of educational success. Since decades, a good majority of Mauritian multilingual learners are left out of the fixed multilingual educational system which is driven by the parallel monolingual theoretical construct, because they are not able to translate their understanding of the curriculum taught in the formal officialised **linguistic repertoire**. Consequently, this further deepens the wedge between the elite and those who remain at the bottom rung of the ladder of educational success. Taking into account the fact that the language ideology that underpins the multilingual educational system is a state-generated dialogue, it can be argued that the compartmentalisation of the different languages is a politicised concept and simplifies the complex reality of the multilingual learners who interact using their individually rich **environmental repertoire**. Hence, there is a clear dissonance between the state-generated formal officialised **linguistic repertoire** and the **environmental repertoire** of the multilingual learners. The following section will now synthesise the different arguments laid forth in the chapter.

8.4 Synthesis

It was seen above that there was a quite a major difference between the repertoire of the Mauritian learner within the informal domain and the formal domain of classroom discourse. Whereas in the informal domain, the Mauritian learner affirmed himself/herself fully making himself/herself heard boisterously and engaging in practices whereby his/her identity would come at centre-stage, within the formal domain, the Mauritian learner was a marginal figure, having almost no voice and having to negotiate his/her identity through the different discursive practices brought forth.

It was also found though that within the KM classroom, the learner was not marginalised because he/she could be given the freedom to deploy his linguistic resources to his/her maximum in the classroom which in turn brought the learner to marginalise and question the power of the KM teacher. However, it was also seen that this marginalisation of the KM teacher in which the learners indulged in stemmed from the ideology and belief of the linguistic supremacy of the two dominant languages, English and French which permeated within the system despite the introduction of KM within the Mauritian educational system. This then can be linked to the interpretation of this study which sees the KM class as being a marginalised and compartmentalised space which even within the system, is kept within separate box. The Mauritian educational system despite being multilingual in fact is embedded within the dominant linguistic structuralist paradigm and operates with a parallel monolingual mindset, where languages are taught as being separate, static, bounded

entities compartmentalised in different boxes which have different values for the learners and this ideology can be seen within the repertoire of the learners.

However, the multilingual educational system does not take into account the very dynamic reality of the **environmental repertoire** of the learner which could be noted within the informal domain of classroom discourse. Hence within this array of separate boxes present within the multilingual educational system, sits the world of the multilingual learner which is a world, an ecosystem in itself. In fact, if one takes an ecological perspective of classrooms (Creese, 2008) the classroom can be seen as a world of its own inhabited by many worlds which come together, crashing and colliding at times into each other and at times blending together, worlds which each individual multilingual learner is. One of the interpretations of this study is that the repertoire of the learner within the informal domain is a living ecosystem which is shaped by the different organisms which form part of that ecosystem; namely, the family, media, popular culture and the Roman Catholic Church and which translate the makings of the world of each of these individual multilingual learners. It was also seen that the two learners were very different individually with one learner abiding by all norms and traditions of the classroom and school whereas the other one made no qualms about breaking rules and about affirming himself in the classroom. As was seen above, the family as an organism also impacts on the repertoire as well as behaviour of the learners. If the family as an organism adopts the same institutional discourse as is permeated within the formal domain of the school, then the learner's repertoire mimics the official dominant discourse, as was the case of the learner who was taught at home to obey all rules and regulations. The other learner who came from an environment which was more turbulent as put forth in Chapter Four had not been taught compliance the norms and patterns of behaviour of the dominant official discourse. Nevertheless, both learners although coming to school with a rich array of fluid, dynamic language practices which has been called **environmental repertoire** in this study are taught to separate, compartmentalise and ascribe different values to the different languages present in the educational system. They are aligned with the structuralist paradigm of looking at languages and their dynamic multilingualism is normalised to multilingualism as it is understood within the structuralist paradigm. They are forced to relegate their **environmental repertoire** in the background to the informal domain of classroom discourse and allow their **linguistic repertoire** to be shaped according to the official institutional discourse.

In the following chapter, the interpretations put forth within Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight will now be brought together under a metaphor which will help us to understand better the shaping of the Mauritian primary school learner's linguistic repertoire within the multilingual educational system.

Chapter Nine

Concluding Thoughts

9.0 Orientation

This study aimed to understand how the linguistic repertoire of learners developed within multilingual education systems and had the following research questions:

- **What is the linguistic repertoire⁵⁷ of the 6-8 year old learner within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools?**
- **How is the 6-8 year old learner's linguistic repertoire developed within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools?**
- **Why does the 6-8 year old learner's linguistic repertoire develop within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools the way it does?**

Therefore, this chapter seeks to pull together the main themes and findings of the study and provide a better insight at understanding the phenomenon under study.

Hence, this present chapter has been structured accordingly. In section 9.1, the *main findings* of this study are summarised whilst the link is drawn between the research perspective taken as well as the research questions which drove the study. Following this, Section 9.2 assembles the *key constructs of the thesis* of the study and argues that paradoxically the multilingual education system in Mauritius aligns the learner with the dominant structuralist paradigm of multilingualism and performs a hegemonic compartmentalising rather than allowing for the multilingualism of the learner to remain flexible as was put forth by the theoretical lens set at the end of Chapter Two. Thus, the language ideologies are passed down to the learners through the multilingual educational system, with English and French maintaining their linguistic supremacy whilst KM remains marginalised despite the fact that it has been introduced officially within the educational system. Whilst the introduction of KM was framed as heralding a celebration of the dominant mother tongue language of the multilingual society,

⁵⁷The term linguistic repertoire has emanated from current research that is being done within the field of multilingualism (Garcia,2009; Hornberger & Link,2012; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah,2011; Wei, 2011). The construct "linguistic repertoire" will be elucidated in Chapter Two below.

the schooling system has not been concomitantly able to harness the rich potential of this linguistic heritage. The factors mitigating against the full adoption and valuing of the KM within present educational settings is elaborated. Section 9.3 deals with *the implications* that this study has contextually for Mauritius before looking at the implications beyond the context, in regards to educational policies and practice as worked out in multilingual educational systems. The theoretical implications for understanding the introduction of educational language policies in post-colonial context is also explored theoretically. The chapter is drawn to a close with a discussion of *the limitations* (9.4) present in this study and highlights some possible *avenues for future research* (9.5).

9.1 Section One: Overview to the thesis report: Seeking answers to the critical questions

9.1.1 Learners' linguistic repertoire within school talk

As argued across Chapters Four, Five and Six, the learners' linguistic repertoires differ between the different domains within which it is used. There is a clear distinction between the repertoire as it is used within formal school talk and informal school talk.

One of the striking differences within *formal* school talk amongst learners was their relatively circumscribed engagement within the domain. However, even within this level of circumscription of normative language practices, learners still can exercise options. As seen in the data one learner did not let go of any opportunity to make his voice heard whilst the other erased herself and there was a strong absence of voice in many instances. This suggests that the linguistic repertorial choice is one that is not pre-established or pre-determined, but negotiated as learners make sense of their environments in relation to their own personal lived experiential backgrounds and proficiencies, as well as expectations of the schooling world and its different languaging systems within the specific domains. However, when both participated within formal school talk, it was noted that the linguistic repertoire of both learners appeared normatively similar and both negotiated their marginal positioning as learners in very much the same manner and using similar discursive practices. Patterns of absence of voice, safetalk as well as translanguaging were common discursive practices which shaped the repertoire of both learners when both participated within the formal domain. The spaces for resistance to hegemonic forces took on more subtle forms (through attempts to upstage the co-option), but the coercive acculturation processes (exercised largely by those in power, viz. the teachers) dominate their space to negotiate within the formal domain.

By contrast, within *informal* school talk, both learners were very active and affirmed themselves fully by making use of their environmental repertoire in diverse manners. There was a clear difference in the way both learners used their environmental repertoire within informal school talk where both negotiated the construction of their identities by making use of different idiolects. This was not as visible within the formal domain of the classroom, where their discursive practices tended to be conquered with the norm of interacting formally as learners. Whereas the environmental repertoire of one of them within the informal domain was made up mainly of Creole at various instances, the other translanguaged more often shifting to and fro from French to Creole at almost all instances clearly demarcating the difference between the two. This suggests that the formal and informal domains produce different kinds of opportunities for learners to exercise their agency over their linguistic repertoire. Research that looks only within the classroom formal domains (in superficial moments of classroom observations) to understand the linguistic repertoire of learners is likely to produce distorted understandings of the presence of many different languages within the world of schooling. Through an extended ethnographic exploration which includes getting to know in-depth the specificities of particular learners, teachers (their histories and aspirations), varied classroom spaces, different language learning opportunities, habits, rituals and routines of schooling, the complexities of language practices as part of a complex social ecosystem is better yielded. Moreover, the domains within the formal schooling system are also more diverse based on the kind of physical classroom spaces that are being constructed for learners to exercise agency. Within the newly permitted KM classroom the range of mother tongue use is more relaxed and fluent, more freely exercised, even though the restricted semiotic environment of the classroom space constructed to perpetuate the hegemony of the dominant French and English discourses, simply reinforces that KM is a tolerated intruder into the hegemonic space of the Mauritian classroom.

After having summarised the answer to the first critical question, the next section will now tie the findings of the first question and seek to understand how the linguistic of the learners were constructed within school talk.

9.1.2 Constructing learners' linguistic repertoire within school talk

The second research question which had been asked was: How is the 6-8 year old learner's linguistic repertoire developed within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools? It was found that the learners' linguistic repertoire within school talk was constructed

differently due to numerous factors which shaped them whether it was within the formal domain or the informal domain.

One of the main factors that influenced the development of the learners' linguistic repertoire was the *physical space* within which the learners use it. Hence, it was noted that when the learners were in KM classes, they made sole use of Creole and translanguaged very rarely whereas when they were in EP classes, their main discursive practice was translanguaging as they shifted to and fro from using French to using Creole or English in some instances. Another factor which influenced the development of the linguistic repertoire of the learners within the formal domain was *their teacher*. Hence, when they were addressing the teachers who conducted the EP classes with them, they tended to translanguage more often than when they were interacting with their KM teacher.

Within the informal domain, one of the main factors influencing their linguistic repertoire tended to be *the audience* with whom they were interacting; whether it was their peers, the researcher herself or their siblings as in the case of one learner. Another factor which also shaped their repertoire was *the semiotised feature or object which accompanied their speech acts*. Whereas in the case of one learner, many of her speech acts revolved around a book, the other learner's linguistic repertoire was shaped by songs which often found its way within his repertoire.

This analysis suggests that the learners are not passive recipients of the worldviews about language practices and their development in the schooling context. Even whilst the circumscription might dominate through the worldview references by officialised practices, the learners are nevertheless able to interpret and make sense of when and how they will exercise their use of different languages within their repertoire. However, it is unfortunate that the perhaps rich diversity of the repertoire which learners bring with them to school is over time sanitised and compartmentalised into rigid discrete units streaming them for arrangement on a social hierarchical order. This however, is not simply an imposition perpetuated by the schooling system (its management, administration and teaching staff alone. It is symptomatic of a broader macro-societal categorisation of language practices prevalent in the wider social context, which are mainly aligned with the dominant structuralist paradigm.

9.1.3 The micro and macro systems that shape learners' linguistic repertoire within school talk

The third research question which had been asked was: Why does the 6-8 year old learner's linguistic repertoire develop within multilingual educational systems in Mauritian primary schools the way it does? As was seen above, there was quite a major difference between the repertoire of the Mauritian learner within formal and informal school talk. Whereas within formal school talk, the Mauritian learner was a marginal figure, having almost no voice and having to negotiate his/her identity through the different discursive practices brought forth, within the informal domain that was not the case. Within informal school talk, the Mauritian learner affirmed himself/herself fully making himself/herself heard boisterously and engaging in practices whereby his/her identity would come at center-stage.

One of the main reasons why the linguistic repertoire of the Mauritian learner within the multilingual educational system developed the way it did was because it was entrenched within the very ideological state institutional discourse. Hence, it was noted that although the Mauritian educational system was seen as being multilingual, it remains locked within a very structuralist way of looking at multilingualism with a monolingual mindset which compartmentalised the various languages existing and advocated the value of one language at the detriment of the other, perceiving language as being mere commodities which ensured economic success. These ideologies deeply entrenched in the monolingual mindset and which saw language as being separate and bound entities were then translated to the learners who were taught to compartmentalise and divide the languages they learned in different boxes to be used according to norms and regulations. Consequently the linguistic repertoire of the learners within formal school talk was firmly embedded and shaped within this structuralist ideology.

However, it was also seen that the multilingual educational system did not take into account the very dynamic personal reality of the environmental repertoire of the learner with which the latter came to school as was highlighted within informal school talk. Hence within the rigid structure within which the linguistic repertoire tended to develop within the formal domain, in a marginal role also existed the rich and flexible environmental repertoire of each individual learner which found its way within the outskirts of formal school talk. Besides, one of the reasons why the environmental repertoire of each learner was so individually rich was because it was influenced by the environment in which each learner inhabited. This rich heritage which intersects the

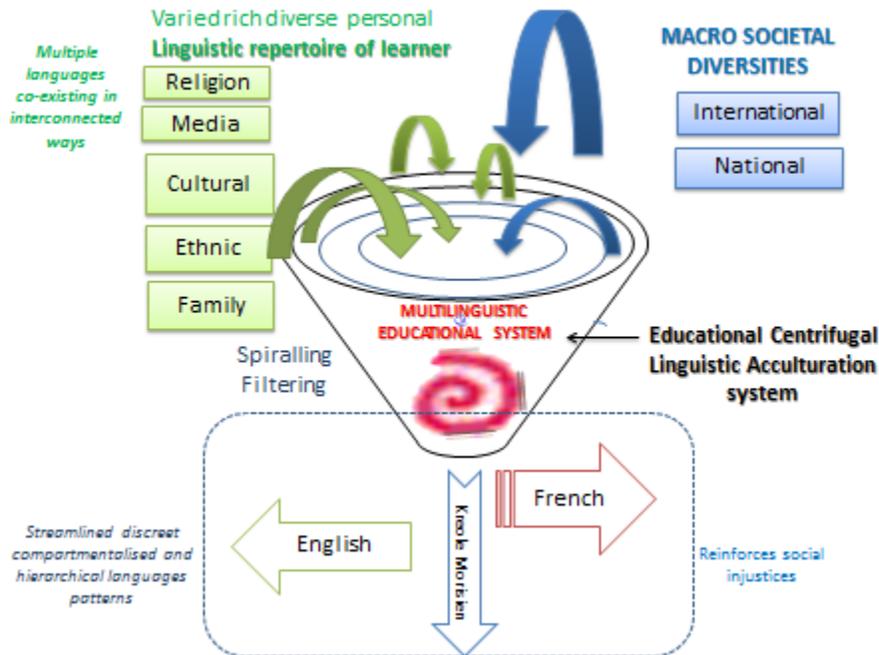
varieties of diverse languages which characterise the broad macro-society I have chosen to coin as ‘**environmental repertoire**’. This environmental repertoire draws inspiration from a wide array of forces from within the personal lived experience of the learners living in a multilingual society. The environment of the learner consisted of the public voice of the media or a religious institution as the Roman Catholic Church, whose voices found their way within the repertoire of the learner. On the other hand, the personal family backgrounds, circumstances and aspirations were also seen to amongst the main private institutional voices which become embedded in the voice of the learner. Hence the family was seen as being one of the main organisms which shaped the ecosystemic linguistic repertoire of the learners within informal school talk. The family was also responsible for the way the learner shaped his identity within both formal as well informal school talk. Hence, it was highlighted that the different ways of existing within the classroom of both learners was very much embedded within their personal biography which lead to the shaping and negotiation of their identity.

Even though learners come to school with an individual rich environmental repertoire, they were taught to separate, compartmentalise and value the different languages present in the educational system in different manners and were forced to position their rich environmental repertoire marginally within school talk. After having sought answers to the critical questions asked at the start of the study, the following section will now put forth the thesis of the study.

9.2 Section Two: The Thesis

The development of the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual learner within the multilingual educational system is a thesis that is based on the abstract constructs that emerge from the analysis of the data, notably: *that multilingual learners step into the multilingual educational system with a rich flexible linguistic repertoire which is shaped by the environment in which they inhabit and that the multilingual educational system rigidly processes that repertoire so that it is separated into a number of languages which are taught within the system.* The thesis has been visually represented by the diagram which follows beneath.

Figure Three: Educational Centrifugal Linguistic Acculturation Framework



At the onset when this study was conceptualised, the linguistic repertoire of the learner was seen as being a flexible, dynamic entity which emerged out of a unified whole, comprising of a multilingual educational system deeply embedded within a multilingual society (Refer to 2.4, Chapter Two). However, at the end of the study, it is clear that although the repertoire of learners are fluid, dynamic and flexible having been shaped within a dynamic multilingual environment, when they step into the multilingual educational system, this repertoire is processed in a rigid manner and the learners are taught to streamline the languages into discreet compartments to be used for different purposes.

The linguistic repertoire with which the learners step into the multilingual educational systems (as represented diagrammatically above) is a mix of seemingly chaotic dynamic elements which has no concrete shape and which exists as a flexible and dynamic system. Children within a multilingual context therefore acquire a fluid repertoire which is built upon the various linguistic resources that they come across within the different environments which they inhabit. Taking an ecological perspective, this study sees environment as being the ecosystem which connotes the multilingual context within which a repertoire is a living organism which shapes, adapts, readapts and

metamorphoses itself according to the ecosystem it inhabits. Similarly the multilingual children's repertoire is like that living organism which morphs itself according to the different living organisms that it comes in touch with within the ecosystem in which it is used. Children within a multilingual context do not acquire one specific language or do not have one mother tongue as such. Children within a multilingual context acquire a repertoire which is shaped mainly by the living organism which is the family. In families where Creole is used mostly and where the children are in touch with the repertoire of the media as well as that of religious institutions that families adhere to, their repertoire comprise of those linguistic resources with which they have been in contact with. In families where linguistic resources in French as well as Creole are used, the children's repertoire derives mostly from the repertoire of the family.

On the other hand, the multilingual educational system can be compared to a **centrifuge**. A centrifuge is an equipment which separates particles into discreet substances. A centrifuge could be categorised as consisting of three types. The first types are the industrial mechanical scale centrifuges which are used in waste and manufacturing industries. Through repeated spiraling, the liquid and solid elements of a mixture are filtered into separate entities. One example is the centrifuge used to separate cream in dairies. The second types are the ones which are set up in washing machines and in swimming pools to wring water out of cloths and/or filters out obstacles of dirt. Then the third types are the gas centrifuges aiming to distinguish gas particles in discreet categories. Metaphorically, the multilingual educational system can be compared with a mechanical centrifuge, which compartmentalises and separates the particles which make up the linguistic resources and puts these different mixed substances into separate language boxes. Indeed the multilingual educational system which, conversely has a strong structuralist monolingual mindset, itself is a rigid system that does not take into account the different repertoires that individual multilingual children have and aim at shaping differently the repertoire of the multilingual children. The aim of the multilingual educational system is to ensure that multilingual children do not have one repertoire but separate the different linguistic resources. Each of the separated out repertoires of different languages can then be appropriated for different purposes. These languages which make up the multilingual educational system (notably English, French and KM) after the spiralling and filtering through the centrifugal processes of schooling, are rearranged into replicating the normative hierarchical arrangements of the languages within the social system. This is captured in the diagram where the two colonial languages, English and French still

maintaining their linguistic supremacy and KM subtly downgraded (even though present). The centrifugal system provides a means to acculturate through the educational system a body of discreet language entities.

In the cases of those families who mimic the language practices of the multilingual educational system and who mirror the same discourse as well as the school ideology and ethos, the children are easily acculturated within the system. However in the case of those children who have inhabited systems which are different from the one that is dominant in the multilingual educational schooling system, they run the risk of being rejected (filtered out) by the system. Therefore the net effect is one which reinforces a strong preference for monolingual ideologies albeit within a multilingual educational environment. The educational centrifugal acculturation system engages the background repertoire of the learners and streams the learner towards separating their linguistic repertoire into different languages, hence perpetuating the monolingual mindset. This above model I have chosen to label as the **“Educational Centrifugal Linguistic Acculturation (ECLA) Framework”** which serves to filter out multilinguistic plurality and diversity towards streamlined discreet hegemonic monolingualisms. The agents of these mechanistic forces are themselves complicit in the consequence of their actions, unless they step back critically to examine the normativising potential of their action. Within this acculturation centrifugal framework however, exist elements of disruption which learners and teachers nevertheless can exercise when they are fully conversant of the implications of their actions that have become ritualised, normativised and prejudiced in favour of perpetuating the dominant status quo of inequity across different languages within a multilingual context. This potential is something that is more likely to be embraced by many towards the greater value of the wider society.

After having set up the thesis of this study, the implications of this thesis will now be seen at a number of levels. Firstly, the implications that the findings of this study has on Mauritius contextually will be discussed before setting up the implications that this thesis has theoretically as well as for educational practice and policy for post-colonial contexts similar to Mauritius.

9.3 Section Three : Implications

9.3.1 Implications within the Mauritian context

Contextually, Mauritius opened up the avenue to study the development of the linguistic repertoire of a multilingual learner under a new light on a number of levels. First and foremost as mentioned previously, the multilingualism which shaped the linguistic context was not one resulting from the

condition of immigration or globalisation but was one in which many learners were born into, hence understanding how the linguistic repertoire of the learner developed within such a context would shed valuable insights on the phenomenon. Furthermore, with the official introduction of the mother tongue within the multilingual educational system, Mauritius offered a contextual backdrop which offered a precious opportunity to better understand how languages of different sociolinguistic value coexist. This was so as the mother tongue which was the dominant language of the island and had been marginalised within the official arena for decades was now elevated to a new height. Moreover, this study was seen as offering an insight into how creole languages having official status were perceived within multilingual educational systems, phenomenon which very little research has been done. This study states the implications that its findings has contextually within Mauritius.

One of the main findings of the study has lead us to the understanding that despite the formal introduction of the mother tongue within the multilingual educational system as an optional language, *language ideologies* which permeate within the system, ideologies which are historically grounded, *continue to prevail* despite the elevation of the former marginalised language. Hence, although KM exists within the school arena formally now as a subject, the former colonial languages, English and French still continue to maintain their linguistic supremacy within the multilingual educational system, therefore resonating with other findings from studies done in post-colonial contexts. Nonetheless, it was also noted that despite the officialised expected linguistic hierarchy of English within the multilingual educational system, French continues to plays an equally important role if not a more important role as most of the interactional acts within the formal domain as well as informal domain. This may be particularly unique for the specific setting of previously Christian schooling contexts where the dominance of French as part of the ethnicised history of the school culture still prevails. Moreover, it was also found that most of the teachers translanguaged using French mainly to interact with their learners when they were teaching. Even the KM teacher very often made reference to French when teaching, therefore strengthening the hold of French on the multilingual educational system.

Another strong language ideological discourse emerging within this study is the *negative attitude towards the official introduction of KM within the multilingual education system*, which concurs with the literature available on the usage of creoles within the official domain (Siegel, 1999; 2006). Consequently, although the Education Ordinance of the island has known no change since decades,

one of the major changes which happened within the educational system was the introduction of the mother tongue as an optional language within the formal domain in 2012 after decades of struggle by a number of associations. However, the findings of the study lead us to conclude that the move to introduce the language within the educational system is not a *pedagogical* move but very much *political* move which has not been well thought out. The range of challenges that this move has led to is numerous as it emerged during the ethnographical encounter with the reality of the different actors within the formal school arena of St-Marie primary school. The relative paucity of resources (human, physical and financial resources) to activate the introduction of the new language policy suggests that insufficient planning for its adoption and implementation of such a major potential reorganisation of the educational system. From the case study one notices that the HM had to face the hassle of having only one KM temporary itinerant educator at the beginning of the term to deal with the increasing number of students within the system. The consequence is that the KM educator emerged as being a very marginal figure within the system, marginalised by his other colleagues who did not interact with him and see him as an integral part of the school and marginalised by his learners who did not see him as a fully legitimate teacher. The disregard for permanent status of the KM teachers produced a view (mainly amongst the teachers which filtered down to learners) of KM being a problematic threat to the management and administration of the school. His inability to exercise significant power and authority confirms that the appointment of teachers to enact KM is merely a symbolic rather than a substantial gesture to activate development of the KM language. In fact, it can be construed that KM as a language within the multilingual educational system finds itself marginalised at a formal level now as could be seen through the emblematic figure of Dev who was a highly marginalised figure. Moreover, the newly “incorporated” KM learner within the educational system was further marginalised upon usage of KM within formal school talk in classes other than in the circumscribed KM one, and had to negotiate his identity by making use of translanguaging as his discursive practice. This suggests that KM is only given an *espoused recognition through policy*, and that in practice it still competes against co-optive centrifugal forces. Thus, it can be contended that a change in an official policy does not lead to a *change in attitudes* attached to creole languages in comparison to colonial languages with which it cohabitates as is the case in Mauritius.

However, the thick ethnographical data revealed the rich interaction that occurred in KM classes which was not as predominantly present in other classes as such. Since the learner’s linguistic

repertoire comprised of KM mainly and he/she was allowed to interact using the repertoire, the *learner's voice could be powerfully heard* within the class and the class became alive with the learners' voices and experiences and shaped their learning accordingly. Since the KM educator taught within a compartment and did not get to interact with the other teachers who worked with the learners within the main teaching hours, it is felt that a collaboration between both teachers could lead to enhancing the learning experience of the Mauritian learners within the educational system. However to get to this juncture, a *change of mindsets and language ideologies* would require sustained engagement at all levels.

This study shows that *ideologies are produced and reproduced over generations* as is the case of Ariana, Piper's mother or Piper herself who are all products of the ideological educational system and schools serve to perpetuate normative hegemonic prejudices if not interrupted..

It is clear that change at the level of school although representative of one layer of society will not necessarily result in *change at the level of the society at large*. In fact the change brought about with educational reforms and policies are subject to influence from societal attitudes and beliefs as is the case in this study. Within the voice of the learner is embedded the voice of the school which in turn is embedded in the voice of the state which in turn is embedded in the voice of society and the different institutions at large. Hence, any changes that happen on the educational front need to be well thought of and planned to ensure the enactment of the policy on all levels and not at surface official level as is the case of the introduction of KM within the multilingual educational system of Mauritius.

9.3.2 Implications beyond Mauritius

This ethnographic study contributes on the body of research available on being a multilingual and the development of the linguistic repertoire of a multilingual individual, putting forth a perspective from a part of the world which is not as represented within the literature. Given that the linguistic situation that makes up the contours of Mauritius is different from many around the world, there is much to be gained from research on multilingualism conducted within contexts where a creole language exists. Moreover, apart from being an ethnographic study carried out in a less-researched area, this study by setting out to reconceptualise the very concept of what a language means, as well as by positing it within the realms of ethnography together with the usage of discourse analysis through the usage of a number of discourse analytical strategies such as Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia and voice, Scollon's nexus analysis, Blommaert's linguistic landscape analysis and

the theory of discourse genres, offers new approaches to think about how the linguistic repertoire of a multilingual learner develops. The following section will look at the contribution this study makes to the field of multilingualism and multilingual education.

9.3.2.1 The development of multilingual learners' linguistic repertoire

As was posited in Chapter Two, “linguaging is always being co-constructed between humans and their environments” (Garcia and Li Wei, 2013, p.17). Moreover, Makoni and Pennycook (2007, p.22) further argue that the concept of naming languages with diverse labels such as naming the language spoken in England as English, in France as French and so on is a concept that serves the interests of the states to which these languages are identified with. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) claim that considering languages as being separate, discreet entities belonging to a nation is a belief and ideology that is constructed mainly by official institutional discourses which is based on a discourse of ethnolinguistic essentialism and that exists only at the outer level and does not really hold ground in a multilingual individual's reality. Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015) claim that

the (multiple) named languages of the (multilingual) exist only in the outsider's view. From the insider's perspective of the speaker, there is only his or her full idiolect or repertoire, which belongs only to the speaker and not to any named language. (p.281).

Most of these researches which deal with the phenomenon of multilingualism having deconstructed the notion of language as being a discrete, bound separate entity and seeing instead the multilingual as being endowed with a linguistic repertoire which he/she uses accordingly within speech acts are posited in contexts in which multilingualism emerged out of immigration. However, despite the fact that the context of Mauritius is very much different from these contexts in that multilingualism does not result out of immigration, what has emerged from the study is this existence of an individual linguistic repertoire of the multilingual learner which is shaped accordingly by the various ecosystems with which he/she interacts with. Furthermore, Pennycook (2010) states

(t)o look at language as a practice is to view language as an activity rather than a structure, as something we do rather than a system we draw on, as a material of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity. (p.2).

By deploying their repertoires as they do hence, the learners construct their being within the world in which they co-exist and accentuates the thrust of their identity.

It is clear within the study that both learners interact using individual linguistic repertoire and do not come to school with one single named language as such. Instead they turn up at the doorstep of school with their rich linguistic resources which are flexible and continuously open to change.

Mostly, language acquisition theories deal with looking at explaining how either a first language is acquired or a second language is acquired or learnt. However, whether it is first language acquisition theories or second language acquisition theories, language within these theories is defined as a bound, static monolithic entity which is either acquired/ learnt in a static manner, whereby the usage of the terms 'first' and 'second' to enumerate the number of languages acquired/ learnt and which according to Makoni and Pennycook (2007) is a misnomer. As was argued in Chapter Two, this monolingual mindset of defining language does not fully take into account the reality of multilinguals (Garcia: 2009). One of the main findings of the study is that within a multilingual context, children navigate to and fro from their different linguistic resources that make up their repertoire to be able to make meaning within a communicative act. They are thus able to make use of different linguistic resources they have at their disposal within both formal and informal school talk denoting the flexibility and fluidity of the repertoire within a multilingual context. Consequently, this study opens up the avenue for further research which would lead to the development of another theory which might explicate better how multilinguals acquire repertoires and not languages as has been the case previously, a theory which would be more apt to explain how children within a multilingual context acquire a fluid repertoire which is built upon the various linguistic resources that they come across within the different environments which they inhabit. Moreover, the existence of the linguistic repertoire within multilingual Mauritius also consolidates the view put forward by Makoni and Pennycook (2007) notably that the labelling of a language as being specific to a country, is but a construct. It can be contended that the very label of a creole language is but a misnomer and a construct that emanated from a Westernised literature. A creole language is a language like any other language, be it English or French. In fact, the existence of a creole language which is said to be born out of the contact between languages (Mufwene, 2015) consolidates the theory of the linguistic repertoire which is made up of the different resources available to multilinguals. This study therefore sets the way for further socio-linguistic research on this issue.

Nevertheless, another key finding of this study is that this rich linguistic repertoire of the multilingual learner is often discarded or simply ignored by the multilingual educational system. Hence, the learners have to leave back at the doorstep of the school their linguistic repertoire to allow the school as an institution to construct their ways of being and hence their ways of interacting which therefore explains the marginal positioning of their linguistic repertoire which is

relegated within the informal domain of school talk and which is not used fully to shape their learning experiences. The following section will now put look at how this rich linguistic repertoire can be recognised and therefore inform practice as well as policy in post-colonial multilingual educational systems.

9.3.2.2 Conceiving of multilingual education as a flexible system and translanguaging as a pedagogical approach to teach within such a system.

Garcia and Li Wei (2013) contend that most multilingual educational systems over the world are heavily embedded within the monolingual mindset seeing languages as being separate bound entities which are taught separately. Hence, very few schools worldwide, despite being multilingual, recognise the rich flexible linguistic repertoire of multilingual learners and make use of it to enrich the learning experience of the learners. Weber (2014, p. 5) further goes on to identify such multilingual educational systems as being fixed “which is informed by a monolingual mindset or habitus”. He argues that such models of multilingual educational systems sees the learning of language as being the sum of the number of languages learnt.

In the case of the Mauritian multilingual educational system that this study looked at, it is clear that it is informed by a very rigid multilingual structure embedded deeply within the monolingual mindset. Upon further analysis, it is seen that this belief is deeply ingrained in the beliefs of the different organisms which make up the society; notably the state and family. As was noted before, being multilingual in Mauritius is perceived as an asset and languages are seen as commodities which ensure academic as well as economic success of individuals. Moreover, the branding of Mauritius as multilingual and the enumeration of the number of the languages that a Mauritian can speak is a construct which is deeply entrenched within the sociolinguistic description of the island, as was seen in Chapter One. This ideology permeates at different levels of society and hence many Mauritian families want their children to learn multiple languages at school to succeed in life, therefore explaining the shape that the multilingual educational system takes. Those who have access to the number of languages and can master them through being assessed in them are believed to get to the top rung of the ladder of success whereas those who are not able to master the different languages remain relegated to the last rung of that same ladder.

Consequently, the school is far from being a neutral site and becomes one of the sites which structures power distribution in the society, with the mastery of multilingualism, dictated by a monolingual mindset, perceived as being the denominator which separates those who get power

and those who do not. This case study by bringing in an ethnographic insight to the phenomenon has seen that a fixed multilingual educational system does not cater for the reality of the multilingual learner and additionally, does not succeed at keeping the different languages from interacting with each other even within formal school talk. Hence as was seen through the rich ethnographic data, most classes, apart from the KM classes, were conducted not in one sole medium of instruction but was instead conducted using translanguaging as discursive practice whether it was used by teachers or learners. Moreover, with the place of such a structure, a richer participation and interaction of learners is almost inexistent as teachers have to resort to safetalk as discursive practice very often leading to minimal usage of any language as such by the learners. When learners translanguage using Creole, they are very often rebuked and told to shift to either French or English. In comparison, the rich interaction noted in the KM classes demonstrate that if learners' linguistic repertoire are tapped into their learning experiences can be enhanced.

Therefore the study's findings lead us to think of other alternatives to a multilingual educational model which would allow the recognition of the multilingual learner's linguistic repertoire. As mentioned before, much can be achieved from the collaboration of the KM teacher as well as the teachers who teach the learners the other subjects. Opening the space for dialogue between these teachers or peer teaching would allow for a fresher insight into practice. As it is, most of the teachers who teach the learners the other subjects make use of translanguaging as a discursive practice as do their learners. Garcia and Li Wei (2013) state that

translanguaging extends our traditional definitions of language and bilingualism and disrupts traditional boundaries; and although important in mediating complex social and cognitive activities, it is seldom used in schools. The conclusion reminds readers of the potential of translanguaging as a way to produce trans-spaces and trans-subjects capable of transforming subjectivities, social and cognitive structures and the sociopolitical order, as well as to liberate language and bilingualism from the societal constraints in which it has been held by monolingual and monoglossic ideologies.(p.136)

Furthermore, Willans (2013, p.354) who comes up with similar findings within her study which looks at the language in educational policy system in Vanuatu which shares similarities with Mauritius, urges that there is a need to "consider how teaching and learning actually proceed" which should inform practice. Taking this further, this study states that there is much to be gained from not only using as translanguaging as a discursive practice but tapping into its usage as a pedagogical practice. Tapping into the flexibility of learners' linguistic repertoire and allowing other linguistic experiences by using translanguaging as a pedagogy to shape and morph it

accordingly would enhance the learners' learning rather than relegating this repertoire to a marginal position. For this to happen, the fixed multilingual education system would have to give way to a more flexible multilingual education system. According to Weber (2014, p. 6), a flexible multilingual education “builds on students' home linguistic resources, including non-standard varieties” which provide “the best educational opportunities” to all multilingual learners. The following section will now look at the implications the findings of this study has on linguistic in education policy of post-colonial countries, which such type of research can better informed.

9.3.2.3 Enacting of linguistic in educational policy in postcolonial multilingual contexts

Weber (2014, p. 1) argues that “language-in-education policies need to build upon all the resources in children's linguistic repertoires” and “fixed multilingual education” policies which are often “based upon a discourse of ethnolinguistic essentialism (linking ethnicity with language)” do not cater to the needs of multilingual learners and does not offer equal opportunities to all learners.

Certainly, as was mentioned above the same can be said of the multilingual educational system existing in post-colonial Mauritius. As was mentioned before, much of the state discourse in regards to the introduction of KM as optional language within official schooling was geared around the importance of the mother tongue within the multilingual educational system and the role that it would have as a leverage to redress social inequality (Chapter One). However, Weber (2014) further claims that the fact “that mother tongue education is best for all children” is but a mere “myth” and puts forth that

mother tongue education tends to lead to rather fixed multilingual education systems, because politicians, policymakers and teachers often rely on a discourse of ethnolinguistic essentialism in attributing a ‘mother tongue’ to schoolchildren. In most cases, however, the attribution of a single mother tongue involves at least a simplification of an increasingly complex multilingual reality. The problem is that ‘mother tongue’ is a politicized concept, and hence not the best concept to base a pedagogical approach on.(p.182).

The same can be said to hold true from the findings that emerge from this study which had as backdrop the introduction of the mother tongue as an optional language within the educational system. Although the learners are offered the opportunity to learn their mother tongue alongside the other two colonial languages within the multilingual educational system of Mauritius, they interact in a multilingual educational system which only keep “ideological and implementational spaces shut” (Willans, 2013, p. 358) despite changes within language in education policies. Willans (2013) further goes on to argue that beliefs underpinning fixed multilingual education serve only to keep spaces shut. Hence, although the state discourse within Mauritius puts forth the

opening up of a space for another language within the educational system, in doing so it shuts the space for the flexible multilingualism which is the reality of multilingual learners, which is clearly visible in the third space created by the learners when they indulge in translanguaging as a discursive practice in class to negotiate their voices and identities as learners.

An ethnographic insight into the phenomenon has brought an understanding of how the classroom space is one which is highly concerned with how a multilingual learner comes into being. This space sees not only the teaching of languages as subjects but also witnesses the usage of multilingualism by the learner to acquire knowledge at school, to interact socially and to develop cognitively. Recognising the third space created by multilingual learners within multilingual contexts as that exists in post-colonial contexts as in Mauritius sheds light on a new perspective that can be taken at the level of language planning and policy. Consequently, the findings of this study suggest that another perspective can be taken to working out the language curriculum of multilingual learners which would lead to the usage of a more apt pedagogical approach. Hence, this study suggests that language educational policy workers need to come up with a language-in-education policy which pushes the boundaries of the model which is based on the teaching of languages as separate entities and looks at a more flexible model which will recognise the flexible reality of the learner. Snell (2013, p.123) claims that if learners “come to school with less linguistic and cultural capital, and do not find there the means or motivation to increase it through educational investment, it is likely that social inequalities will be reproduced”. The introduction of the mother tongue as language policy or the consolidation of the colonial languages as medium of instruction will serve no purpose than to segregate the population of multilingual learners wherein only the fittest survives, as both are ideologically constructed from the monolingual mindset which sees monolingualism as a norm and not a multilingualism as a norm. There is a clear need for language-in-education policies in post-colonial multilingual contexts similar as that of Mauritius which take into account the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual learner as it exists in the reality of the learner.

After having looked at the implications that the findings of this study has, I will now look at the limitations of the study itself.

9.4 Section Four: Limitations

As has been set up within the initial chapters, this study is a linguistic ethnographic study which has been carried out in one school of the island and the findings emerged out of the analysis of a

slice of the data gathered with two of its three participants. I will not go into the methodological limitations encountered whilst producing data. This has been discussed at length initially (Refer to Chapter Three). However, the findings of this study cannot be generalised to attribute that data produced with all multilingual educational systems of Mauritius and all multilingual primary school learners will shed the same findings as emerged from the analysis of the data of this study. It is recognised that as a case study the intention was never to produce generalisation. Instead the case study ethnographic methodology is directed towards generating insights into the complexities of defined specific contextual realities so as to allow deeper and richer questions to be produced. The intention is not to suggest uniform answers for all contexts, but highlighted the nature of the kinds of questions that different contexts can ask of themselves, which may or may not vary from the chosen descriptive setting outlined in this specific case. As linguistic ethnographer, I have taken the responsibility for the construction of this account (Heller, 2008b, p. 251) which is embedded within my own “historically and socially situated subjectivity” which might not be the case for another researcher who sets up on a journey as I took. It should be reminded that no two journeys can be the same as the difference lies in the individual undertaking the journey.

This account which is drawing to a close stems from the fieldwork in which I was responsible for producing data with the participants in a particular setting and hence this account is shaped by the contours of my own subjectivity which I have looked at reflexively at several instances. Moreover, one of the serious limitations of this study is the lack of time that I had at my disposal. The lengthening of the fieldwork period could have probably shed a different interpretation of the data. It should also be reminded that a choice was made of the different discourse analytical frameworks that this study made use of when analysing the data produced, choice which has already been explained (Refer to Chapter Three) and that deploying different discourse analytical strategies might again have led to another interpretation of the data itself.

Another limitation of this study is that it discarded data that had been produced initially in the GP classes; reasons for which this decision was taken has been explained lengthily in Chapter Three, one of which was the dominance of teacher talk in that space. However, bringing in data from the GP classes or a change of setting and researching another school could have also given lieu to a different interpretation of the data that was produced. As this study focused on the development of the linguistic repertoire of the Mauritian primary school learners, the secondary participants of this study who were the teachers although present whilst data was produced were given lesser

importance than the learners. Nevertheless, shifting the focus from the learners to looking at the linguistic repertoire of the teachers in a more in-depth way would have probably also shed different interpretations.

These limitations now set up the road for future research which can be conducted to looking the phenomenon of linguistic repertoire within a multilingual environment which the next section will address.

9.5 Section Five: Future directions for future research

This study is seen to be a reference for future research projects as it is amongst one of the first few which have been conducted at the time of the introduction of KM within the Mauritian multilingual educational system. Moreover, the epistemological stance taken initially by reconceptualising language and redefining it as repertoire is not a stance that has been taken by any research conducted in the field of multilingualism in Mauritius recently. Hence, it paves the way for further research within the same paradigm. After having set out the limitations above, it is clear that there are many avenues that can be taken for further research.

This study does not claim to be one of its kind to draw up a good report on the sociolinguistic context present in the island. Although many researches have looked at multilingualism and the educational system of Mauritius, there is an acute lack of research that has been done on language usage within the multilingual environment taking a broader perspective to see how the different repertoires are used in the society, in institutions like the media, in religious institutions, in informal contexts as well as in literature available in the country.

Moreover, this study has looked at only the repertoire of primary school learners aged 6-8 years old. This study can be extended to look at the linguistic repertoire of younger children in pre-primary school or to look at those who attend secondary schooling therefore lending a comparative angle to this present study. Lastly, it is felt that the data produced with the secondary participants of the study was also very relevant and could lead to an in-depth research. One of the implications of this study has been in regards to revisiting educational practice and for this to happen, an in-depth study looking at the pedagogy used by educators to teach within a multilingual classroom could lead to a bottom up understanding of which practices lead to better learning by students having different repertoires within the classroom.

Likewise, one of the findings of the study showed how the family influenced the repertoire of the multilingual learner and one of the lacunas of this study was that it was set in an educational setting

and not much data is available of the participants in other settings. To be able to construct a theory on how repertoires are acquired, data would need to be produced within different settings. One angle to consider is observing the participants in informal contexts where learners affirm themselves more, within the different environments which they inhabit, including their family as well as other settings where they evolve and other audience with whom they interact.

On this note, the study will be brought to a close in the final section of the study which is the synthesis of this chapter.

9.6 Synthesis

When I started this journey as linguistic ethnographer, it was to come to a better understanding of what it meant to be a multilingual, not as seen by the monolingual eye as has been the case previously, but to understand what it meant by looking at how multilinguals come into being and childhood was thought to be an appropriate period of the life of a multilingual which would shed light on the phenomenon. As this study comes to a close, what comes to the forefront is that all individuals within a multilingual society are different and come into being differently by negotiating this being using different linguistic repertoires. There is no oneness as such or one single way of seeing things. Hence, Stevie's way of being in this world as a multilingual learner is very different from Piper's way of being due to the environment from which both stem from. Acculturating within the system as a learner means having one's voice erased as is the case of Piper whereas rebelling with the system results in a loud resonant voice which is jarring to the ears of the surroundings of that voice as is the case of Stevie who is not well seen by many of his teachers because of his rebellious voice. Having therefore a voice, a different linguistic repertoire is not accepted by the multilingual educational system and is not accepted by the system, the society at large. I hope this thesis has provided some insight into how different agents: learners and teachers; administrators, managers and policymakers; and the society at large can interpret their campaign for a deeper richer recognition of rebellious voices.

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Appendix One: Housing and Population Census 1983

Table 20 - Population by language^{1/} usually spoken and sex

Language usually spoken	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total population	966,863	481,368	485,495
Arabic	1,813	900	913
Bhacha	50	27	23
Bhojpuri	197,050	97,591	99,459
Cantonese	84	39	45
Chinese	4,707	2,391	2,316
Creole	521,950	261,571	260,379
English	2,028	983	1,045
French	36,048	16,800	19,248
German	25	13	12
Gujrati	531	245	286
Hakka	1,249	615	634
Hindi	111,134	55,478	55,656
Italian	35	18	17
Mandarin	116	61	55
Marathi	12,420	6,205	6,215
Polish	96	44	52
Punjabi	61	32	29
Russian	21	9	12
Sindhi	52	26	26
Tamil	35,646	17,473	18,173
Telegu	15,364	7,561	7,803
Urdu	23,572	11,745	11,827
Other ^{2/}	175	83	92
Not stated	2,636	1,458	1,178

^{1/} The language currently or most often spoken by the individual at home

^{2/} Twenty-five in number. Each spoken by less than 20 persons

Appendix Two: Housing and Population Census 2000

16. Language usually or most often spoken at home

The number of persons reporting only "Creole" as the language usually spoken in their home, rose from 652,200 in 1990 to 826,200 at Census 2000. As a percentage of the total population, this represents an increase from 62% in 1990 to 70% in 2000.

Increases were also observed for "French" which was reported by 40,000 persons at Census 2000 compared to 34,500 in 1990, and for "English" which was reported by 3,500 persons in 2000 against 2,200 in 1990 (Table 5).

Conversely, decreases were noted in the use of most asian languages.

Table 5 - Resident population by language usually or most spoken at home, Republic of Mauritius - 1990 and 2000 Population Censuses

Language usually or most often spoken at home	1990		2000	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bhojpuri only	201,600	19.1	142,400	12.1
Chinese languages only	3,700	0.4	8,700	0.7
Creole only	652,200	61.7	826,200	70.1
English only	2,200	0.2	3,500	0.3
French only	34,500	3.3	40,000	3.4
Hindi only	12,800	1.2	7,300	0.6
Marathi only	7,500	0.7	1,900	0.2
Tamil only	8,000	0.8	3,600	0.3
Telegu only	6,400	0.6	2,200	0.2
Urdu only	6,800	0.6	1,800	0.1
Other (including combination of languages)	121,000	11.5	141,300	12.0
Total	1,056,700	100.0	1,178,900	100.0

Appendix Three: Housing and Population Census 2011

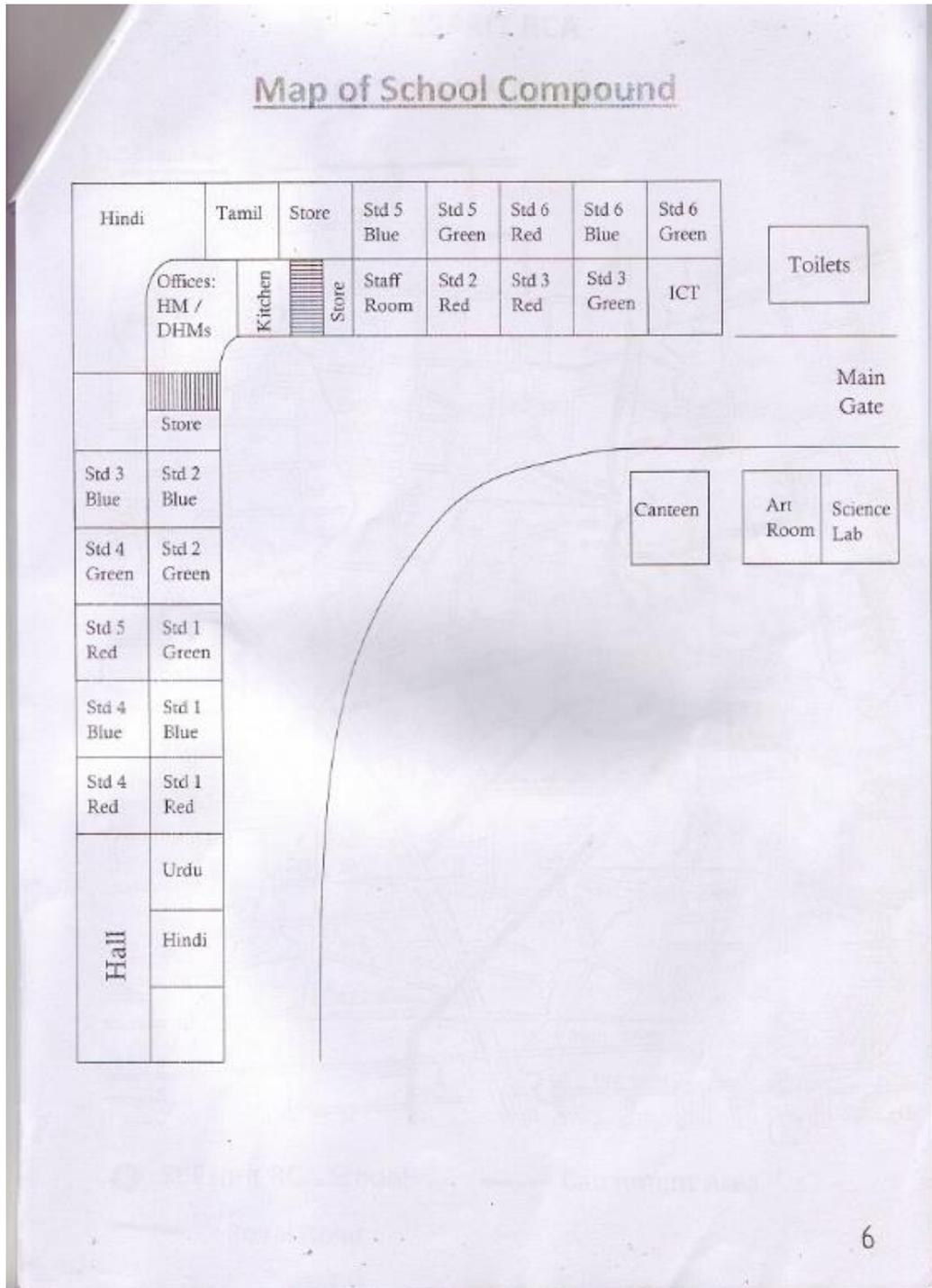
Appendix i: Statistics of languages spoken in Mauritius

Total Population, Republic of Mauritius: 1,236,817		
<i>Home Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>%</i>
Creole	1,069,874	86.5
Bhojpuri	65,289	5.3
French	51,214	4.1
Hindi	8,690	0.7
English	5,573	0.4
TOTAL	1,200,640	97

Table 1: Statistics on Languages Spoken in Mauritius

(Source: 2011 Population Census of Mauritius, Central Statistics Board)

Appendix Four: Diagram of layout of school



Appendix Five: Data production plan 1

JUNE-JULY 2013

JUNE - JULY2013	AUGUST 2013	SEPTEMBER 2013	JAN 2014	FEBRUARY 2014	MARCH 2014
Scoping the field	Observation of Standard One learners' language practices	Observation of Standard Two learners' language practices	Scoping the field.	Observation of Standard Two learners' language practices	Observation of Standard Three learners' language practices

JUNE-JULY 2013	Phases	Data Production used
1 st Week	Understanding the context	Observation Schedule- School Layout Going for a walk with the headmaster-transect walk?? Having a talk with the headmaster-unstructured interview. Walking in the neighbourhood-running record/transect walk??
2 nd Week	Understanding the teachers	Unstructured interview with the Standard One and Two classroom teachers(KM and GP)
3rd Week	Understanding the Standard One classroom (KM and GP classrooms, looking at space and signature pedagogy)	Observation Schedule- Spatial layout Observation Schedule-Signature Pedagogy

4 th week	Understanding the Standard Two classroom (KM and GP classrooms, looking at space and signature pedagogy)	Observation Schedule- Spatial layout Observation Schedule-Signature Pedagogy
5 th week	Observing the Standard One learner in the KM classroom	Observation Schedule-The learner
6 th week	Observing the Standard Two learners in the KM classroom	Observation Schedule-The learner

Appendix Six: Data Production Plan 2

Weeks	Standard	Schedule	Remarks
Week 2	III	Recordings of the repertoire of Student A, B,C	Mathematics, English, French, Science, History/Geography
Week 3	II	Recording of the repertoire of Student D and E	All lessons
Week 4	III	Recordings of the repertoire of Student A,B,C	KM lessons
Week 5	II	Recording of the repertoire of students F and G	All lessons
Week 6	III	Recordings of the repertoire of Student A, B,C	Mathematics, English, French, Science, History/Geography
Week 7	II	Recording of the repertoire of Student D and E	All lessons
Week 8	III	Recordings of the repertoire of Student A,B,C	KM lessons
Week 9	II	Recording of the repertoire of students F and G	All lessons

Appendix Seven: Data Production Plan Three

S t u d e n t s	S t a n d a r d s	D a t e s
A	III	10,11,12 Feb
B	III	13,14 Feb
C	III	17,18,19 Feb
A	II	20,21 FEB
B	II	24,25 FEB
C	II	26,28 FEB
D	II	3,4,5 MARCH
A	III	6,7 MARCH
B	III	10-12 MARCH
C	III	13,14 MARCH
A	II	17-19 MARCH
B	II	20-21 ,24MARCH
C	II	25-27 MARCH
D	II	28-31MARCH

Appendix Eight: Data Production Plan Four

STUDENTS	STANDARDS	DATES
Piper	III	24-28 Feb
Larry	III	03-07 March
Stevie	III	10-14 March
Piper	III	17-21 March
Larry	III	24-28 March
Stevie	III	31 March-03 April

Appendix Nine: Students' Profile

Name	Reason why I chose that pupil	Level
Gaël Mussard	His family and himself are from Seychelles. Seeking to facilitate his integration both in Mauritius and at school, his parents use much french with him. His creole is nevertheless very different from his friend's and I presume this is because his parents communicate in their native language at home.	Average
Grégory René	He doesn't speak much though he makes much noise. He doesn't seem to have a language of his own and seems to copy cartoon characters. He tends to shun dialogue and responds in one-word answers.	High-flyer
Kimberley Raujib	She understands language perfectly and has a very rich vocabulary which enables her to master the material. She openly uses creole in the classroom, though she seems to master french too.	High-flyer
Préseisse Jean	A very quiet girl, who seems to still be developing her language.	Low achiever
Andy Douce	He didn't attend pre-primary school. He still wouldn't hold his pencil properly and I personally had a hard time understanding whatever he said because he didn't pronounce his words properly. His language is very different from his other class mates.	Low achiever
Jordan Cathan	He is a talkative child who likes to use language and local expressions.	High-flyer

Guiciano Ravina	He is from Rodrigues. He is mainly exposed to creole and is developing at a relatively lower pace, compared with his other friends. He nevertheless participates in class and memorises rhymes just like his other friends.	Low
Nigel Lodoïska	His parents are very interested in whatever we do. They genuinely want him to be able to read and write in kreol morisien and assist him at home. I believe that the fact that his parents show interest in the subject, much unlike the other parents, will bring about marked results in his results in the long run.	Average
Annia Groëme	She uses mainly French and really has a hard time speaking creole.	High-flyer
Mélisandre Clarisse		Average

Appendix Ten: Transcript One-LIDES Version

@Begin

@Participants: G Participant A J Participant B
 M Participant C RES Researcher
 TEA teacher S1-S4 students sitting at the table

@Languages: Kreol Morisien (1) French (2) English(3)

G: Wayay@1..yoyo@1 wayay@1..

RES: Ki@1 arive@1

%tra: what happened?

G: Yoyo@1 wayay@1..

RES: C'est@2 quoi@2 ça@2?

%tra: what is this?

G: xxx (noise)

RES: Non @2# qu'est@2 ce@2 qu'il@2 y@2 a@2?

%tra: no what is it?

G: xxxsimba junior@3

RES: (addressing to J) Ki@1arive@1?

%tra: what happened?

J: Ki @1ena@1?

%tra: what do you want?

G: C'est@2 des@2 animaux@2. Simba junior@3 (overlapping)

%tra: these are animals, simba junior

RES: Simba oui@2, simba je @2 regardes@2..

%tra: samba yes,simba I watch

G: Simba junior@3?

%tra: simba junior

RES: Junior @3non@2

%tra: junior no

G: Simba?

%tra: simba
RES: Simba oui@2#Regardes@2 ton@2 sac@2 Guiciano!!
%tra: simba yes#Look at your bag Guiciano
G: xxx(noise in the background because of break time)
RES: Karem@1 mem@1?
%tra: still fasting?
G: karem@1#(Too much noise in the background, tables are being shoved, children are playing)
%tra: fasting
S1: Mwa@1mo@1 karem @1poule@1
%tra: me I am fasting on chicken
RES: Karem@1poule@1?pa@! mange@1poule@1?
%tra: fasting on chicken?you don't eat chicken?
S1: Mo @1manze@ 1mwa@1#mo@1 pa @1karem@1#
%tra: I eat#I am not fasting
RES: To@1 pa@1 karem@1?
%tra: you are not fasting?
S1: Kan @1ti @1dan@1 troiziem @1nu @1pu@1 al@1 met @1sa@1..(overlapping)
%tra: when we are in standard three we will put that
J: unintelligible
RES: (addressing to J)karem@1?
%tra: fasting
S1: Tu @2es @2karem@1 toi@2?
%tra: are you fasting you?
RES: Non@2...
%tra: no
J: Ou@1 enn @1indien@1?
%tra: are you an Indian?
RES: Uh huh...
J: Me@1 sa@1 ve@1 dir @1ou@1 karem@1
%tra: but this means you are fasting

S1: Wiii@1
%tra: yes
RES: Karem @1fini@1
%tra: the fast is over
J: To @1enn@1 indien@1?
%tra: you are Indian?
RES: Weh@1
%tra: yes:
J: Be@1 sa@1 ve@1 dir @1to@1 karem@1.
%tra: but this means that you fast
S1: Parle@2 indien@2 un@2 coup@2#parle@2 indien@2#
%tra: speak Indian a bit#speak indian
RES: Non@2..je@2 sais @2pas @2parler @2indien @2moi@2
%tra: no I don't know how to speak indian me
S1: Moi @2je @2sais@2 parler@2 chinois@2
%tra: me I know how to speak chinese
RES: Tu@2 sais @2parler @2chinois@2?dis@2
%tra: you know how to speak Chinese?say
J, S1, S2: Chung chang chin, chun chang chin
S2: Chung chang chun chun chang chun chu
RES: C'est @2quoi @2ça@2?
%tra: what's this?
S2: Chung chang chun chun chang chun chu
G: Chang chun chun chang wanchong
S2: Chung chang chun chun chang chun chu
G: Chang chun chun chang wanchong
M: Ey @1aret @1kras@1 lor@1 mwa @1do@1
%tra: hey stop spitting on me please
J: (addressing to G) Ey@1 ena@1 n @1misie@1 travay @1 xxx
%tra: hey there is a man who works

G: (addressing to J and RES) Kot @1mo@1 ti@1 aste @1lot @1cologne @1la@1#xxxlot @1cologne@1

%tra: where I have bought that perfume#that perfume

RES: Ein@1

%tra: what?

SS: Noise

Tea: Ey..Ey

RES: Sssh..(Children talk to the teacher in the background)

RES: Qu'est @2ce@2 qu'il @2y@2 a@2 Mélisandre? Pourquoi@2 tu @2es@2 au@2 sol@2?

%tra: what is it? why are you on the floor?

M: (reading in my notebook) Mé..

S3: J'ai @2acheté@2 pour@2 toi@2 (offering me a packet of cakes).

%tra: I have bought this for you

RES: Ah!merci@2.

%tra: ah!thank you

TEA: (addressing to whole class) Ale@1 manze@1 zot@1 pa@1 pu @1gagne@1 letan@1 la@1,guet @1laba@1 in@1 fin @1ariv @1ler@1 la@1

%tra: go ahead and eat,you won't have time, look there it's time

SS: Monsieur@2..

%tra: sir!

TEA: Manze@1..

%tra: eat!

RES: (addressing to S3) Ouvres@2 et @2puis@2 tu @2me@2 donnes@2 je @2vais@2 prendre@2 un @2avec @2toi@2#(S3 opens and I take one)Voilà@2Merci@2

%tra: open and then you give me, I will take one from you

M: Ki @1ete@1 la@1?

%tra: what is it?

S1: Mo @1garde@1 sink @1roupi @1ladan@1

%tra: I kept five rupees in it

M: Mwa@1 mo @1pena@1 narien@1

%tra: me I have nothing

RES: Ki @1arrive@1?
%tra: what happened?
S4: Li @1pe@1 dir@1 li kontan@1 aste @1gato@1
TEA: Manze @1zot @1pu @1al @1dan@1 repetition@1 la@1
%tra: eat you will go for rehearsal
RES: (addressing to M)Mange@2
%tra: eat!
M: mouths an answer to me which cannot be recorded
RES: Dousman@1 Dousman @1kumsa@1
%tra: slowly slowly like that
M: Bisin @1bwar@1 delo@1 aster@1
%tra: need to drink water now
RES: Kifer? @1#.Fer@1 regime@1?
%tra: why?dieting?
M: Non@2#rouge@2
%tra: no#red
RES: ah@2 le @2sirop@2?
%tra: ah the syrup?
M: Quand @2tu@2 fais@2 (mouths pipi)
%tra: ah!!when you do(mouths pee)
M: Ça @2devient @2orange@2#faut@2 boire @2de@2l'eau@2
%tra: it becomes orange#need to drink water
RES: Ah@2 ok@2#Qu'est@2-ce@2 que@2 t'as@2emmené@2?
%tra: ah ok#what have you brought?
M: Huh?
%tra: huh?
RES: Qu'est@2-ce @2que @2t'as @2emmené@2?
%tra: what have you brought?
M: (eating)dizef@1.
%tra: egg

RES: Hmm...

%tra: hmm...

M: (looking at the M in my notebook) Mélisandre..Mélisandre

TEA: (addressing to a talkative boy)Monsieur @2res@1 trankil@1..

%tra: sir stay quiet

SS: (addressing themselves to tea)×××

S3: Tu@2 avais@@ fait@2 karem@1 hier@2?

%tra: you had kept a fast yesterday?

RES: Non.

%tra: no

S3: Moi @2aussi@2 non@# juste @2ma @2soeur@2 et @2mon@2 frère@2#(noise)..Jordan

%tra: me too no, just my sister and my brother

J: Pa@1 dir @1Jordan, dir@1 Jorban#×××

%tra: don't say Jordan, say jorban

RES: Qu'est@2 ce@2 qui @2se @2passe@2?

%tra: what is happening?

M: Narien@1#(smiles) uh huh..Mé..Mé..ki sa sa..Jade..Jade

%tra: nothing

RES: Qu'est@2-ce@2 qu'il@2 y@2 a@2?

%tra: what is it?

M: Jade..Jade..Mélisandre..Mélisandre..Mélisandre

RES: Lamen@1 fre @1kumha@1?

%tra: your hand is so cold?

M: Monn@1 lave@1 mo@1 lamen@1#où sa?orange@1#o#r#a#n#g#e#orange#orange ha?bein @2regarde in@1 ekrire@1 orange.

%tra: I washed my hands#where?orange#o#r#a#n#g#e#orange#is it orange?see look it's written orange

RES: Tu@2 as @2emmené@2, uh?Tu@2 manges@2 pas@2 ton@2 pain@2?Manges @2Mélisandre@2!

%tra: you have brought,uh?you are not eating your bread?Eat Melisandre

M: ×××ki @1sa @1ve@1 dir@1?

%tra: what does that mean

J: old@3 xxx

%tra: old

RES: Qu'est@2 ce@2 t'as@2 emmené @2aujourd'hui@2?

%tra: what have you brought today?

S1: Du @2pain@2 jambon@2.

%tra: bread and ham

RES: Tu @2es @2pas@2 carême@2?

%tra: you are not fasting?

S1: Je @2vais@2 pas@2 aller @2mete@1sa @1mwa@1#

%tra: I will not go put that me

J: (overlapping)Eurgh..

S1: parce@2 que@2 ce@2 je @2suis@2 troisième@2 moi@2#

%tra: because I am in standard three me

RES: Ah#

%tra: ah

S1: C'est@2 que@2 quatrième@2#

%tra: It's only in standard four

RES: En@2 quatrième@2?

%tra: In standard four?

S1: Et@2 cinquième@2..

%tra: and standard five?

M: (mimics S1) Et @2cinquième@2..

%tra: and standard five

M: Mo@1 frer @1 dan @1 sinkiem@1..

%tra: my brother is in standard five

J: Mwa @1 mo@1 dan @1 siziem@1

%tra: me I am in standard six

M: Nah@1 twa @1 to@1 dan@1 trwaziem@1

%tra: nah#you you are in standard three

S2: Mwa@1 mo@1 dan @1 sinkiem@1#
%tra: Me I am in standard five

S4: Non @1 nu@1 dan@1 trwaziem@1
%tra: non we are in standard three

S2: Non@1 mwa@1 mo@1 dan@1 trwaziem@1
%tra: non me I am in standard three

S1: Mwa@1 mo @1 papa@1 il @2 a @2 mis@2 un @2lepe@1
%tra: me my dad he has put a sword

RES: (overlapping) Ton@2 papa@2 qu'est @2ce@2 qu'il @2a @2fait@2?
%tra: your dad what has he done?

S1: Un@1 signe @1 d'épée@1..
%tra: a sign of sword#

RES: Ah.#
%tra: ah#

S1: avec @2 des@2 cendres@2 je@2 crois@2
%tra: with soot I think

J: (sings)Delo@1..delo@1..delo@1..
%tra: water#water#water

RES: Avec@2 des@2 cendres@2?
%tra: with soot?

S1: Ce @2qui @2ont @2mis@2 sur@2 le@2#xxx
%tra: those who have put on the

M: (addressing to researcher, wanting to take her pen) Donnes@2 je @2vais @2écrire@2..C'est @2trop @2dure@2 xxx(noise)
%tra: give I will write#it's too hard

J: (addressing to researcher)J'ai @2peur @2de@2 son@2 papa@2#Emilie..J'ai @2peur@2 de @2son@2 papa@2
%tra: I am frightened of her dad#Emilie#I am frightened of her dad

RES: lerla@1
%tra: then?

M: Tension @1li @1bat@1 twa@1#

%tra: in case he beats you#

J: Kan@1 mo@1 tuv@1 li @1la@1, mo @1galoupe@1 mo @1al@1 kasiet@1

%tra: when I see him then, I run and I go to hide

RES: Ein..?

%tra: ein?

SS: Mélisandre?

%tra: Mélisandre

J: (addressing to S1) Emilie,pa@1 vre@1 kan@1 mo @1tuv@1 to@1 papa@1 mo@1 galoupe@1 mo@1 al@1 kasiet@1?

%tra: Emilie, isn't it true that when I see your dad I run and I go hide?

S1: (laughs)li @1gagne@1 per@1#

%tra: he is afraid

RES: Kifer@1?

%tra: why?

S1: Li @1gran@1 ek @1so @1figir@1 kuma@1 dir@1 li @1move@1#

%tra: He is tall and his face as if he is mean

RES: Ein#

%tra: ein#

J: Miss mo@1 ti @1dir @1ou@1 ha@1xxxkan @1mo@1 truv@1 li @1ha@1 mo@1 galoupe@1 mo@1 ale@1 xxx

%tra: miss I told you thisxxxwhen I see him I run I go to hide

SS: noise

M: (recites) I @3go@3, you@3 go@3, he@3 goes@3, she@3 goes@3, it@3 goes@3, we@3 go@3, they@3 go@3, you@3 go@3.

SS: noise

S4: Ey @1Jordan

%tra: hey jordan

J: laughs(noise)(unintelligible)ena@1 enkor @1dipain @1pu @1mwa@1?to@1ena@1 enkor @1dipain@1 pu@1 mwa@1?

%tra: is there more bread for me?do you have more bread for me?

RES: Tu @2as @2pas@2 même@2 mangé@2?

%tra: you have not even eaten?

M: Ein@1?

%tra: what?

RES: Tu @2as@2 pas @2mangé@2?(noise)

%tra: You didn't eat?

M: (reads)A @3red@3 triangle@3#a@3 blue@3#(noise in the background) square@3 (emphasis on square)#a@3 yellow @3circle@3#a @3green@3 (pause) rectangle@3#

SS: (repeats after M)A@3 red@3 triangle@3,a@3 blue@3 square@3,a @3yellow@3 circle@3, a @3green@3 rectangle@3#

S1: (reads)A@3 red @3triangle@3, a @3blue@3 square@3,a @3yellow@3 circle@3, a@3 green @3rectangle@3#

M: Mo @1kapav@1 fer@1 sa @1ziska@1 san@1, ha@1 ban@1 nimer@1 la@1#

%tra: I can do this till 100,those numbers

RES: Ki@1 arive@1?

%tra: what happened?

M: Ha@1 ban@1nimer@1ki @1miss@1 in @1dir @1fer@1 la@1 mo@1 kapav@1 fer@1 ha@1 ziska@1 san@1#

%tra: those numbers that miss has told us to do i can do them till hundred

RES: To @1kapav@1? (In the background the children are still reciting a red triangle..)#To @1kapav @1ekrir @1li @1ziska @1san@1?

%tra: Can you?Can you write it till hundred?

M: Non @1pa@1 ekrir@1 xxx

%tra: no not write

S1: Moi@2 mon @2papa@2 xxx

%tra: me my dad

SS: noise(children talking) xxx

M: (reads)one@3 hundred@3

S1: Mwa @1mo@1 pe@1 copye@1# copye@1

%tra: me i am copying#copying

M: (reads)My @3body @3parts@3#

RES: Qu'est @2ce@2 que@2 tu @2fais@2 Jordan@2?

%tra: what are you doing Jordan?

M: (shouts)Ey@1!!(G talking in background unintelligible)li @1donn@1 li@1 dipen@1#

%tra: ey!!he gives him bread

TEA: Mo @1garson@1 ki @1pe@1 arive@1?

%tra: my boy what is happening?

M: (addressing to Teacher) mo@1 donn@1 li @1dipen@1

%tra: I gave him bread

S5: Non@1 pou @1mwa @1sa@1#

%tra: no this is mine

G: (addressing to Researcher) (unintelligible)jusqu'a @2cent@2 il @2y@2a @2chez@2 moi@2#

%tra: till hundred there is at my place

RES: Jusqu'a@2 cent@2 tu@2 as@2 chez@2 toi@2?

%tra: Till hundred you have at your place?

TEA: Manze@1#

%tra: Eat!

G: Les @2chiffres@2#

%tra: The letters#

RES: (addressing to G)tu @2as@2 fini @2de @2manger@2?

%tra: did you finish eating?

G: Oui@2.

%tra: yes

RES: Qu'est@2-ce@2 que@2 t'as @2emmené @2aujourd'hui@2?

%tra: what have you brought today?

G: Saucisses@2

%tra: sausages

RES: Tu@2 es @2pas@2 karem@1?

%tra: you are not fasting?

G: Oui@2, saucisses @2chinois@2

%tra: yes, Chinese sausages

M: (addressing her neighbor) non@1 lot @1la@1#

%tra: no the other one

RES: Végétarien@2?(pause)(noise unwrapping of packages)

%tra: vegetarian?#

S1: To@1 met @1li @1lor @1to@1 front@1?

%tra: you put it on your forehead?

G: Mo @1met@1 la@1 krwa@1xxx

%tra: I put a cross

J: (showing me his bread in which he has put his cakes)Miss @1mo@1 met @1gato@1 ladan@1#

%tra: miss i put cakes in it

RES: Ena @1gato@1 ladan@1?

%tra: there are cakes in it?

J: Bon@1ha@1xxx

%tra: it's good

M: xxx kontan@1 met@1 gato@1

%tra: xxxlikes putting cakes

RES: Li @1pa@1 kontan@1 manz@1 diber@1?

%tra: he doesn't like eating butter.

M: Sa @1mo@1 liv @1prefere@1 # souri@1

%tra: this is my favourite book#mouse

RES: (reads) Sourimousse

%tra: Sourimousse

J: Mo @1amen@1 diber @1dan@1 mo@1 dipain@1 mo@1 pran@1 tou @1mo@1 gato@1 mo @1met@1 dan @1mo @1dipain@1#

%tra: I brought butter in my bread,I take all my cakes I put in my bread#

SS: noise

G: Wi@1 her @1diswar@1

%tra: Eight o'clock at night

M: (angry at J for snatching the book she was reading)Na@1#uh#huh#

J: Pou @1mwa @1ha@1 (noise)#pou@1 mwa @1ha@1

%tra: It is mine#it is mine

RES: Lir@1 kot @1to @1arive@1

%tra: read where you have reached

M: (reads)souri on@2(overlapping)
%tra: mouse we
G: (overlapping)Mo@1 baigne@1 tou@1
%tra: I bath also
M: Jupe@2 robe @2
%tra: Skirt dress
RES: To@1 met@1 la @1krwa @1lo@1 lor@1 front@1#Tu @2mets@2 pas@2 toi@2?
%tra: You put a cross on on the forehead#you don't put you?
M: (in background reading)chaussette@2 chaussure@2
%tra: socks shoes
G: Wi@1#
%tra: yes#
J: Ey @1pou@1 mwa @1sa@1#
%tra: hey this is mine
M: Non@1#ey@1#
%tra: non#hey#
S1: Pa@1 lager@1#
%tra: don't fight#
J: Pou@1 mwa@1 ha@1
%tra: this is mine
S4: (reading from the book)[sound of ch]ticket@3#ticket@3
M: (reads) xxx
J: Pou @1mwa@1 ha@1#(tries to snatch the book)
%tra: this is mine#
M: Ey@1#(I help by keeping the book so all can see it)
%tra: hey#
J: Pou@1 @1mwa @1ha@1#
%tra: this is mine#
RES: (helping M read) chapiteau@2
%tra: marquee

M: chapiteau @2
%tra: marquee

J: menti@1!
%tra: false

RES: Ça @2c'est@2 quoi@2?
%tra: what is this?

J: Sirk@1 ha@1 (pause)(reads)elephant@2..
%tra: this is circus#elephant

M: éléphant@2#tête@2
%tra: elephant#head

TEA: (in background)Ale @1vit@1 vit @1 (unintelligible)
%tra: Come on quick quick

M: tronc@2
%tra: trunk

RES: C'est @2son@2 livre@2 sa@1?
%tra: Is this his book?

M: Nah@1..oui@2..non@2#
%tra: nah#yes#no

RES: C'est @2@2pas @2ton@@ livre@2?
%tra: this is not your book

M: Non@1 pou@1 miss@1 pou@1 miss @1sa@1
%tra: non this is miss'#this is miss'

J: (overlapping)Ey @1miss dir@1 li@1 ran@1 mwa@1 mo@1 liv@1#
%tra: hey miss tell her to return me my book#

RES: To @1liv @1sa@1?twa@1 ki@1amene@1?
%tra: is this your book?have you brought this?

M: menti@1#to@1 pa @1amen@1 ha @1twa@1miss (unintelligible) ki @1amene@1
%tra: false#you didn't bring this you#missxxxwho brought#

RES: Kisanla@1 in@1 amene@1?
%tra: who brought?

M: Miss Syndia..enn@1 miss

%tra: miss syndia#a miss

J: Mo@1 liv@1 prefere@1 ha@1,tou@1 lezur@1 mo@1 get@1 sa@1

%tra: this is my favourite book#everyday I look at it

M: Menti@1, to@1 lir @1enn @1lot @1liv@1 #(J and M are fighting over the book)

%tra: lies#you read another book#

RES: Pa @1lager@1 bann@1zenfan@1#aargh#

%tra: don't fight kids

M: Méchant@2..mo@1 pu@1dir@1 ha@1 to@1mama@1

%tra: bad boy#i will tell this to your mum

J: (overlapping)mo@1 liv@1 prefere@1 ha@1 (pause)(noise)

%tra: this is my favourite book

RES: Be @1tu @2peux @2partager@2 non@2?(addressing to M)donne..

%tra: well you can share cant you?give#

M: (overlapping) Il@2 veut @2pas @2partager @2lui@2

%tra: he doesn't want to share him

TEA: (in the background) Asiz @1twa@1 garson@1

%tra: sit down boy!

RES: Il @2veut @2pas@2 partager@2#Voilà@2#

%tra: he does not want to share#there#

J: Sa @1sirk@1 ha@1 (noise)(pause)sirk@1

%tra: this is a circus#circus

M: unintelligible

RES: (J returns the book to me) Fini @1plein @1tou@1?fini@1 plein@1 tou@1?fini @1gete @1tou@1?

%tra: already bored?already bored?already looked at it?

J: fini @1guete@1 mo@1 met@1 (unintelligible) ladan@1 (pause)

%tra: already watched#i putxxxin it

TEA: (in the background) pa @1gato@1(unintelligible)

%tra: not cake

SS: Monsieur@2, monsieur@2

%tra: sir#sir

M: lir @1ha@1..ha@1..

%tra: read this#this

RES: Sourimousse..sourimousse

%tra: Sourimousse..sourimousse

J: Miss@1 ou@1 konn @1ekrir@1 mo@1 non@1?

%tra: miss do you know how to write my name?

RES: Non@1

%tra: no

J: Ekrire@1 enn@1 kou@1

%tra: write

TEA: (overlapping in the background)Ramasse@1ha@1.midi @1to @1manze @1sa@1

%tra: Pick this up#At noon you eat this.

J: Ekrire@1 mo@1 non @1ladan@1 (pause)(noise)

%tra: write my name in it#

M: gagne@1 giji @1giji@1..(she laughs) gagne@1 giji @1giji@1..

%tra: feel ticklish#(she laughs)feels ticklish

J: (reads)Jérôme.jérôme

RES: (overlapping)Non@1 Jordan@1 ha@1

%tra: no it's jordan

J: Menti@1 in@1 ekrire@1 j o r o o m

%tra: false it's written j o r o o m

RES: ala@1 mo@1 plume@1 in @1aret @1ekrire@1 (pause)(noise in background)

%tra: see my pen has stopped writing

J: Save@1 dir@1 to@1 bizin @1aret@1 ekrire@1 (pause)(noise in background)

%tra: this means you should stop writing

M: (giggles)(unintelligible)

RES: Quoi@2?Non@2 n'écrit@2 pas @2sur@2 la @2main@2

%tra: what?no don't write on the hand

S1: Moi @2aussi@2, moi@2 aussi@2
%tra: me too, me too

M: Moi@2 aussi@2
%tra: me too

RES: Voilà@2
%tra: there

J: enn@1 plume@1 magik @1ha@1#
%tra: this is a magic pen

RES: Weh@1
%tra: yeah

M: Non@2 tir@1 li @1nu@1 re@1 met@1enn@1 lot@1#tir@1 li@1
%tra: no remove it we will put another one again#remove it

RES: N'écris@2 pas@2 dans@2 la@2 main@2
%tra: don't write on the hand

S1: xxx lamain@1
%tra: the hand

RES: Lui@2 il @2est@2 un @2garçon@2, les@2 filles@2 on@2 écrit@2 pas @2dans@2 la @2main@2
%tra: he is a boy,girls we don't write on our hands

TEA: (in background)Assis@2, to@1 pa @1kapav@1 res@1 trankil@1?
%tra: sit down!#you can't stay quiet?

G: xxxkoman@1 sa@1
%tra: this is an order

M: bol@2
%tra: bowl

S1: xxxla@2 maison@2
%tra: the house

M: le@2#le@2#
%tra: the#the

TEA: (in background)Mange@1#Mange@1#Mange@1

%tra: Eat#eat#eat

RES: Tu@2 manges @2pas @2gâteau @2toi@2?

%tra: you don't eat cake you?

TEA: (in background) Ey @1donn@1 sa@1 la@1

%tra: hey give this here

RES: Fini @1mange@1

%tra: finished eating?

TEA: (in background)Ramas@1 sa@1

%tra: pick this up!

RES: Tu@2 as@2 gardé@2, tu@2 as@2 gardé @2pour @2plus @2tard@2?

%tra: you kept#you kept for later?

M: mouths an answer which can't be heard

RES: Tout@2 à@2 l'heure@2#

%tra: later#

S1: Miss@2, dedans@2 il@2 y @2a @2pas @2poule@1 dedans@2

%tra: miss in this there is no chicken in this

RES: Il @2 y @2a @2pas @2poule@1 dedans@2

%tra: there is no chicken in this

M: unintelligible

RES: Non@2 xxxmaintenant@2?

%tra: nonxxxnow?

S1: Il@2 y @2a @2poule@1?

%tra: is there chicken?

RES: Il@2 y @2a@2 pas@2 poule@1, il @2y @2a @2oeuf@2 je@2 crois@2#non@2 non@2 il@2 y @2a@2 pas@2

%tra: there is no chicken, there is egg I think#no no there isnt

S1: Save@1 dir @1(unintelligible)

%tra: this means

RES: Weh@1#

%tra: yeah#

S1: J'ai pas (unintelligible)

%tra: I don't havexxx

G: Melisandre pu vin devan1..

%tra: melisandre will come in front

RES: devan1 kote1

%tra: in front where?

G: lake @1garson@1#

%tra: boy's queue

RES: Ein1?

%tra: what?

M: Wi1

%tra: yes

RES: Lake@1 garson@1 swa @1lake@1 tifi@1

%tra: boys' queue or girls' queue

M: Lake @1garson@1 (pause)ein1

%tra: boys' queue#what?

S1: (interrupts)(unintelligible) ne @2sait @2pas@2 marcher@2

%tra: don't know how to walk

RES: An@1 tu@2 tu @2leur @2montres@2 comment@2 marcher@2?(pause) Tu @2montres @2aux @2garcons@2 comment @2marcher@2?

%tra: so you you show them how tow alk?#you show the boys how to walk?

M nods

RES: Miss@2 t'as@2 dit @2de@2 montrer @2aux@2 garcons @2comment @2marcher@2?

%tra: miss told you to show the boys how to walk?

TEA: (addressing to a student)Ey@1 ramas @1 sa@1 liv@1 la@1

%tra: hey keep that book away

RES: Et @2comment@2 tu@2 fais@2?

%tra: and how do you do that?

TEA: Ale@1 ramas@1 sa@1 bann @1 liv@1 la@1

%tra: come on keep those books away

RES: Et @2ils@2 marchent @2comme @2toi@2?# Ils@2 marchent @2comme@2 toi @2les@2 garcons@2?

%tra: and they walk like you?#they walk like you, the boys?

M: Ils@2 marchent@2.

%tra: they walk

J: (interrupts)vremem @1 bann @1 garson@1 mars @1 kuma@1 li@1

%tra: it's true that the boys walk like her

RES: An @1 zot @1 mars@1 kuma @1 li@1?

%tra: so they walk like her

M: Fos@1

%tra: false

J: Vremem@1 (pause)Miss@1 ki@1 dir @1 li @1 li @1 bisin@1 fer@1 #

%tra: it's true#it's miss who told her that she should do

RES: Miss@1 in@1 dir@1 zot @1 bisin @1 mars @1 kuma@1 li@1

%tra: miss told you that you should walk like her

M: Wi@1

%tra: yes

RES: Pa @1 sot-sote@1

%tra: don't jump

J: Miss@1 kin@1 dir @1 li@1 ki @1 nu @1 bisin@1 fer@1

%tra: miss has told her that we should do

M: (unintelligible)

RES: Ein@2 tu @2vois@2?(pause)be @1 to@1 mem@1 to @1 pe@1 sote@1

%tra: so you see?#but you yourself you are jumping

M giggles

J: Lot@1 zur@1 la @1 miss(unintelligible) sote@1 li @1 gagne@1 per@1

%tra: the other day missxxxjump she got scared

M: unintelligible

RES: (unintelligible) pleures@2? C'est @2arrête@2 seulement@2..Il @2y @2a @2pas@2 de @2piles@2

%tra: cry?It has stopped though#there are no batteries

S3: C'est@2 comment@2 tu @2écris@2(unintelligible)
%tra: how is it that you write#xxx
M: Ey@1 mo@1 boutey@1
%tra: hey my bottle
S1: Non@2 parce@2 que@2 lui@2 il @2 va @2 vite@2, parce @2 que @2 miss@2 va @2
(unintelligible)
%tra: non because him he goes quick#because miss goes
J: Kan@1 to@1 dir @1 nu@1 lera @1 mo@1 pou @1 donn@1 twa@1 #
%tra: when you tell us then I will give you
RES: Quand@2 tu @2 seras @2 à @2 mon@2 âge@2, lera @2 toi @2 aussi@2 tu@2 écriras @2
vite@2
%tra: when you will be my age,then you also will write quickly
M: Mo @1boutey@1
%tra: my bottle
RES: Ki @1arive@1?
%tra: what happened?
M: Li @1pran@1 mo@1boutey@1.
%tra: he took my bottle
RES: Retour @1so@1 boutey@1 (pause) Jordan, retour @1so @1boutey@1
%tra: return her bottle#jordan, return her bottle
J: Miss (unintelligible)
%tra: missxxx
RES: Pa @1fer@1 move@1#(J returns her bottle)
%tra: don't be naughty#
S1: Miss@2 quand@2 tu@2parles@2 ça @2rentre @2dedans@2?
%tra: miss when you talk it goes inside?
RES: Non@2(pause)(unintelligible) la@2 table@2(pause) tu@2 fais @2méchante@2 aujourd'hui@2?
%tra: non#xxxthe table#you are being naughty today?
M: giggles in acquiescence
S: sings in the recorder(unintelligible)
@END

pause

xxx unintelligible

Appendix Eleven: Transcription Two- Second version

Participants	<p>G (Participant)</p> <p>J (Participant)</p> <p>M (Participant on which the focus was when recording this conversation)</p> <p>TEA (Kreol Morisien)</p> <p>S1-S4</p>
Situation	<p>It is break time during the Kreol Morisien class; during this break time students are allowed to go to the toilet. This conversation starts when they are coming back to class after having been to the loo, and are taking out their food to eat in the classroom. RES is seated by M and quickly is joined at the table where she sits with her group by J and G because of their interest in RES. TEA is inside the class; he walks around making sure the children eat because they have to leave the class after the break to repeat for the Independence day which will be held in a few days' time.</p>
Languages involved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kreol Morisien highlighted in bold • French highlighted in italics • English highlighted through underlining>
Date of Recording	<p>06.03.2014</p>
Raw Field Notes	<p>Children go to the loo and then they will go for the repetition. M jumps with her lunchbag. M says 'quand tu fais pipi, c'est orange' ...so she has to drink water. M is very excited today miming a lot making a lot of gestures, eating her bread. M is miming that Samuel who is speaking is mad. M says 'delo delo' can't open her bottle. M 'mo labous coince', reading off the wall chart, "I go, you go...." She reads fre-fre, she reads 'a red triangle, a blue square, a circle, a green rectangle'. J goes under the table to give Raphael his bread. M has Sourimousse under her table. Raphael helps her to read the words. J snatches the book from M and then returns it back. Ciara gives me a big hug, has got a cake for me. Classes ended early today because of repetition for Flag-raising ceremony. During break time, I had a chat with Emilie, G and J in regards to my ethnic belonging. They wanted to know if I was Hindu and if I was fasting as they are fasting. They asked me to speak in Hindi. When I refused they started imitating Chinese sounds. A student from the other class has taken a liking for me and has got me a cake. M was very excited today, kept moving around. I learned that J has a crush on me. His friend told me, "Miss il est amoureux de vous.."</p>

G: Wayay...yoyo wayay...

RES: Ki arive?

tra: what happened?

G: Yoyo wayay...

RES: C'est quoi ça?

tra: what is this?

G: (unintelligible;noise)

RES: Non...(unintelligible) qu'est ce qu'il y a?

tra: no what is it?

G: (unintelligible)simba junior

RES: (addressing to J) Ki arive?

tra: what happened?

J: Ki ena?

tra: what do you want?

G: C'est des animaux... Simba junior (overlapping)

tra: these are animals, simba junior

RES: Simba oui, simba je regardes...

tra: simba yes,simba I watch

G: Simba junior?

tra: simba junior

RES: Juniornon

tra: junior no

G: Simba?

tra: simba

RES: Simba oui#Regardes ton sac Guiciano!!

tra: simba yes#Look at your bag Guiciano

G: xxx(noise in the background because of break time)

RES: **Karem mem?**

tra: still fasting?

G: **karem...**(unintelligible;Too much noise in the background, tables are being shoved, children are playing)

tra: fasting

S1: **Mwa mo karem poule**

tra: me I am fasting on chicken

RES: **Karem poule pa mange poule?**

tra: fasting on chicken?you don't eat chicken?

S1: **Mo manze mwa (unintelligible)mo pa karem (unintelligible)**

tra: I eat (unintelligible)I am not fasting...

RES: **To pa karem?**

tra: you are not fasting?

S1: **Kan ti dan troiziem nu pu al met sa..(overlapping)**

tra: when we are in standard three we will put that

J: unintelligible

RES: (addressing to J)**karem?**

tra: fasting

S1: *Tu es karemtoi?*

tra: are you fasting you?

RES: *Non...*

tra: no

J: **Ou enn indien?**

tra: are you an Indian?

RES: Uh huh...

J: **Me sa ve dir ou karem...**

tra: but this means you are fasting

S1: **Wiii**

tra: yes

RES: **Karem fini?**

tra: the fast is over?

J: To enn indien?

tra: you are Indian?

RES: **Weh!**

tra: yes:

J: Be sa ve dir to karem...

tra: but this means that you fast

S1: *Parle indien un coup...parle indien...*

tra: speak Indian a bit...speak indian

RES: *Non...je sais pas parler indien moi...*

tra: no I don't know how to speak indian me...

S1: *Moi je sais parler chinois...*

tra: me I know how to speak Chinese...

RES: *Tu sais parler chinois?dis...*

tra: you know how to speak Chinese?say...

J, S1, S2: Chung chang chin, chun chang chin

S2: Chung chang chun chun chang chun chu

RES: *C'est quoi ça?*

tra: what's this?

S2: Chung chang chun chun chang chun chu

G: Chang chun chun chang wanchong

S2: Chung chang chun chun chang chun chu

G: Chang chun chun chang wanchong

M: Ey aret kras lor mwa do

tra: hey stop spitting on me please

J: (addressing to G) Ey ena enn misie travay (unintelligible)

tra: hey there is a man who works (unintelligible)

G: (addressing to J and RES) Kot mo ti aste lot cologne la...(unintelligible)lot cologne...

tra: where I have bought that perfume...that perfume

RES: **Ein?**

tra: what?

SS: Noise

Tea: Ey..Ey

RES: Sssh..(Children talk to the teacher in the background)

RES: *Qu'est ce qu'il y a Mélisandre? Pourquoi tu es au sol?*

tra: what is it?why are you on the floor?

M: (reading in my notebook) Mé..

S3: *J'ai acheté pour toi (offering me a packet of cakes).*

tra: I have bought this for you

RES: *Ah!merci...*

%tra: ah!thank you...

TEA: (addressing to whole class) **Ale manze zot pa pu gagne letan la,guet laba inn fin ariv ler la**

%tra: go ahead and eat,you won't have time, look there it's time

SS: *Monsieur...*

%tra: sir!

TEA: **Manze...**

%tra: eat!

RES: (addressing to S3) *Ouvres et puis tu me donnes je vais prendre un avec toi...(S3 opens and I take one)Voilà..Merci...*

%tra: open and then you give me, I will take one from you...(S3 opens and I take one)Here...Thank you...

M: **Ki ete la?**

%tra: what is it?

S1: **Mo garde sink roupi ladan**

%tra: I kept five rupees in it

M: **Mwa mo pena narien...**

%tra: me I have nothing

RES: **Ki arive?**

%tra: what happened?

S4: **Li pe dir li kontan aste gato**

TEA: **Manze zot pu al dan repetition la**

%tra: eat you will go for rehearsal

RES: (addressing to M)*Mange*

%tra: eat!

M: mouths an answer to me which cannot be recorded

RES: **Dousman Dousman kumsa**

%tra: slowly slowly like that

M: **Bisin bwar delo aster...**

%tra: need to drink water now

RES: **Kifer?...Fer regime?**

%tra: why?dieting?

M: **Non...rouge**

%tra: no...red

RES: *ah le sirop?*

%tra: ah the syrup?

M: **Quand tu fais (mouths pipi)**

%tra: ah!!when you do(mouths pee)

M: **Ça devient orange...faut boire del'eau**

%tra: it becomes orange...need to drink water

RES: *Ah ok...Qu'est-ce que t'as emmené?*

%tra: ah ok...what have you brought?

M: **Huh?**

%tra: huh?

RES: *Qu'est-ce que t'as emmené?*

%tra: what have you brought?

M: **(eating)dizef.**

%tra: egg

RES: Hmm...

%tra: hmm...

M: (looking at the M in my notebook) **Mélisandre..Mélisandre**

TEA: (addressing to a talkative boy)**Monsieurres trankil...**

%tra: sir stay quiet

SS: (addressing themselves to tea; unintelligible)

S3: *Tu avais faitkarem hier?*

%tra: you had kept a fast yesterday?

RES: *Non.*

%tra: no

S3: *Moi aussi non...juste ma soeur et mon frère...(noise)Jordan*

%tra: me too no, just my sister and my brother

J: **Pa dir Jordan, dir Jorban...(unintelligible)**

%tra: don't say Jordan, say jorban

RES: *Qu'est ce qui se passe?*

%tra: what is happening?

M: **Narien...(smiles) uh huh..Mé..Mé..ki sa sa..Jade..Jade**

%tra: nothing

RES: *Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?*

%tra: what is it?

M: **Jade..Jade..Mélisandre..Mélisandre..Mélisandre**

RES: *Lamen fre kumha?*

%tra: your hand is so cold?

M: **Monn lave mo lamen...où sa?orange...o...r...a...n...g...e...orange...orange ha?bein ...regarde inn... ekrir... orange...**

%tra: I washed my hands...where?orange...o...r...a...n...g...e...orange...is it orange?see look it's written orange

RES: *Tu as emmené, uh?Tu manges pas ton pain?Manges Mélisandre!*

%tra: you have brought,uh?you are not eating your bread?Eat Melisandre

M: **(unintelligible)ki sa ve dir?**

%tra: what does that mean?

J: **old...(unintelligible)**

%tra: old

RES: *Qu'est ce t'as emmené aujourd'hui?*

%tra: what have you brought today?

S1: *Du pain jambon...*
 %tra: bread and ham
 RES: *Tu es pas carême?*
 %tra: you are not fasting?
 S1: *Je vais pas aller mete sa mwa...*
 %tra: I will not go put that me
 J: (overlapping)Eurgh..
 S1: *parce que ce je suis troisième moi...*
 %tra: because I am in standard three me
 RES: Ah...
 %tra: ah
 S1: *C'est que quatrième...*
 %tra: It's only in standard four
 RES: *En quatrième?*
 %tra: In standard four?
 S1: *Et cinquième...*
 %tra: and standard five?
 M: (mimics S1) *Et cinquième...*
 %tra: and standard five
 M: **Mo frer dan sinkiem...**
 %tra: my brother is in standard five
 J: **Mwa mo dan siziem**
 %tra: me I am in standard six
 M: **Nah...twa to dan trwaziem...**
 %tra: nah...you you are in standard three
 S2: **Mwa mo dan sinkiem...**
 %tra: Me I am in standard five
 S4: **Non nu dan trwaziem...**
 %tra: non we are in standard three
 S2: **Non mwa mo dan trwaziem...**

%tra: non me I am in standard three

S1: **Mwa mo papa il a mis un lepe...**

%tra: me my dad he has put a sword

RES: (overlapping) *Ton papa qu'est ce qu'il a fait?*

%tra: your dad what has he done?

S1: *Un signe d'épée...*

%tra: a sign of sword...

RES: Ah...

%tra: ah...

S1: *avec des cendres je crois*

%tra: with soot I think

J: **(sings) Delo...delo..delo...**

%tra: water...water...water...

RES: Avec des cendres?

%tra: with soot?

S1: *Ce qui ont mis sur le...(unintelligible)*

%tra: those who have put on the ...(unintelligible)

M: (addressing to researcher, wanting to take her pen) **Donnes je vais écrire...C'est trop dure...(unintelligible:noise)**

%tra: give I will write...it's too hard...

J: (addressing to researcher) **J'ai peur de son papa...Emilie..J'ai peur@2 de @2son@2 papa@2**

%tra: I am frightened of her dad...Emilie...I am frightened of her dad

RES: **lerla**

%tra: then?

M: **Tension li bat twa...**

%tra: in case he beats you#

J: **Kan@1 mo@1 tuv@1 li @1la@1, mo @1galoupe@1 mo @1al@1 kasiet@1**

%tra: when I see him then, I run and I go to hide

RES: Ein..?

%tra: ein?

SS: Mélisandre?

%tra: Mélisandre

J: (addressing to S1) **Emilie,pa vre kan mo tuv to papa@1 mo galoupe mo al kasiet?**

%tra: Emilie, isn't it true that when I see your dad I run and I go hide?

S1: (laughs) **li gagne per#**

%tra: he is afraid

RES: **Kifer?**

%tra: why?

S1: **Li gran ek so figir kuma dir li move...**

%tra: He is tall and his face as if he is mean

RES: Ein?

%tra: what?

J: **Miss mo ti dir ou ha(unintelligible)kan mo truv li ha mo galoupe mo ale(unintelligible)**

%tra: miss I told you this (unintelligible)when I see him I run I go to hide...

SS: noise

M: (recites) **I go, you go he goes, she goes, it goes, we go they go, you go...**

SS: noise

S4: **Ey Jordan**

%tra: hey jordan

J: **laughs(noise)(unintelligible)ena enkor dipain pu mwa?to ena enkor dipain pu mwa?**

%tra: is there more bread for me?do you have more bread for me?

RES: *Tu as pas même mange?*

%tra: you have not even eaten?

M: **Ein?**

%tra: what?

RES: *Tu as pas mangé?(noise)*

%tra: You didn't eat?

M: (reads)**A red triangle...a blue...(noise in the background) square(emphasis on square)a yellow circle...a green... rectangle...**

SS: (repeats after M)**A red triangle...a blue...(noise in the background)square...a yellow circle... a green... rectangle...**

S1: (reads) A red triangle...a blue square...a yellow circle...a green rectangle...

M: **Mo kapav fer sa ziska san... ha ban nimero la...**

%tra: I can do this till 100, those numbers

RES: **Ki arive?**

%tra: what happened?

M: **Ha bann nimero ki miss inn dir fer la mo kapav fer ha ziska san...**

%tra: those numbers that miss has told us to do i can do them till hundred

RES: **To kapav? (In the background the children are still reciting a red triangle)...To kapav ekrir li ziska san?**

%tra: Can you? Can you write it till hundred?

M: **Non pa ekrir (unintelligible)**

%tra: no not write

S1: *Moi mon papa (unintelligible)*

%tra: me my dad

SS: noise(children talking; unintelligible)

M: (reads) one hundred...

S1: **Mwa mo pe copye... copye**

%tra: me i am copying...copying

M: (reads) My body parts...

RES: *Qu'est ce que tu fais Jordan?*

%tra: what are you doing Jordan?

M: **(shouts) Ey!! (G talking in background unintelligible) li donn li dipen...**

%tra: ey!! he gives him bread

TEA: **Mo garson ki pe arive?**

%tra: my boy what is happening?

M: **(addressing to Teacher) mo donn li dipen...**

%tra: I gave him bread

S5: **Non pou mwa sa...**

%tra: no this is mine

G: (addressing to Researcher) (unintelligible) jusqu'a cent il y a chez moi...

%tra: till hundred there is at my place

RES: *Jusqu'a cent tu as chez toi?*

%tra: Till hundred you have at your place?

TEA: **Manze...**

%tra: Eat!

G: Les chiffres...

%tra: The letters...

RES: *(addressing to G)tu as fini de manger?*

%tra: did you finish eating?

G: Oui...

%tra: yes

RES: *Qu'est-ce que t'as emmené aujourd'hui?*

%tra: what have you brought today?

G: Saucisses...

%tra: sausages

RES: *Tu es paskarem?*

%tra: you are not fasting?

G: Oui saucisses chinois...

%tra: yes, Chinese sausages

M: (addressing her neighbor) non lot la...

%tra: no the other one

RES: *Végétarien?... (noise unwrapping of packages)*

%tra: vegetarian?...

S1: To met li lor to front?

%tra: you put it on your forehead?

G: Mo met la krwa...(unintelligible)

%tra: I put a cross

J: (showing me his bread in which he has put his cakes)Miss mo met gato ladan...

%tra: miss i put cakes in it

RES: **Ena gato ladan?**

%tra: there are cakes in it?

J: Bon ha...(unintelligible)

%tra: it's good

M: (unintelligible)kontan met gato...

%tra: (unintelligible)likes putting cakes

RES: Li pa kontan manz diber?

%tra: he doesn't like eating butter.

M: Sa mo liv prefere...souri...

%tra: this is my favourite book...mouse

RES: (reads) Sourimousse

%tra: Sourimousse

J: Mo amenn diber dan mo dipain mo pran tou mo gato mo met dan mo dipain...

%tra: I brought butter in my bread,I take all my cakes I put in my bread#

SS: noise

G: Wi her diswar...

%tra: Eight o'clock at night

M: (angry at J for snatching the book she was reading)Na...uh...huh...

J: Pou mwa ha (noise)...pou mwa ha...

%tra: It is mine...it is mine

RES: Lir kot to arive...

%tra: read where you have reached

M: (reads)souri on(overlapping)

%tra: mouse we

G: (overlapping)Mo baigne tou

%tra: I bath also

M: Jupe robe

%tra: Skirt dress

RES: To met la krwa lo...lor front...Tu mets pas toi?

%tra: You put a cross on on the forehead...you don't put you?

M: (in background reading)chaussette chaussure

%tra: socks shoes

G: Wi...

%tra: yes...

J: Ey pou mwa sa...

%tra: hey this is mine

M: Non...ey...

%tra: non...hey...

S1: Pa lager...

%tra: don't fight...

J: Pou mwa ha

%tra: this is mine

S4: (reading from the book)[sound of ch]ticket...ticket

M: (reads; unintelligible)

J: Pou mwa ha...(tries to snatch the book)

%tra: this is mine...

M: Ey...(I help by keeping the book so all can see it)

%tra: hey...

J: Pou mwa ha...

%tra: this is mine...

RES: (helping M read) *chapiteau*

%tra: marquee

M: *chapiteau*

%tra: marquee

J: menti!

%tra: false

RES: *Ça c'est quoi?*

%tra: what is this?

J: Sirk ha ...(reads)elephant...

%tra: this is circus...elephant

M: *éléphant...tête*

%tra: elephant...head

TEA: (in background)**Ale vit vit (unintelligible)**

%tra: Come on quick quick

M: **tronc...**

%tra: trunk...

RES: *C'est son livresa?*

%tra: Is this his book?

M: **Nah*..oui...non...**

%tra: nah...yes...no

RES: *C'est pas ton livre?*

%tra: this is not your book

M: **Non pou miss...pou miss sa**

%tra: non this is miss...this is miss'

J: **(overlapping)Ey miss dir li rann mwa mo liv...**

%tra: hey miss tell her to return me my book#

RES: **To liv sa twa ki amene?**

%tra: is this your book?have you brought this?

M: **menti...to pa amen ha twa miss (unintelligible) ki amene...**

%tra: false you didn't bring this you...miss (unintelligible)who brought...

RES: **Kisanla in amene?**

%tra: who brought?

M: **Miss Syndia..enn miss**

%tra: miss syndia...a miss...

J: **Mo liv prefere ha...tou lezur mo get sa**

%tra: this is my favourite book...everyday I look at it

M: **Menti to lir enn lot liv...(J and M are fighting over the book)**

%tra: lies...you read another book...

RES: **Pa lager bann zenfan...aargh...**

%tra: don't fight kids

M: **Méchant...mo pu dir ha to mama...**

%tra: bad boy...i will tell this to your mum

J: (overlapping) **mo liv prefere ha...(noise)**

%tra: this is my favourite book

RES: **Betu** *peux partager non?(addressing to M)donne..*

%tra: well you can share cant you?give...

M: (overlapping) **Il veut pas partager lui...**

%tra: he doesn't want to share him...

TEA: (in the background) **Asiz twa garson...**

%tra: sit down boy!

RES: *Il veut pas partager...Voilà...*

%tra: he does not want to share...there...

J: **Sa sirk ha (noise)...sirk**

%tra: this is a circus...circus

M: unintelligible

RES: (J returns the book to me) **Fini plein tou?fini plein tou?fini gete tou?**

%tra: already bored?already bored?already looked at it?

J: **fini guete mo met (unintelligible) ladan...**

%tra: already watched...i put(unintelligible)in it

TEA: (in the background) **pa gato(unintelligible)**

%tra: not cake

SS: *Monsieur... monsieur*

%tra: sir...sir

M: **lir ha...ha...**

%tra: read this...this

RES: *Sourimousse...sourimousse*

%tra: Sourimousse...sourimousse

J: **Miss ou konn ekrir mo non?**

%tra: miss do you know how to write my name?

RES: **Non...**

%tra: no...

J: Ekrir enn kou...

%tra: write

TEA: (overlapping in the background)**Ramasse ha...midi to manze sa**

%tra: Pick this up...At noon you eat this.

J: Ekrir mo non ladan (pause)(noise)

%tra: write my name in it...

M: gagne giji giji...(she laughs) gagne giji giji...

%tra: feel ticklish...(she laughs)feels ticklish

J: (reads)Jérôme.jérôme

RES: **(overlapping)Non Jordan ha...**

%tra: no it's jordan

J: Menti in ekrir j o r o o m

%tra: false it's written j o r o o m

RES: **ala mo plume in aret ekrir...(noise in background)**

%tra: see my pen has stopped writing

J: Save dir to bizin aret ekrir...(noise in background)

%tra: this means you should stop writing

M: (giggles)(unintelligible)

RES: *Quoi?Non n'écris pas sur la main*

%tra: what?no don't write on the hand

S1: *Moi aussi moi aussi*

%tra: me too, me too

M: Moi aussi

%tra: me too

RES: *Voilà...*

%tra: there

J: enn plume magik ha...

%tra: this is a magic pen

RES: **Weh...**

%tra: yeah

M: **Non tir li nu re met enn lot...tir li**

%tra: no remove it we will put another one again...remove it

RES: *N'écris pas dans la main*

%tra: don't write on the hand

S1: **(unintelligible) lamain**

%tra: the hand

RES: *Lui il est un garçon...les filles on écrit pas dans la main...*

%tra: he is a boy, girls we don't write on our hands

TEA: (in background) **Assis...to pa kapav res trankil?**

%tra: sit down!...you can't stay quiet?

G: **(unintelligible)koman sa...**

%tra: this is an order

M: **bol...**

%tra: bowl

S1: *(unintelligible)la maison...*

%tra: the house

M: **le...le...**

%tra: the...the

TEA: (in background) **Mange...Mange...Mange...**

%tra: Eat...eat...eat

RES: *Tu manges pas gâteau toi?*

%tra: you don't eat cake you?

TEA: **(in background) Ey donn sa la...**

%tra: hey give this here...

RES: **Fini...mange...**

%tra: finished eating?

TEA: **(in background)Ramas...sa...**

%tra: pick this up!

RES: *Tu as gardé...tu as gardé pour plus tard?*

%tra: you kept...you kept for later?

M: mouths an answer which can't be heard
RES: *Tout à l'heure...*
%tra: later...
S1: *Miss dedans il y a pas poule dedans*
%tra: miss in this there is no chicken in this
RES: *Il y a pas poule dedans*
%tra: there is no chicken in this
M: unintelligible
RES: *Non...(unintelligible)maintenant?*
%tra: non (unintelligible)now?
S1: *Il y a poule?*
%tra: is there chicken?
RES: *Il y a paspoule...il y a oeuf je crois...non non il y a pas*
%tra: there is no chicken, there is egg I think#no no there isnt
S1: **Save dir (unintelligible)**
%tra: this means
RES: **Weh...**
%tra: yeah...
S1: *J'ai pas (unintelligible)*
%tra: I don't have (unintelligible)
G: Melisandre pu vinn devan...
%tra: melisandre will come in front
RES: **devan kote?**
%tra: in front where?
G: lake garson...
%tra: boy's queue
RES: **Ein?**
%tra: what?
M: Wi...
%tra: yes...

RES: **Lake garson swa lake tifi?**

%tra: boys' queue or girls' queue

M: **Lake garson...ein?**

%tra: boys' queue...what?

S1: (interrupts)(unintelligible) *ne sait pas marcher...*

%tra: don't know how to walk...

RES: **Antu... tu leur montres comment marcher?...Tu montres aux garcons comment marcher?**

%tra: so you you show them how tow alk?...you show the boys how to walk?

M nods

RES: *Miss t'as dit de montrer aux garcons comment marcher?*

%tra: miss told you to show the boys how to walk?

TEA: (addressing to a student)**Ey ramas sa liv la!**

%tra: hey keep that book away!

RES: *Et comment tu fais?*

%tra: and how do you do that?

TEA: **Ale ramas sa bann liv la...**

%tra: come on keep those books away

RES: *Et ils marchent comme toi?...Ils marchent comme toi les garcons?*

%tra: and they walk like you?#they walk like you, the boys?

M: **Ils marchent...**

%tra: they walk

J: **(interrupts)vremem bann garson mars kuma li...**

%tra: it's true that the boys walk like her...

RES: **An zot mars kuma li?**

%tra: so they walk like her?

M: **Fos...**

%tra: false...

J: **Vremem (pause)Miss ki dir li li bisin fer...**

%tra: it's true...it's miss who told her that she should do

RES: **Miss inn dir zot bisin mars kuma li...**

%tra: miss told you that you should walk like her

M: **Wi...**

%tra: yes

RES: **Pa sot-sote**

%tra: don't jump

J: **Miss kin dir li ki nu bisin fer**

%tra: miss has told her that we should do

M: (unintelligible)

RES: *Ein tu vois?*(pause)**be to mem to pe sote**

%tra: so you see?...but you yourself you are jumping

M giggles

J: **Lot zur la miss(unintelligible) sote li gagne per**

%tra: the other day miss(unintelligible)jump she got scared

M: unintelligible

RES: (unintelligible) *pleures? C'est arrête seulement..Il y a pas de piles*

%tra: cry?It has stopped though...there are no batteries

S3: *C'est comment tu écris...(unintelligible)*

%tra: how is it that you write...(unintelligible)

M: **Ey mo boutey!**

%tra: hey my bottle!

S1: *Non parce que lui il va vite, parce que miss va (unintelligible)*

%tra: non because him he goes quick...because miss goes

J: **Kan to dir nu lerla mo pou donn twa ...**

%tra: when you tell us then I will give you

RES: *Quand tu seras à mon âge, lerla toi aussi tu écriras vite*

%tra: when you will be my age,then you also will write quickly

M: **Mo boutey...**

%tra: my bottle

RES: **Ki arive?**

%tra: what happened?

M: **Li pran mo boutey...**

%tra: he took my bottle

RES: **Retourn so boutey (pause) Jordan, retourn so boutey**

%tra: return her bottle jordan, return her bottle

J: **Miss (unintelligible)**

%tra: miss (unintelligible)

RES: **Pa fer move...(J returns her bottle)**

%tra: don't be naughty...

S1: *Miss quand tu parles ça rentre dedans?*

%tra: miss when you talk it goes inside?

RES: *Non...(unintelligible) la table...tu fais méchante aujourd'hui?*

%tra: non...(unintelligible)the table...you are being naughty today?

M: giggles in acquiescence

S: sings in the recorder(unintelligible)

@END

Appendix Twelve: Extract of Final Transcribed Data Set

Participants	<p>G (Participant)</p> <p>J (Participant on which the focus was when recording this conversation)</p> <p>M (Participant)</p> <p>TEA (General Purpose teacher)</p> <p>TEA2 (Enhancement teacher for Physical Education)</p> <p>S1-S21: Students participating</p> <p>RES: Researcher</p>
Situation	<p>This conversation occurs in Enhancement Programme classroom where the General Purpose teacher is focusing on body parts and is talking about the importance of different body parts. Whilst still participating in the class, J is also talking with his peers who are seated at the table where he is seated as well as with the researcher. The conversation ends as the first session for Enhancement Programme ends and the teacher who works with the children for Physical Education classes comes to take the students to the playground to play.</p>
Languages involved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kreol Morisien highlighted in bold • French highlighted in italics • English highlighted through underlining
Date of Recording	<p>Enhancement class-20.03.2014</p>
<p>Raw Field Notes (To be reworked in a more concise paragraph)</p>	<p>Enhancement session. Most children are dressed in their sports clothes as they will have a sports session for Enhancement today. Yachana is crying because their behenji teases them by changing their names. They complain about their AL teacher who is quite rude. J speaks and says maybe the AL teacher has given a nickname to the students. J asks Yovisha if she is coming to school tomorrow. He interacts with Yovisha to tease her as the teacher will not come the following day and Yovisha has just realized. J mocks at me as I am miming silently to Yachana not to cry. J is playing with a magnet and iron over a paper..He says it is like magic. Radisha is looking at him with wonder. He hasn't changed in his sports clothes. He is still wearing his uniform. J is looking at the teacher when the teacher is scolding the other children. J is standing one leg on the chair. J speaks to the teacher and says that he didn't go to the play in the field during the break time like the girls. He also adds that he has already been punished twice and was not allowed to go do sports by the teacher that is why he has obeyed now and hasn't gone out to play. The teacher tells them to take out the picture with the name tags she had</p>

given them. He is singing ‘Parts of the body..’ goes to his bag to take out the picture and the name tags. He is singing in the meanwhile. J is taking out the tag of toes and sticks it correctly. He is looking at the teacher. J says, ‘Miss Manav a pas fait’. The teacher asks the children if Radisha was present Monday. J said Radisha was here. J is playing with his magnet over the picture. J says ‘Miss avait dit de faire’. The teacher writes on the board.

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Teacher is eating in the meanwhile. J is the only one standing up..He sings silently all throughout. J referring to Gressy, mimics how she is doing with her face and says, ‘Elle fait comme ha’. J asks the teacher what Gressy has done to have been punished. He is dancing and showing to me how he is dancing. The children are doing a Science class. They start spelling Head. Another teacher walks in the class, looking for an extra copy of the picture. He is continuing to spell all alone and then he sings under his breath. The words written on the board are as follows:

Head-I think	Eyes- I see
Toes	Hair-It protects our head
Leg (pleasant/unpleasant)	Nose- I smell
Ear-I hear/I listen	Hand- I clap, I write, I hold
Fingers- I touch	
Mouth- I eat, I drink, I shout, I talk, I sing, I spell	

They are still thinking whether Radisha had been present or not as she doesn’t have the picture. J is playing with the magnet over the picture. J asks Radisha, ‘kan to pa ti vini?’. He is showing his head and he is tapping on his head with his fingers saying ‘I think with my head’.

He sits down and looking at the teacher. Children speak of children who don’t have legs and hands. He is wiping his mouth with his jacket. G is standing in front of J and J shouts his name because he can’t see. J shouts loudly ‘unpleasant’. J looks at me and says, ‘Mo dir ou sa’.

J explains what pleasant is. The DHM walks in the class, she enquires what the lesson is about. Teacher is asking the children what kind of sounds they like. G had his hand raised in the air, he says ‘les trompettes’.

	<p>J raises his hand to say what he finds unpleasant as sound. J says, 'les chansons d' indiens..j'aime pas sa..kuma to apel sa indien..</p> <p>J is speaking with Radisha in an aside. J is then talking to Athenais. He pricks Radisha within his fingers and he touches me too. He takes my pen and writing Ms Sara on a piece of a paper.</p> <p>J says, 'I can shout'.</p> <p>J looks at me when teacher speaks of eyes. He is fiddling with the magnet. He calls me to look at what he is doing. J talks to Eshwarya. Teacher threatens not to let them go play.</p> <p>J says, 'ice cream'.</p> <p>He tells me he told the teacher that he is speaking about 'gel' meaning hair gel and teacher thinks it is 'gel douche'.</p> <p>J is angry as Emilie has chosen KFC as well, something I had whispered as being what I love smelling. J tells me in an aside that when his dad cuts sausages and leaves tidbits around, he steals it to eat.</p> <p>He seeks my attention, playing a trick with the recorder pen and his magnet which he is turning and mixing around to know which are which. He tells Radisha to mix the three. He also tells me same.</p> <p>J says 'Moi j'ai pas joue'. The teacher who will be taking them for the sports session comes and as the teacher isn't letting the children leave he mimes crying.</p>
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JEP 20.03

1. *TEA: *on peut pas obliger quelqu'un à...(noise) rester dans l'école!...(noise as all children are talking at the same time)*

Tra: we cannot force someone to...(noise) stay at school!...

2. *S1: *miss un fille est en train d'écrire sur le tableau...(noise as all children are talking)*

Tra: miss a girl is writing on the blackboard...

3. *TEA: *effaces ce tableau là!*

Tra: wipe that board!

4. *S1: *miss un fille a efface ton numéro et a mis un autre numéro!*

Tra: miss a girl has wipe your number and has put another number!

5. *J: **ey to manchester!**

Tra: hey you are Manchester!

6. *TEA: *Samuel ne part pas jouer quand monsieur gerald arrive!...(noise as children are settling down)*

Tra: Samuel is not going to play when Mr Gerald comes!...

7. *RES: **tonn met short?**

Tra: You have worn shorts?

8. *S2(R): *non c'est jupe!*

Tra: no its skirt!

9. *RES: **jupe sa?**

Tra: is that skirt?

10. *S2: **wi!**

Tra: yes!

11. *RES: **man!man!**

12. *S3:*oui behenji l'appelle chachana*

Tra: yes behenji calls her chachana

13. *TEA: **vous autresfini koze?...viens...viens...viens...qui t' a appelé comme ça?**

Tra: you all finished speaking?...come...come...come...who has called you as such?

14. *S4(Y): *(crying)behenji!*

Tra: behenji!...

15. *TEA: *behenji t'appelle comme ça?*

Tra: behenji calls you as such?

16. *S3:*oui!*

Tra: yes!...

17. *S4:*je l'ai dit comme ça mon nom c'est yachana(unintelligible)il écrit chachana...*

Tra: I have told you my name is yachana (unintelligible) he writes chachana...

18. *TEA: *euh!*

Tra: euh!

19. *S3:*miss...miss...le behenji c'est...il fait beaucoup de grimaces avec nous!*

Tra: miss...miss...the behenji is...he does a lot of cinema with us!

20. *S5: *oui...pour moi elle appelee*

Tra: yes...for me she calls

21. *TEA: *un par un...*

Tra: one by one...

22. *S3: *pour moi elle appelle **bonkle***

Tra: for me she calls bonkle

23. *S5: *il dit...il dit les enfants* (unintelligible)

Tra: he says...he says the children (unintelligible)

24. *S3: *wil li krie mwa **pagla bonk***

Tra: yes he calls me pagla bonk

25. *TEA: *oui yeshika!*

Tra: yes yeshika!

26. *S6: *il y a fois behenj **krie chachana***

Tra: once behenji called chachana

27. *S3: *oui...oui...miss il(noise of tables being moved)miss miss poonam était gentille*

Tra: yes...yes...miss he (noise of tables being moved)miss miss Poonam was kind

28. *S6: *oui...*

Tra: Yes...

29. *TEA: *il faut pas comparer...pas avec personne*

Tra: you should not compare...not with anyone..

30. *J: *miss jennyfer...miss jennyfer...**ou swail a**...il a un nom gate*

Tra: Miss jennyfer...miss jennyfer...or else he has...he has a nickname

31. *TEA: *quand vous allez partir faire sports, je vais aller dire miss linda ok?xxx...(noise as children are murmuring amongst themselves)*

Tra: when you go do sports, I will go tell miss Linda ok? (unintelligible)

32. *J: **eh to ti vin lekol demen la?**

Tra: **hey you came to school tomorrow?**

33. *S1: **ein?**

Tra: huh?

34. *J: to vin lekol demen la?

Tra: do you come to school tomorrow?

35. *S1:mwa?...demen?

Tra: Me?...tomorrow?

36. *J: ein...ein

Tra: huh...huh...

37. *S1:mo vin lekol...non!

Tra: I will come to school...no!

38. *J: non to fek dir ha si miss pe vini la?...to ti...to ti pou vini la twa?

Tra: No you just said that if miss is coming?...you would...you would have come you?

39. *S1:kouma dir ha la...kouma dir....(noise)

Tra: as if ...as if...

40. *J: miss guet sa...guet sa!...guet sa man!...(noise as he is playing with the magnet)guet sa...vroum!vroum!

Tra: miss look at this...look at this!...look at this man!...(noise as he is playing with the magnet)look at this...vroum!vroum!

41. *TEA: guiciano!

42. *J: présent miss!présent!

Tra: present miss!present!

43. *TEA: Jordan!

Tra: Jordan!

44. *J: ey...guet sa...guet sa...mazik...magique...magique...(noise as children are responding to the teacher's roll call)non atan...

Tra: hey...watch this...watch this...magic...magic...magic...no wait...

45. *TEA: Adriano!

46. *S7:absent

Tra: absent

47. *J: guet sa la!...mo poz sa lor

Tra: watch this!...I will put that on

48. *TEA: Wayne!

49. *J: miss!

Tra: miss!

50. *TEA: *qui parles en même temps là vous autres?...tashveen!*

Tra: who is talking at the same time you all?...tashveen!

51. *S8(E): Jordan...

*TEA: Raphael!

52. *J: **pena narien emba la ein!...pena narien emba...guet sa...guet sa**

Tra: there is nothing under here hey!...there is nothing under...look at that...look at that

53. *TEA: yogesh!

54. *S9:*présent!*

Tra: present!

55. *J: **guet sa la ein!guet sa la...miss pena narien emba la ein...guet sa...guet sa!**

Tra: watch this now ein!watch this now...miss there is nothing under now ein...watch this...watch this!

56. *TEA: manav!

Tra: manav!

57. *S10: *présent!*

Tra: present!

58. *J: **guet sa!**

Tra: watch this!

59. *TEA: Samuel!

60. *S11: *présent!*

Tra: present!

61. *J: (making funny noise)

62. *S12(Au):**miss asterathenais vient...**(noise as tables are being moved)

Tra: Miss now athenais comes....

63. *J: (unintelligible)**bien...**

Tra: (unintelligible) good...

64. *TEA: *break ça!c'était pas pour jouer...la prochaine fois je vais pas vous laisser vous changer...quand il y aura sports jeudi prochain personne ne se change...vous voulez vous changer...vous allez vous changer quand monsieur gerald vient...*

Tra: its break time! it was not to play...the next time I will not let you change...when there will be sports next Thursday no one will change...you want to change yourselves...you go change when Mr Gerald comes...

65. *S13: *miss comment on va changer(unintelligible)*

Tra: miss how will we change?

66. *TEA: **be tant pis...il...il va retirer cinq minutes...(murmurs)je vous ai dit de ne pas aller jouer...vous allez jouer sur la plaine...**

Tra: well too bad...he...he will cut five minutes...(murmurs)I told you not to go play...you go play in the ground...

67. *SS: *non!*

Tra: no!

68. *S3: *miss on a partirsanous changer les linges#il y avait beaucoup enfants qui changeaient les linges*

Tra: Miss we have gone

69. *TEA: *j'ai vu les filles courir sur la plaine...*

Tra: I saw the girls running in the yard...

70. *J: *miss...nous non!*

Tra: miss...not us!

71. *S8: *était en train de regarder parce que(unintelligible)*

Tra: was watching because (unintelligible)

72. *J: **moi j'ai rien fait...tu m'as dit de aller#ein de dire les enfants de venir#et wayne**

Tra: me I have done nothing...you have told me to go...

73. *TEA: *il sait lui...semaine dernière il est pas parti jouer*

Tra: he knows him...last week he did not go to play

74. *J: **oui moi je sais...deux fois je suis pas parti...non...une seule fois...**

Tra: yes me I know...two times I did not go...no...only one time...

75. *S3: *non deux fois...un sur la plaine*

Tra: no two times...one in the playground

76. *J: **un fois!**

Tra: one time!

77. *TEA: *il y a les enfants qui vont pas partir encore...*

Tra: there are children who won't go again...

78. *J: **ouidefois je suis pas parti...miss lot jour laquand tu m'as dit de partir...**

Tra: yes two times I did not go...miss the other day when you told me to go...

79. *S3: *tu as dit non*

Tra: you said no

80. *J: *il était en train de finirlerla*

Tra: he was finishing then...

81. *TEA: *be oui!...(murmurs)Emilie!*

Tra: obviously yes!

82. *S8: *oui!*

Tra: yes!

83. *TEA: *aurélie...(noise of chairs being moved)*

Tra: aurelie...

84. *S8: *C'est...aurélie...(noise)*

Tra: It's...aurelie

85. *J: *zouin...zouin...zouin...*

86. *TEA: *bien bon...allez*

Tra: very good...go

87. *J: *miss tu vas*

Tra: miss you go

88. *TEA: parts of the body

89. *J: (sings)parts of the body...oh woh!oh who!

Tra: (sings)parts of the body...oh who!on who!

90. *TEA: *ayo!...(noise)*

91. *J: (sings)oh woh!

92. *S3: *le papier que tu as dit de donner là*

Tra: the paper that you have asked to give...

93. *J: (still singing)parts of the body

94. *TEA: *retirez les papier et le*

Tra: take out the papers and the..

95. *S3: *miss (unintelligible)*

Tra: miss

96. *S4:(*unintelligible*)*plume...*(noise)

Tra: (*unintelligible*)*pen...*(noise)

97. *S8:*miss fallait aller quitter ça au bureau?miss pour aller quitter ça au bureau?*

Tra: miss need to go leave that in the office?miss to go leave that in office?

98. *TEA: (*unintelligible*)*de venir!*

Tra: (*unintelligible*)to come!

99. *S8:*miss je pars aller quitter ça au bureau!*

Tra: Miss I am going to leave that in the office!

100. *TEA: (*overlapping*)*qu'elle a perdu!*

Tra: (*overlapping*)that she has lost!

101. *S8: *miss je peux aller quitter ça au bureau miss?*

Tra: miss I can go drop this at the office miss?

102. *TEA: *oui avec (unintelligible)*

Tra: yes with (*unintelligible*)

103. *J: (singing in a low tone)**mama mo kontan twa!**

Tra: mum I love you!

104. *S8: *miss*

Tra: miss

105. *TEA: *Écrire une lettre et de signer pour dire qu'elle a quitté...(noise)*

Tra: write a letter and to sign to say that she has left...

106. *S1: *miss!...(noise of chairs being moved)*

Tra: miss!...

107. *J: *miss manav a pas fait*

Tra: Miss manav has not done!

108. *TEA: *lundi...elle était pas là?*

Tra: Monday...she was not here?

109. *J: *non...oui elle était là!*

Tra: no...yes she was here!

110. *S10: *miss tu as dit de pas faire!...jordan a fait!*

Tra: miss you said not to do...Jordan has done!

111. *J: **miss ti dirxxx#**(noise as children are talking at the same time)

Tra: miss told (unintelligible)...

112. *TEA: *et comment yeshika a eu yovisha a eu...comment tu as eu ça?*

Tra: and how yeshika had yovisha ha...how you had that?

113. *S3: *miss on a pasxxx*

Tra: Miss we have not (unintelligible)

114. *S1: *lundi...je sais pas*

Tra: Monday...I know not...

115. *TEA: *j'avais dit depuis longtemps...j'avais donné depuis la semaine dernière...j'avais dit de garder...*

Tra: I had said since long...I had given since last week...I had said to keep...

116. *SS: *oui!oui!*

Tra: yes!yes!

117. *S1: *miss on avait joué holi!*

Tra: miss we had played holi!

118. *TEA: *j'avais donné ça jeudi je crois...(noise)*

Tra: I had given that Thursday I believe...(noise)

119. *S10: **mwa mo pan xxxmo ti al zoue holi!**

Tra: me I didn't(unintelligible)I had gone to play holi!

120. *TEA: *lundi#non j' étais pas là lundi!j' étais là?*

Tra: Monday...no I was not here Monday!I was here?

121. *SS: *non!*

Tra: no!

122. *TEA: *be j'avais donné ça depuis bien avant...*

Tra: well

123. *S4: *miss tu as...pas dit de faire...*

Tra: miss you have...not said to do...

124. *TEA: *j' étais pas là*

Tra: I was not here

125. *J: *miss avait dit de faire!*

Tra: miss had said to do!

126. *TEA: (mouth full)ey!ey!ey!

Tra: (mouth full)hey!hey!hey!

127. *S4: *miss je vois pas les...les mots*

Tra: miss I don't see the...the words

128. *TEA: *ah...faudra...je sais pas moi!...(murmurs)tout à l'heure*

Tra: ah...have to...I don't know me!...(murmurs)later...

129. *J: *(sings)...(noise as chairs are being moved)*

Tra: (sings)...(noise as chairs are being moved)

130. *TEA: *ceux qui n'étaient pas là(murmurs)*

Tra: those who were not here...

131. *S14: *miss gressy joue!*

Tra: miss gressy plays!

132. *J: *miss#*

133. *S3: **radisha kot ete pou twa?...***miss radisha son cahier estperdi...il perd tout lui...(murmurs)où est gressy?#(noise)*

Tra: radisha where is it for you?...miss radisha her copybook is lost...she loses all her...(murmurs)where is gressy?...(noise)

134. *TEA: *elle ne part pas jouer aujourd'hui...*

Tra: she does not go to play today....

135. *S3: *ein...il estlaba!*

Tra: huh...he is there!

136. *S8: *miss...il rit tout...miss il rit tout...*

Tra: miss...he laughs also...miss he laughs also...

137. *J: *elle fait comme ha...*

Tra: she does like that...

138. *S8: *elle!*

Tra: she!

139. *TEA: (unintelligible)

140. *S3: *elle fait comme ha!*

Tra: she does like that!

141. *TEA: *elle...elle voulait rester avec toi...elle savait pas comment dire...pas vrai gressy?...(murmurs)j'avais(unintelligible)tout à l'heure là?*

Tra: she...she wanted to stay with you...she did not know how to say...isn't it true gressy?...*(murmurs)*I had (unintelligible)earlier?

142. *S3: *eh yachana...pour moi coller ar sa!...(murmurs)*

Tra: hey yachana...mine sticks with this!...(murmurs)

143. *J: *be miss qu'est ce qu'elle a fait?*

Tra: well miss what has she done?

144. *S10: *il aca...elle a*

Tra: he has ...she has

145. *J: *qu'est-ce qu'elle a fait miss?*

Tra: what did she do miss?

146. *TEA: *elle a dit que...cassé mon duster?*

Tra: she has said that...broke my duster?

147. *J: *oui!!*

Tra: yes!!

148. *S4: head...leg...toes...legs...hear...fingers...mouth...eyes

149. *S3: toes...head...toes...legs...(pause)

150. *J: (singing)

151. *TEA: (bangs on the whiteboard)ok!spell the word head...

152. *SS/J: h e a d head

153. *TEA: h e a d head!

154. *SS/J: h e a d head!

155. *TEA: encore!

Tra: again!

156. *SS/J: h e a d head!

157. *J: t r e s toes#l i#l e g leg

158. *S3: *miss regarde guiciano*

Tra: miss look at guiciano...

159. *J: e a r ear!#

160. *S3: **ey guet so ha!**

Tra: hey watch his

161. *J: f l n g e r s fingers# m o u# mas#mastastas#(murmurs)

162. *S3: *miss quand on*

Tra: miss when we

163. *TEA: *toi tu étais là toi!*

Tra: you you wre here you!

164. *S3: *miss quand on*

Tra: miss when we

165. *TEA: *toi tu étais là...prends ça...*

Tra: you you were here...take this...

166. *S2: *miss (unintelligible)n'est pas venu*

Tra: miss (unintelligible)has not come

167. *J: **ey to ena de!**

Tra: hey you have two!

168. *TEA: *toi...dis bon-après midi miss linda miss jennyfer demande une copie...une seule copie...*

Tra: you...say good afternoon miss linda miss jennyfer asks a copy...only one copy...

169. *S4: *miss tu as (unintelligible)*

Tra: miss you have (unintelligible)

170. *S10: *miss il y a deux dedans!*

Tra: miss there are two in this!

171. *S2: *miss jeudi j'es pas venue parce que mercredi papa en train de*

Tra: miss Thursday I did not come because Wednesday dad is about to...

172. *J: **kan to pa ti vini dir mwa?...lindi...**

Tra: when had you not come tell me?...Monday...

173. *S2: **zedi**

Tra: thursday

174. *J: **vendredi ki nou ti fer?**

Tra: Friday what did we do?

175. *S10: to ti al ha...to ti al ha?...holi!

Tra: you had gone this...you had gone this?...holi!

176. *TEA: *qu'est ce que vous êtes allés faire*(unintelligible)

Tra: what have you gone to do

177. *J: *c'est lin*

Tra: It's mon

178. *S10: (overlapping)*elle a deux!*...

Tra: she has two!...

179. *TEA: head

180. *S10: *miss il ya deux!*

Tra: miss there are two!

181. *TEA: h e a d head!

182. *S4: head!

183. *TEA: head!#show me your head#what can you do with your head?

184. *SS: I can thinks with my head!

185. *TEA: *c'est pas*I can thinks...c'estI can think with my head

Tra: it's not I can think....It's I can think with my head

186. *J: think!

187. *SS: I can think with my head!

188. *TEA: **ki sink...sink?**

Tra: what sink...sink?

189. *S3: think!

190. *TEA: I think

191. *SS: I think with my head!

192. *TEA: I think!

193. *SS: I think!

194. *TEA: I think!

195. *SS: I think!

196. *TEA: toes#show me your toes#

197. *J: **I**

198. *TEA: *les orteils!*

Tra: the toes!

199. *J: *I can cook!cook!*

200. *S3: *I can bouges!*

Tra: I can move!

201. *TEA: *oui tu peux move!...mais les orteils ce sont dans les pieds?*

Tra: what you can move!...but the toes they are in the feet?

202. *S3: *je peux taper*

Tra: I can hit

203. *TEA: *c'est les pieds qui tapent ein?...les orteils sont là!*

Tra: it's the feet which hit right?...the toes are here!

204. *S1: *misstanto je serai pas là!*

Tra: miss in the evening I will not be here!

205. *TEA: *bien bon...toes!où sont les orteils...how many toes do you have?*

Tra: very good...toes!where are the toes...how many toes do you have?

206. *SS: ten!

207. *J: ten!

208. *TEA: leg!

209. *S10: two

210. *J: two!

211. *TEA: how many legs do you have?

212. *SS: two!

213. *TEA: what can you do with your legs?

214. *SS: I can see/sit/walk

215. *TEA: *ça nous tient...d'abord ça nous tient debout...et puis tout ça là*

Tra: it holds us...first it hold us standing...and then all that

216. *S3: *miss si on n'a pas on va tomber comme ça.*

Tra: miss if we don't have will we fall like this

217. *TEA: *oui on va pas*

Tra: yes we will not

218. *S4: *il y a des gens qui n'ont pas de pied!*

219. Tra: there are people who don't have feet!

220. *G: *oui...*

Tra: yes...

221. *S4: *miss il a des*

Tra: miss he has the

222. *TEA: *c'est coupé?*

Tra: it's cut?

223. *SS: *oui!...(number of children talking at the same time about a man who has no legs)*

Tra: yes!...

224. *S4: *dans un film il y a (unintelligent)*

Tra: in a movie there is

225. *S1: *miss je sais pas (unintelligent)*

Tra: miss I don't know

226. *TEA: *allez!un par un va venir me voir...allez!*

Tra: ok!one by one will come see me...ok!

227. *G: *(unintelligible)*

228. *S10: *miss*

229. *G: *allongé*

Tra: lie

230. *S3: *miss!tu ashamiss!tu asha!*

Tra: miss!you have this miss!...you have this!

231. *S10: *radisha il (unintelligible)comme ça...(noise)*

Tra: radisha he (unintelligible)like that...(noise)

232. *S1: *miss un jour quand je partir chez mon...ein..la boutique**labaj'ai***

Tra: miss one day when I go at my...ein...the shop there I have

233. *TEA: *ma boutique*

Tra: my shop

234. *S1: *ma boutique...ein...quand...quand...quand une personne a venu il est blesse...je sais plus les personnes qui viennent la boutique...un...un jour quand ilnquand un monsieur est en train de marcher il y a pas...il y a pas de pieds...comme ç*il y a je sais pas...comme ç**

Tra: my shop...ein...when...when...when a person came he is hurt...I don't know the persons who come to the shop...one...one day when he when the mr is walking there are no...there are no feet...as if there is I don't know...as if

235. *TEA: *il a fait un accident!*

Tra: he has done an accident!

236. *S1: *Il y a...il y a ...comme ç*il y a deux pieds qui posent comme ç**

Tra: there are...there are...as if there are two feet which are put as such

237. *TEA: *il a pas de jambes...il a pas de pieds là au bas...*

Tra: He has no legs...He has no legs here under...

238. *S1: *oui comme ç*

Tra: yes as if

239. *TEA: *c'est coupés!*

Tra: it's cut!

240. *S1: *oui comme ç*il est en train de dormir**

Tra: yes as if he is sleeping

241. *TEA: ***an il est...il dormait tout?***

Tra: oh he is...he was sleeping also?

242. *S1: *oui...comme ç*

Tra: yes...as if

243. *S3: *oui j'ai déjà vu...(all children talking at the same time)*

Tra: yes I have seen....

244. *TEA: What can you do with your ears?

245. *SS: I can hear with my ears!

246. *TEA: **I hear soit! listen...**

Tra: I hear or I listen...

247. *SS: listen...

248. *S4: listen!

249. *SS: I hear

250. *TEA: **hearç'est?...I hearç'est entendreet!listenç'est é**

Tra: hear is?...hear is hear and listen is

251. *J: (overlapping)guiciano!

252. *SS: écouter!

Tra: listen!

253. *J: guiciano

254. *S15: *miss j'écoute la musique*

Tra: miss I listen to the music

255. *TEA: **guiciano pa pou al zoue**

Tra: guiciano will not go to play

256. *S15: *J'é...(murmurs)*

Tra: I

257. *TEA: *tu es déjà venu toi?oui guiciano!*

Tra: did you come already?yes guiciano!

258. *G: *(unintelligible)il y a des personnes qui ne peut pas marcher avec sa jambe...(unintelligible)ils glissent!*

Tra: there are persons who can not walk with his leg...they slide!

259. *TEA: *ils glissent comment?*

Tra: they slide how?

260. *G: *comme ça!...comme ça!*

Tra: Like this!...like this!

261. *TEA: *ils n'ont pas de pieds!...oui...ils ont que ça?...how many ears do you have?*

Tra: they don't have feet!...yes...they have only this?...

262. *SS/J: **two!**

263. *TEA: *bien bon!*

Tra: very good!

264. *S16: fingers!

265. *TEA: and ears!on a dit pour le earsil y a pas des but ear...i hear...i listen...what kind of music?what kind of sound?comment sont les sons et les bruits?un

Tra: and ears!we said for the ears there are no s but ear...I hear...I listen...what kind of music?what kind of sound?how are the sounds and the noises?a

266. *S3: pik pik pik pik

267. *S4: *miss non...*

Tra: miss no...

268. *TEA: *on a plea...(silence)vous autres comment sont les bruits et les sons?*

Tra: we have plea...(silence) you all how are the noises and the sounds?

269. *SS: *douce!*

Tra: sweet!

270. *TEA: *il ya deux types de sons...(noise in the background as learners are making sounds in the background)*

Tra: there are two types of sounds...

271. *S17: *miss chanter!*

Tra: miss sing!

272. *TEA: *oui mais comment*

Tra: yes but how

273. *J: *hi!hi!hi!hi!*

274. *TEA: *(overlapping)est ce que sont les sons?...ki nou dir?ki nou dir?*

Tra: are the sounds?...what do we say?what do we say?

275. *S16: *miss doucement et fort!*

Tra: Miss low and loud!

276. *TEA: *doucement et fort...bien bon!c'est comment on dit ça plus bon encore?*

Tra: low and loud...very good!it's how do we say this better then?

277. *SS: *miss!*

278. *TEA: pleasant and

279. *J: unpleasant!

280. *TEA: pleasant and unpleasant sounds...

281. *J: **mo dir ou ha!**

Tra: I tell you this!

282. *TEA: pleasant et unpleasant?

283. *SS: sound!

284. *TEA: **Ki save[French schwa] dirpleasant sound?...**

Tra: what is meant by pleasant sound?...

285. *SS: *mot*

Tra: word

286. *TEA: *pleasant...ki save direpleasant?*

Tra: pleasant...what is meant by pleasant?

287. *J: *content!*

Tra: like!

288. *TEA: *plaisant!*

Tra: pleasant!

289. *TEA: *ki save dirplaisant?*

Tra: what is meant by pleasant?

290. *J: *save dir qui est...*

Tra: means which is

291. *TEA: *agréable!...*

Tra: nice!...

292. *J: *agréable!*

Tra: nice!

293. *TEA: *agréable!...name some pleasant sounds...ce qui est plaisant...ce qu'on aime entendre!...qu'est ce que vous aimez entendre?*

Tra: nice...name some pleasant sounds...what is pleasant...what we like to hear!...what do you like hearing?

294. *S16: *la musique de la guitare!*

Tra: the music of the guitar!

295. *TEA: *la musique de la guitare...oui!*

Tra: the music of the guitar...yes!

296. *S12: *les musiques qui est douce*

Tra: the music which is sweet

297. *TEA: *qui est douce...oui les musiques douces...*

Tra: which is sweet...yes sweet music

298. *S8: *les...les ein...les petits batteries en carrés...*

Tra: the...the ein...the small squared batteries

299. *TEA: *les petits batteries oui...*

Tra: small batteries yes...

APPENDIX THIRTEEN: TURNITIN REPORT

1/18/2016

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APPENDIX FOURTEEN: LANGUAGE EDITOR'S LETTER

27 June 2017

To whom it may concern

Dear Sir/Madam,

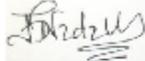
Language editing of thesis submitted by Mrs Yesha Mahadeo-Doorgakant

This is to confirm that I, the undersigned, have thoroughly edited the first two parts of the thesis titled 'The development of the linguistic repertoire of primary school learners within the Mauritian multilingual educational system' and submitted by Mrs Yesha Mahadeo-Doorgakant to the School of Education of the University of Kwazulu Natal in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Education).

I have specifically looked at all perceptible language issues over, roughly speaking, the first five chapters of the thesis – spanning over some 200 pages – and I have intervened mostly in the following respects: spelling, grammar, syntax, formulation, punctuation and formatting. I have also ensured that consistency is maintained with regard to the use of words and expressions throughout the chapters that I have edited.

I am confident that the language level of Mrs Mahadeo-Doorgakant's thesis reflects the expected standards for academic work at doctoral level.

Yours faithfully,



Dr Pascal Nadal (PhD in English Literature)
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